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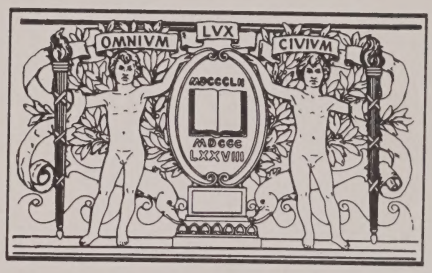

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THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

VOL. XCV.

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JULY, 1862.

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2. *Papers relating to Foreign Affairs, accompanying the President's Message to Congress at the Opening of its Session in December*, 1861. Pub. Doc.

3. *Speech of* SENATOR SUMNER, *delivered in the Senate, January* 9, 1862. Washington, D. C.: Scammell & Co.

4. *The Trent Affair. The remaining Despatches.* Boston Daily Journal, January, 1862.

5. *Additional Despatches on the Trent Case.* Boston Daily Journal, February 12, 1862.

6. *Opinion of* M. D'HAUTEFEUILLE. New York Times, January 4, 1862.

THE affair of the Trent is settled so far as immediate results are involved. Messrs. Mason and Slidell have been delivered up to Lord Lyons, and have reached their destination by the way of St. Thomas and Southampton. There has been no war with Great Britain, no humiliating surrender, no apology, no ovation, nor any great manifestations of rejoicing among the people of England. The most unkind cut of all is the declaration of the London Times that Great Britain would have done as much for two negroes; as she might have done with much more propriety if the United States had made a seizure on board the Trent of that description.

In the mean time no principles of international law have

been settled in relation to the rights of belligerents and neutrals. The demand is couched in the most general terms, ignoring all the particular circumstances upon which the seizure was made, and which were supposed by Captain Wilkes to justify it. It is acceded to with a substantial declaration that the act was justifiable but for the neglect to bring the vessel in for adjudication; and the surrender is made on account of this omission, or because the United States long ago contended for certain doctrines in relation to neutral rights, which Great Britain strenuously resisted, but which she is supposed to sustain by this demand; — it does not appear to be quite certain upon which ground it is placed. At the same time it is declared, that, if the safety of the Union required the detention of the captured persons, it would be the right and duty of the government to detain them; but the effectual check and waning proportions of the existing insurrection, as well as the comparative unimportance of the captured persons themselves, happily forbid a resort to that defence.

Earl Russell replies to this, that the neglect to send in the Trent was by no means the sole ground of the demand; he does not admit that Great Britain has abandoned any of her ancient doctrines, and he informs Mr. Seward "that Great Britain could not have submitted to the perpetration of that wrong, however flourishing might have been the insurrection in the South, and however important the persons captured might have been."

How far this assertion of the Secretary of State may be considered as an admission that Great Britain was justifiable or excusable in her claim of a right to impress her seamen when found on board of our vessels, a claim which it was attempted to sustain by the plea of necessity, and which, however shaken, has never been formally abandoned; and a further admission that the adoption of the act of McNab, in invading our territory and burning the steamer Caroline, (which also it was attempted to justify by this same necessity, and which has never been atoned for,) has a like justification or excuse; and how far, on the other hand, Earl Russell's reply, that Great Britain would not have admitted the safety of the Union to be an excuse for the capture and detention, however

flourishing might have been the insurrection in the South, may be regarded as a concession on his part that Great Britain was entirely wrong when she alleged necessity as a plea for impressment in the one case, and for the violation of neutral territory and the burning of the steamer in the other, — are matters which remain for diplomatic discussion whenever some new transaction shall require it.

As the diplomatic correspondence has been of no avail to settle any principles of international law, but has rather left confusion worse confounded, we propose to follow the discussion of those principles somewhat further. Neither the correspondence nor subsequent reflection upon the subject has at all shaken our confidence in the opinions which we expressed in the article in our number for January, upon "The Foreign and Domestic Relations of the United States."

For the right understanding of the subject, we inquire, in the first place, what is to be understood by international law, and from what sources is it derived.

International law has been defined by Mr. Wildman to be "the customary law which determines the rights and regulates the intercourse of independent states in peace and war." Sir William Scott (3 Rob. Ad. Reports, 326) remarks, that it was a law "made up of a good deal of complex reasoning, though derived from very simple rules, and altogether composing a pretty artificial system." The British government have said that it is "founded upon justice, equity, convenience, and the reason of the thing, and confirmed by long usage." See 1 Phill. Int. Law, [15] 55. Dr. Phillimore states that

> "*Analogy* has great influence in the decision of international as well as municipal tribunals; that is to say, the application of the principle of a rule which has been adopted in certain former cases to govern others yet undetermined." — 1 *Int. Law*, [35] 68.

The sources of international law, as set forth by the very learned jurist last cited, are the Divine law natural and revealed, reason, and the consent of nations. He says: —

> "The obligations of natural and revealed law exist independently of the consent of men or nations, and although the latter acknowledge

no superior upon *earth*, they nevertheless owe obedience to the laws which they have agreed to prescribe to themselves, as the rules of their intercourse in peace and war. . . . . This consent is expressed in two ways: 1. It is openly expressed by being embodied in positive conventions or treaties. 2. It is tacitly expressed by long usage, practice, custom." — *Ibid.*, [37] 69.

Speaking of the repositories and evidences of the consent of nations, the same author enumerates history, the contents of treaties, proclamations or manifestoes issued by the governments of states to the subjects of them upon the breaking out of war; and he says of the latter, "These public documents furnish, at all events, decisive evidence against any state which afterwards departs from the principles which it has thus deliberately and solemnly invoked." (*Ibid.*, [50] 78.) He adduces the decisions of prize courts, and of the tribunals of international law, as an evidence of the consent of nations, and in that connection takes occasion to refer to the judgments of Lord Stowell (Sir William Scott), and to the strong commendations bestowed upon them by Chancellor Kent and Dr. Story, quoting the language of the latter as follows: —

"How few have read with becoming reverence and zeal the decisions of that splendid jurist, — the ornament, I will not say, of his own age or country, but of all ages and all countries; the intrepid supporter equally of belligerent and neutral rights; the pure and spotless magistrate of nations, who has administered the dictates of universal jurisprudence with so much dignity and discretion in the prize and instance courts of England! — Need I pronounce the name of Sir William Scott?" — *Ibid.*, [57] 82.

The author adds, also, the concurrent testimony of great writers upon international jurisprudence as another evidence of the consent of nations, for which he cites Wheaton on International Law.

From this examination of the general character, sources, and evidence of international law, it is quite apparent that in many instances the rules which must determine the rights, and which should govern the intercourse, of two nations, may be applicable to those nations alone, while in other cases the rights may be dependent upon principles of a more enlarged

application, and the intercourse be regulated by usages which have the evidence of a much more general consent.

It hardly needs an argument to show that the questions arising in this case of the Trent are to be considered and determined as questions wholly between the United States and Great Britain, and upon the principles and usages which have been promulgated, sanctioned, acknowledged, and claimed as suitable and proper principles to determine the rights and to regulate the intercourse of those two nations; and not, mainly, by any principles which are of general authority and application throughout Christendom.

Clearly the questions at issue cannot be determined by any principles of natural or revealed law. The rights of war, and the proper mode of carrying on a war, so far as coercion by force, gunpowder, shot, and shell are concerned, are generally regulated (if regulated) by the usages of mankind, rather than by natural or revealed religion, or even by treaty stipulations. This must almost necessarily be the case, each occasion for hostilities depending upon the peculiar circumstances attending the offence which gives rise to them, and the modes by which the hostilities may be rendered most effective. The general object of offensive warfare is to do injury to the enemy, and thereby compel him to submit to what is required of him.

Even the general laws of war may not suffice to determine the rights of the belligerent and of the neutral in this case, because the general principles regulating war do not reach the special circumstances of the case, as one arising between the United States and Great Britain. Not that there is any treaty stipulation between the two countries which determines their respective rights in reference to this matter. No treaty stipulation exists. Great Britain expressly refused to accede to certain principles which the United States desired to incorporate into a treaty, and which, if incorporated, might have had an essential bearing upon some of the questions involved in this case.

For this very reason, however, no treaty stipulation between the United States and any other nation can be regarded as governing this case, or even as having a legitimate bearing on

the questions arising in it. Mr. Sumner, in the speech the title of which we have placed at the head of this article, has, with a great, and for the purposes of this case useless diligence, made a collection of the varying expressions of our treaty stipulations with other powers. But the most which these treaties can serve to show is, either that the principles of international law in relation to the subject-matter were unsettled, and that the parties to the treaty desired to have them made certain, in accordance with what they deemed to be the true principle; or that by the rules of law, as generally received, the right or usage was otherwise than as settled by the treaty stipulation, and that the parties to the treaty were desirous of having the matter placed upon a different, and, as they deemed it, a better basis. In either view, the treaties furnish no argument whatever against the positions assumed by Captain Wilkes. On the latter supposition, the treaties, so far from furnishing an argument against his proceedings, would, as between the United States and Great Britain, furnish very conclusive evidence in his favor.

So in relation to the intervention of France, and other powers of Europe, by the expression of their hopes that the United States would accede to the demand of Great Britain; and in reference also to M. Thouvenel's suggestion, that the seizure was erroneous, and that the United States would be in the wrong if they insisted upon holding the prisoners. The intervention was valuable as an evidence of courtesy and friendly relations between those powers and the United States, shown by the expression of their desire that we should not enter into a conflict with Great Britain in which they could not sustain our right on their principles. But unless it may be shown that their principles are those upon which Great Britain has acted toward the United States, or at least that they are the principles which at the time were the governing principles as between the United States and Great Britain, those interventions and representations can have no tendency to show the right or the wrong, as between the parties to the matter at issue.

This is made especially apparent by the despatch from M. Thouvenel to M. Mercier, which was read to Mr. Secretary

Seward, in which M. Thouvenel argues the question upon the rules of law as they are held by France, and upon the stipulations of the treaties between the United States and France; whereas the principles maintained by France in relation to neutral rights are not acknowledged by Great Britain, and the United States have no treaty with her of the same character, in this respect, as they have with France.

So, again, in relation to the writings of foreign publicists. Although undoubtedly such writings are evidence of the principles of international law, the evidence may be limited to the usages and customs of some nations, and not of others. Such writings cannot avail as evidence in this case, unless they recognize the principles asserted by Great Britain, and assented to or acquiesced in by the United States. This is particularly true of M. Hautefeuille, who has made himself somewhat impertinently busy in reference not so much to the principles which govern the case, as in denunciation and vituperation of the United States. He disagrees with Wheaton, and rejects entirely the authority of Lord Stowell, whose character as a jurist has not only received, as we have seen, very strong commendation in this country, but the most of whose decisions were regarded as authoritative expositions of the rights of belligerents against neutrals long before M. Hautefeuille was even heard of here. It is certainly something more than modest assurance when M. Hautefeuille, ignoring the authority of a judge who has decreed the confiscation of millions, perhaps, of American property, for violation of neutrality, and to whose decrees and judgments the sufferers and the government submitted, if not without a murmur, at least without a resort to arms for that cause, — ignoring also the fact that American publicists had lauded his great learning and eminent character, recognized his authority, and promulgated his principles as the governing, if not the best, principles of international law, — presumes to denounce the proceedings of Captain Wilkes, and to censure the United States because they have not conducted in relation to an English vessel according to his standard in regard to neutral rights.

It is perhaps not necessary to our present purpose, but we take occasion to say, that, upon any open question, not settled

by agreement or consent between the two nations, but upon which each has maintained an opinion adverse to that of the other, either has the right, at any time, to act upon the principle contended for by the other, and thus to express an assent to it, if there has not previously been something to show a withdrawal. This is the usual mode by which assent is given by implication, and in relation to such subjects it is sufficient if the assent is expressed when the occasion arises for it.

We proceed to inquire into certain principles of international law as held by Great Britain, and as recognized by the United States, their judicial tribunals and jurists, which may apply directly, or by analogy, to the case of the Trent.

The convenience or necessity of a belligerent has sometimes led to the violation of neutral territory, as in the case of the burning of the steamer Caroline within the limits of the State of New York; and the power of the belligerent has occasionally been sufficient to resist a claim for redress. In other words, the party committing the wrong, in the language which the London Times lately applied to Great Britain, has "fought it through," instead of doing justice. But such a course does not settle the principles which are applicable to future cases.

The main difficulties in determining the rights of the belligerent and the neutral have arisen in relation to the vessels of the latter navigating the open sea, which is the highway of all nations. It has been asserted by some, that a vessel on the ocean is to be regarded as a part of the territory of the government to which she belongs; but this position cannot be maintained, either in the nature of the thing, or according to the received rules of law. If there is any similarity between the two, it is only of a limited character. The term territory is sometimes applied to a vessel with the meaning merely that she is under the jurisdiction and laws of the nation to which she belongs, but with no intention to assert an immunity from search and seizure of the ship for violation of neutrality. Such was evidently the use of the term by Mr. Webster in his negotiation with Lord Ashburton. The belligerent and the neutral are alike entitled to pass and repass upon the

ocean, and there is no *territory* there. The belligerent has the right to carry on his hostilities against his enemy wherever he can find him on the high seas, and the neutral character of a vessel there cannot be known except upon inquiry, for which purpose visit is allowed; — whereas neutral territory manifests itself, is known, and is to be respected without visit, search, or inquiry, except upon evidence of a violation of neutrality.

In an article on the affair of the Trent, in the February number of the London Law Magazine and Law Review, — the tone and temper of which are in marked contrast with the frothy and malignant issues of Blackwood, the Edinburgh, the North British, and even of the *Christian* Observer,* — it is stated that, in a paper upon the subject read by Mr. C. Clark before the Juridical Society, he maintained as a first proposition, "that a ship is, as a rule, part of the soil of the country to which it belongs." In a subsequent part of the paper he said that the rule that each nation claims jurisdiction over its own vessels at sea depends on the principle that every vessel is part of the state to which it belongs; and he adds: "This principle I am prepared to maintain, and must do so, for it will become of much importance in a future stage of this discussion." But he certainly does not succeed in obviating the objections of Mr. Manning to that doctrine, in his Commentaries on the Law of Nations, which Mr. Clark cites and attempts to controvert; and assuredly it is no more necessary, in order to substantiate a claim to jurisdiction over

* The January number of the Observer betrays its ignorance of American affairs by speaking of "Lord Lyons, the British Ambassador *at New York*," and airs its vocabulary by a liberal utterance about "preposterous arrogance," "ridiculous pride," "national vanity," "arrogance and bluster," "contemptuous disregard of the rights of other nations," &c., &c., and cloaks all this vituperation of the United States under a sanctimonious assumption of the right of Christian rebuke.

Commenting on the affair of the Trent, the Observer speaks of "a display of violence towards Miss Slidell, which might have, and probably would have, terminated in bloodshed, but for the heroic conduct of the English commander, who threw himself between her and the bayonets of the marines." *Quære*, on which side was the danger of bloodshed? If Commander Williams's story about Miss Slidell's conduct toward Lieutenant Fairfax were entitled to any credence, it would seem that the danger was on the part of the marines, and that they must have presented their bayonets (if presented) in self-defence.

a vessel at sea, to maintain that it is part of the soil, or even a part of the state claiming jurisdiction, than it is necessary, in order to show a title to a carriage running upon the highway, and a right to govern its motions, to show that the carriage is part of the real estate of the claimant.

Mr. Manning says: "Now, no nation has jurisdiction over the territory of another nation. But as soon as a merchant-ship comes into the harbor of a state to which she does not belong, she becomes subject to the jurisdiction of this latter state. This shows that a merchant-ship cannot be considered part of the territory of her state; for if she possesses this character at any time, she must possess it at all times." (p. 210.) This alone would seem to be conclusive of the argument, without reference to the other cogent reasons offered by Mr. Manning in support of his objection to the doctrine. How is it that the character of the ship in this respect can change upon her entrance into the port of another nation, so that the part of the soil, or part of the state, which she constituted, has become detached from the state to which she belongs, but is annexed again the moment she gets out of the port? If the right of jurisdiction proves the ship to be part of the soil or state, it would seem to show that, upon entering the port of another nation, she had become part of the soil or state there. The proposition, therefore, proves too much. Mr. Clark admits that his rule is subject to certain exceptions, but in fact it is *all exceptions*. There is no particular in which the vessel can, with any just reason, be regarded as part of the territory. The proposition is, at best, but a mere fiction, for the purpose of asserting a jurisdiction over the ship while on the high seas, and a very unnecessary fiction for that purpose.*

* In a recent debate in the House of Commons on a resolution offered by Mr. Horsfall, "That the present state of International Maritime Law, as affecting the rights of belligerents and neutrals, is ill-defined and unsatisfactory, and calls for the early attention of Her Majesty's government," Lord Palmerston said: "We have lately maintained, at the risk of war, that a merchant-ship at sea is a part of our territory, that that territory cannot be violated with impunity, that, therefore, *individuals cannot be taken out of a merchantman belonging to a neutral country*. The same principle may be said to apply to goods as well as men, and if it be granted, *as we do grant, that a belligerent has no right to take out of a neutral ship persons who are enemies*, so also it follows that the neutral must always be respected, and in the case even of enemy's property on board ought not to be violated." — If this is what

There has been much less difference of opinion respecting the rights of belligerents, as against each other, than has existed in relation to their rights, as their warlike operations may affect, directly or indirectly, those nations which, having no interest in the contest, not only desire to remain neutral, but to avail themselves of all the advantages of trade and commercial intercourse to which, but for the hostilities, they would be entitled with each of the belligerents.

The neutral nationality of a vessel being established, there is still no assurance of the observance of the actual neutrality which is incumbent on those who control the ship. The "greedy merchants who care not how things go, provided they can satisfy their thirst of gain," pay little regard to proclamations of strict neutrality, so long as large profits attend a violation of it by the transportation of contraband goods, and profits may also be derived from the carriage of goods belonging to the citizens or subjects of the belligerent nations. This has led to the admission of a right of search, not to be exercised, we think, in cases where no violation of neutrality can reasonably be supposed to exist, but to which the neutral vessel should submit without objection in all cases where it may be rightfully exercised. This search, according to the general principle as laid down by English and American writers, may be for the purpose of capturing the goods of the enemy found on board, which, if not contraband of war, may be carried without a violation of neutrality, and without subjecting the vessel to confiscation, although the goods themselves are liable to capture.*

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was maintained, and is admitted, Earl Russell might have spared himself the labor of the greater portion of his despatch in reply to Mr. Seward, upon which we have commented at large in a subsequent part of this article. It is beyond question that *there is no contraband of war within a neutral territory*, nor any right to capture enemies of any sort within such territory, unless they use it for the purposes of active and immediate hostilities against the belligerent. And it is equally clear that the enemy's despatches, when within neutral territory, are not subject to capture. The whole matter in controversy would be ended at once on such a principle; and we need not talk about, what would be an idle, as well as a ridiculous question, to wit, whether a *journey of neutral territory* from one neutral port to another neutral port would vary the rights of the parties.

* This is admitted to be a general principle of international law, of very ancient date, upon which any nation may act unless restrained by treaty or agreement.

In the war in 1855 between Great Britain and France on the one part, and Russia on the other, Great Britain waived for the time her right to capture enemy's goods in neutral vessels, but she took good care to limit the waiver to that occasion. The language of Her Majesty's proclamation was, —

"To preserve the commerce of neutrals from all unnecessary obstruction, Her Majesty is willing, *for the present, to waive a part of the belligerent rights appertaining to her by the Law of Nations.* . . . . .

"It is impossible for Her Majesty to forego the exercise of her right of seizing articles contraband of war, and of preventing neutrals from bearing the enemy's despatches; and she must maintain the right of a belligerent to prevent neutrals from breaking any effective blockade which may be established with an adequate force against the enemy's forts, harbors, or coasts. . . . . .

"But Her Majesty *will waive the right* of seizing enemy's property laden on board a neutral vessel, unless it be contraband of war." — 3 Phill., [294] 238.*

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* In the debate in the House of Commons, March 17th, Mr. D'Israeli, referring to the second article of the Declaration at Paris, that the neutral flag covers the enemy's goods, and to the reason given by Lord Palmerston for the adoption of it, said: "I must do the noble Lord the justice to say that he did not dwell much on that point. He admitted that the real causes of the change have been placed more clearly before the House by the honorable member for Birmingham. It was because, on the eve of a war with Russia, we feared the assertion of the principle that a neutral flag does not cover the cargo might involve us in embarrassments with the United States. The noble Lord recognized the accuracy of that description."

But Dr. Phillimore, who must be good authority, gives a reason altogether different, — one which has no reference to the United States; and we certainly have no evidence that there was any notice given to the United States that Great Britain had adopted and would abide by the principle for which the latter had contended. Dr. Phillimore says: "At the breaking out of the present European war [1855], England found herself in close alliance, offensive and defensive, with France. They were to wage war together both by *sea* and land. It was therefore supposed to be necessary that there should be an agreement between them as to the question which has been so long under our consideration, of the exercise of belligerent rights towards neutrals. *The result was a compromise.* France abandoned her doctrine, that enemy's ships made enemy's goods; England agreed to allow, *during her alliance with France in the present war,* the doctrine that free ships made free goods. But she scrupulously and expressly declared that in so doing she '*waived a part of the belligerent rights appertaining to her by the Law of Nations.*' It will be seen, therefore, from the principles already laid down in this work, as well as from the reason of the thing, that *England has retained unimpaired her belligerent right upon this important subject.* In the communications which have passed on this subject between England and the North American United States, the Minister of the latter country observed in his reply: 'Notwithstanding the sincere gratification which Her Majesty's declaration has given to

Right of search may also be exercised for the capture of goods the property of the neutral, if they are contraband of war. In the absence of treaty stipulations one of the most perplexing and irritating questions has been, What shall be deemed contraband of war? The general principle is, that the neutral shall not aid either belligerent in his warlike operations. The transportation of arms and munitions of war generally to a belligerent is clearly a violation of the duty of the neutral, but the list of articles regarded as contraband because of their direct or indirect assistance in the prosecution of the war has been extended greatly beyond goods necessarily of a warlike character; and so controversies have arisen respecting goods of a debatable description, the interest of the belligerent being to cut off all supplies from his enemy, and the interest of the neutral being for the largest liberty of trade and commerce. Great Britain, as a belligerent, has heretofore insisted, against the United States and other neutral nations, upon the largest catalogue of contraband goods. See the case of the Jonge Margaretta (1 Rob. Adm. Rep. 195), also the case of the Zelden Rust (6 Rob. Adm. Rep. 93), in which cheeses suitable for naval stores were held to be contraband.

As between Great Britain and the United States there is a right to capture despatches of the enemy. Great Britain has uniformly insisted upon the general principle that the carriage of the despatches of a belligerent is a violation of neutrality, and by the decisions of her Admiralty court has maintained the most stringent rule, to the extent of including as despatches "all official communications of official persons on the public affairs of the government," saying, if the papers so taken relate to public concerns, be they great or small, civil or military, the court will not split hairs and consider their relative importance. See extracts in our January number, Article X., from the case of the Caroline (6 Rob. Adm. Rep.

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the President, it would have been enhanced if the rule alluded to had been announced as one which would be observed, *not only in the present*, but in every future war in which Great Britain shall be a party." (3 Phill., [292] 237.) In a note he says: "In 1823 and 1826–27 vain attempts were made to adjust this question between England and the North American United States."

461 – 470), case of the Susan (6 Rob. 461, note), case of the Atalanta (6 Rob. 440 – 460). In the case of the Caroline, above cited, an exception was made, to which we shall refer hereafter.

In the war by Great Britain and France against Russia, Great Britain, as we have seen, waived the right to capture enemy's goods, but insisted on her right to capture despatches, and American writers have recognized this as a belligerent right.

Controversies less numerous have arisen upon the question, under what circumstances the transportation of persons belonging to a belligerent party is a violation of neutrality. Here, again, Great Britain, as against the United States, has promulgated and enforced the rule limiting to the greatest extent the right of the neutral. See what is said by Sir William Scott respecting persons who were going to be employed in civil capacities in the government of Batavia (6 Rob. 434, Case of the Orozembo).

A vessel resisting visitation and search renders herself liable to capture and condemnation. See case of the Swedish ship Maria, which was under convoy of a Swedish frigate (1 Rob. 340).

That the principles thus laid down remained, up to the time of the present rebellion, as the principles of international law, recognized, and to some extent, it might be said, established by Great Britain, is shown beyond doubt by the fact that Dr. Phillimore, whose work, in four volumes, was published at different times from 1854 to 1861, states them all, with undoubting confidence, as general principles. Other English writers, so far as they have had occasion to refer to them, state them in a similar way, perhaps not so much in detail.

Against some of these doctrines the United States objected, but in vain, and finally acquiesced, so far as acquiescence is shown by a failure to follow up the objection by war, and by the general course of their judicial decisions. They have been recognized by the most eminent publicists here, and have been taught in the schools of law, so far as there has been occasion for instruction, as settled principles, — the principles of Continental Europe, so far as they were different, not being

recognized as authority, or as being at most of doubtful application.

Dr. Phillimore quotes from Kent's Commentaries, with marked approbation, the following passage: "We have a series of judicial decisions in England and in this country, in which the usages and duties of nations are explained with that depth of research and that liberal and enlarged inquiry which strengthen and embellish the conclusions of reason. They contain more intrinsic argument, more full and precise details, more accurate illustrations, and are of more authority than the loose dicta of elementary writers. When those courts in this country which are charged with the administration of international law have differed from the English adjudications, we must take the law from domestic sources; but such an alternative is rarely to be met with, and there is scarcely a decision in the English prize courts at Westminster on any general question of public right that has not received the express approbation and sanction of our national courts." (1 Kent's Com., 68; 1 Phill., [55] 81.)

It appears from the articles adopted by the Congress at Paris, in 1856, that Great Britain did not by her participation in that adoption limit her rights in relation to any of the matters involved in this case of the Trent, except so far as the right to capture enemy's goods in a neutral vessel may bear upon the case. There is no explanation or specification of the time when, or the circumstances under which, you may stop the ambassador of the enemy, or capture his officers, soldiers, or civilians on board of a neutral vessel, — no surrender of the right claimed to capture despatches, — and no settlement of the list of what shall be regarded as contraband.

It appears further from the result of the correspondence between the United States and Great Britain, in 1861, respecting the adoption of those articles by the former, that whatever rights the United States as a belligerent would have had against Great Britain as a neutral, on the principles which governed the international relations of the two countries before the Congress at Paris, are in no manner affected by the proceedings of that Congress, notwithstanding the proposition of the United States in the first instance to become a party to

those articles, with an additional clause exempting private property from capture on the high seas, and, after that was rejected, their offer to adopt the four articles "pure and simple." They may claim the right to capture enemy's goods in neutral bottoms, as they might have done before, notwithstanding the third of those articles provides for the exemption of such goods, and either of their offers of adhesion if accepted would have made them parties to the agreement that enemy's goods thus situated should be exempted.

We are aware that Mr. Seward, in his reply to the demand for the delivery of Mason and Slidell, says: —

"It has been settled by correspondence that the United States and Great Britain mutually recognized, as applicable to this local strife, these two articles of the declaration made by the Congress of Paris in 1856, namely: That the neutral or friendly flag should cover enemy's goods, not contraband of war, and that neutral goods, not contraband of war, are not liable to capture under an enemy's flag."

But how has this mutual recognition been settled? The articles of the Declaration of Paris have never been adopted by the United States. Notwithstanding, therefore, there was no objection on the part of the United States to those two articles, there was no agreement between Great Britain and the United States respecting them; and in case of a war in which Great Britain is a belligerent and the United States neutral, the former may allege that the matter was all left open, and that as to the latter she has the right of capture, which she only waived in the Russian war, and has not parted with as against the United States by her agreement with other governments.*

* In the recent debate in Parliament already referred to, Lord Palmerston said, in regard to the second article of the Declaration at Paris "which said that the flag should cover the goods, that has always been the principle which the United States has maintained, and therefore no difficulty arises between England and the United States upon that article. It requires no additional declaration to bind them to the observance of that article, because that has always been their doctrine, and the fact that it was their doctrine led us to think that it was more prudent and wise to adopt, in common with other parties, the Declaration of Paris."

But the fact that it was the doctrine of the United States years since did not prevent Great Britain from denying it and refusing to be bound by it. How does her agreement with France and other European powers to adopt it serve to bind the

This failure to make a complete accession to the articles was not the fault of the United States, having been occasioned in the first instance by the provision that all the articles must be adopted, or none, and by the refusal of Great Britain to agree to the exemption of private property from capture, and lastly by her insisting upon adding to the agreement to adopt a declaration which would, or it was supposed might, vary their effect.*

The United States have the right to claim against Great Britain, as a neutral, all that Great Britain could claim against them, on her principles, if the circumstances were reversed, and as those principles were held by her prior to the Congress at Paris.

The right so to claim and insist is all the more clear from the fact that Great Britain voluntarily placed the United States, as respects her, in the position of a belligerent and herself as a neutral. By her recognition of the Confederates

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United States, when it is in that declaration coupled with another article which there was no good reason to suppose the United States would agree to, and with a provision that any power who acceded must, in the common phraseology, swallow the whole or none? Where is the notification to the United States that Great Britain was ready to agree to their doctrine respecting enemy's property without an additional article by which the former should agree to abolish privateering? His Lordship admitted that in case of war with the United States Great Britain could resort to privateers, notwithstanding the Declaration at Paris. — These statements of Mr. Secretary Seward and the Prime Minister, it will be seen, are by no means identical, but they may serve to show that during the remainder of "this local strife" enemy's goods in neutral vessels are not to be liable to capture. But they can hardly have a retrospective operation upon the principle which governed at the time of the capture of these *enemy persons* by Captain Wilkes.

* In a note to an article on "Belligerents and Neutrals," published in the January number of the Edinburgh Review, (which article must have been prepared originally for the columns of the London Times, and have been rejected by that paper because of the hostility and injustice manifested in the article toward the United States,) it is said, "The correspondence of the American government, recently published, proves that when Mr. Adams was instructed last summer to negotiate a convention with England and France on the basis of the Declaration of Paris, this measure was adopted solely with a view to entrap the Maritime Powers of Europe into acts adverse to the seceded States."

But it appears also, from the same correspondence, that Lord John Russell, *before the subject was mentioned to him by Mr. Adams, directed Lord Lyons to make a similar proposal to Mr. Seward. Quære*, was that measure adopted by his Lordship solely with the view to entrap the United States into acts for the benefit of Great Britain and other maritime powers?

as a belligerent power, having the same rights of war as those possessed by the United States, she clearly gave the United States, as against her, all the rights of a belligerent, notwithstanding that they claimed, and still claim, that as to themselves the Confederates are rebels and traitors. Her recognition could not take away that right.

There has been too much of a disposition on the part of English writers and speakers, when the United States claim to exercise the rights of war, to respond, "Why, you do not admit there is a war; you say it is an insurrection." This would be well enough if the authority of the United States over the Confederate States were still admitted; but the answer comes with an ill grace, and without effect, from those who have invested the Confederate States with the character of a belligerent, and thus rendered it necessary that as to them the United States should have a similar character, and be entitled of course to similar rights.

It was in this state of international law as existing between the United States and Great Britain that Mason and Slidell escaped, clandestinely, through the blockade, to Havana, thereby more securely to reach Europe. It was matter of boasting that they had done so. It was proclaimed that they were commissioned as ambassadors, but they had not, and could not have that character, or be entitled to any of its immunities, because the party that they represented was as to the United States insurrectionary and belligerent, and as to all the rest of the world, where recognized at all, a belligerent party only. Belligerents may send agents, but not ambassadors. That they had no title to be regarded as ambassadors is shown by the fact that they have had no reception or recognition as such. But they were hostile agents of the belligerent Confederacy, and themselves covered all over with the character of hostility. In fact, their agency had no other character than that of hostility. The Confederates had no diplomatic or commercial relations with any European power, and the very attempt to establish such relations was contrary to the Constitution of the United States, and of itself an act of insurrection and hostility against the United States. Herein the case is essentially different from the case of an established

nation, engaged in a war, and sending its representatives abroad to continue and represent its interests as they had already been represented. In such case, an attempt by one belligerent to preserve the relations of amity already existing between itself and a neutral power has nothing of hostility to the other belligerent attached to it. The mission has of itself nothing of a hostile character. It is for the interest of the neutral, as well as for that of the belligerent, that the relations previously existing should be preserved, and, in the language of Sir William Scott, "you are not at liberty to conclude that any communication between them can partake, in any degree, of the nature of hostility against you." But the powers of Europe had no interest, legally or internationally speaking, in the mission of these persons. That, again, is shown by the fact of their non-reception. The Confederates alone were interested in that matter. The agents were sent to seek aid, countenance, and assistance for the insurrection. That was not only the primary, but it was, in the outset, the sole motive; for until it should receive such countenance, neither diplomatic nor commercial relations could be established. The establishment of such relations would of itself give aid and support.

It may be admitted that the agents supposed that they had made their escape sure. It might probably be shown that the British Consul at Havana made some parade in speeding them on their way; and that on board the Trent there was something very like rejoicing in the honor of being common carrier to such distinguished personages.

It is under such circumstances that Captain Wilkes, cruising in the West Indies, and learning these facts, stopped the Trent, and captured the hostile officers, and the ovation which was preparing for them at Southampton is turned into an ululation, venting itself in all manner of vituperation against the United States in general, and Captain Wilkes in particular.

The part of Captain Wilkes's report material to the present discussion is as follows: —

"The question arises in my mind whether I had the right to capture the persons of these Commissioners, and whether they are amenable to capture. There was no doubt I had the right to capture a vessel with

written despatches, as they are expressly referred to in all authorities, subjecting the vessel to seizure and condemnation, if the captain of the vessel had knowledge of their being on board. But these gentlemen were not despatches in the literal sense, and did not seem to come under that designation, and nowhere could I find a case in point. That they were Commissioners I had ample proof from their own avowal, and that they were bent on mischievous and traitorous errands against our government.

"I then considered them as the embodiment of despatches, and it therefore became my duty to arrest their progress and capture them if they had no passports or papers from the federal government, as provided for under the law of nations, viz. that foreign ministers of a belligerent on board of neutral ships are required to possess papers from the other belligerent to permit them to pass free. As regards the Trent, the agent of the vessel, the son of the British Consul at Havana, was well aware of the character of these persons. His father had visited them and introduced them as Ministers of the Confederate States on their way to England and France. They went in the steamer with the knowledge and consent of the captain, who endeavored afterward to conceal them by refusing to exhibit the passenger-list and papers of the vessel. There can be no doubt he knew that they were carrying important despatches, and were endowed with instructions inimical to the United States."

That Captain Wilkes acted without any orders to make the capture is undoubted; that he acted in good faith, and in the exercise of what he deemed a duty to his government, is equally clear.

The capture was not for the purpose of impressment into the navy of the United States, under any claim of a right to the services of the captured party, and therefore was not like the impressments heretofore made by the British government from the vessels of the United States. It was not a capture of rebels who after defeat were seeking an asylum in a foreign land, and therefore is utterly different from some other cases which have been cited against it. It was not a capture of fugitives from justice; for the crimes of Mason and Slidell were those which of late years have been held not to come within the policy of extradition. All arguments founded upon such cases are out of place. They are not in point, nor analogous, and they present, therefore, neither a precedent nor

a principle upon which to base a fair argument. The capture was expressly of hostile agents, bearers of hostile despatches, themselves, in the language of Captain Wilkes, "the embodiment of despatches," and the main question presented is, whether a belligerent has the right to capture persons having such a hostile character, when found on the high seas in a neutral vessel, proceeding directly on their hostile errand.

It is not pretended that in making the seizure there was any damage to any material interest of Great Britain. Nothing belonging to her or her subjects was taken or injured. There has not been a suggestion that the slight delay in the voyage of the Trent worked an injury to any one. On the contrary, one of the motives which induced Captain Wilkes to forbear to capture the Trent was that such a course would occasion injury to innocent passengers; and this has been objected to as a consideration which he had no right to entertain.

It is under such well-known circumstances that the demand was made by the British government for the delivery up of the persons captured. It was made by Lord Lyons, under instructions from Earl Russell, dated November 30, in which his Lordship states that it appears from a letter of Commander Williams, agent for mails on board the contract steamer Trent, that the Trent left Havana with Her Majesty's mails, for England, having on board numerous passengers; that on the 7th inst. a steamer having the appearance of a man-of-war, but showing no colors, fired first a round shot and then a shell across the bows of the Trent; that the Trent stopped, and an officer with a large armed guard of marines boarded her; that the officer demanded a list of the passengers, which was refused, and he then said that he had orders to arrest Mason, Slidell, Eustis, and MacFarland; that the commander of the Trent and Commander Williams protested against the act of taking by force; but that the San Jacinto was at the time only two hundred yards from the Trent, her ship's company at quarters, and tompions out, resistance was therefore useless and the persons were forcibly taken out of the ship.

His Lordship then says:—

"It thus appears that certain individuals have been forcibly taken from on board a British vessel, the ship of a neutral power, while such

vessel was pursuing a lawful and innocent voyage, an act of violence which was an affront to the British flag and a violation of international law."

He professes the willingness of Her Majesty's government to believe that the United States officer was not acting in compliance with any authority from his government, or that if he conceived himself to be so authorized, he greatly misunderstood his instructions. He says that the British government cannot allow such an affront to the national honor to pass without full reparation, and Her Majesty's government trust that the government of the United States will of its own accord offer such redress as alone should satisfy the British nation, namely: —

"The liberation of the four gentlemen and their delivery to your Lordship, in order that they may again be placed under British protection, and a suitable apology for the aggression which has been committed."

"Should these terms not be offered by Mr. Seward, you will propose them to him."

It is true that the circumstances as detailed by Earl Russell do not serve to show that the captured confederates had any hostile mission or character. So far as it appears, on the face of the paper, they might have been most innocent and lamb-like personages, pursuing the lawful and innocent voyage spoken of in the despatch. But the facts as we have stated them respecting the true character and mission of the parties were well known in England at the time; and as the attendant circumstances, to which we shall advert hereafter, show that it was not intended to admit explanations respecting their character as a justification for their capture, we must understand that the circumstances *as we have stated them* constitute the affront to the national honor which demanded the prompt reparation of delivering up the parties captured within the term of seven days, on penalty of the termination of the diplomatic relations between the two governments at the expiration of that time, by the withdrawal of Lord Lyons from Washington in case of a refusal, with such further consequences as might be determined upon, and which were indicated by the imme-

diate transportation of large bodies of troops to Canada, and other great warlike demonstrations both military and naval. It is these facts which turn the "proposal" into a demand, and a very peremptory one at the best.

We have no doubt that it was expedient that the United States should receive this demand as an implied admission that all the cases of impressment which have occurred (and which had not one hundredth part of the excuse that existed in the present case, even supposing that it could not be justified) were not only unwarrantable, but were affronts to the United States, still unatoned for; and as a further admission that the invasion of the actual territory of the United States, and the burning of the steamer Caroline there, which vessel certainly had no more decided character of hostility to Great Britain than Mason and Slidell had toward the United States, was an indefensible invasion of neutral rights; the ratification of which by the British government furnished sufficient cause of war. And we are quite clear that, acting upon the demand as a concession, generally, to neutral rights, which had not before been made by Great Britain, it was expedient that the government should deliver up the captives without hesitation, although we are of opinion that the true principles of international law, as between all nations, will not justify a neutral vessel in transporting the agents of a belligerent, upon a hostile mission, until the rule is recognized that free ships make free goods and free persons. So long as it is unlawful for the neutral to transport contraband of war, and the officers and soldiers of a belligerent, and so long as enemy's goods are liable to capture when found in a neutral vessel, so long, *upon principle*, the agents of the belligerent, bound upon a hostile mission, cannot be protected from capture by the neutrality of the carrier. There will be a time for the discussion of these principles hereafter.

We have no fault to find with the surrender itself. We wish we could say as much of the reply of Mr. Secretary Seward, by and through which the surrender was made. We have failed to appreciate the course of reasoning by which the Secretary arrives at his conclusion. He congratulates himself near the close that he finds himself at last upon the ground

occupied by Mr. Madison, in relation to impressment. But how he got there it "would puzzle a Philadelphia lawyer" to discover, and a logician of ordinary acquirements must be equally at fault.

The reply places upon the record the facts in relation to the character of the Commissioners, with certain statements of the proceedings of Captain Wilkes, as understood by the government of the United States, showing that there was nothing offensive in the manner of the capture, and it then states that the case resolves itself into the following inquiries, to wit: —

"1. Were the persons named and their supposed despatches contraband of war?

"2. Might Captain Wilkes lawfully stop and search the Trent for these contraband persons and despatches?

"3. Did he exercise that right in a lawful and proper manner?

"4. Having found the contraband persons on board, and in presumed possession of the contraband despatches, had he a right to capture the persons?

"5. Did he exercise that right of capture in the manner allowed and recognized by the law of nations?

"If all these inquiries shall be resolved upon in the affirmative, the British government will have no claim for reparation."

The first four of the questions are discussed very briefly, with an affirmative conclusion. But the Secretary finds that the difficulties of the case commence with the fifth question, because the case presented is of contraband persons, and not contraband goods. We give the statement in his own words: —

"Only the fifth question remains, namely: Did Captain Wilkes exercise the right of capturing the contraband in conformity with the law of nations?

"It is just here that the difficulties of the case begin: What is the manner which the law of nations prescribes for disposing of the contraband, when you have found and seized it on board of the neutral vessel?

"The answer would be easily found if the question were, What shall you do with the contraband vessel? You must take or send her into a convenient port, and subject her to a judicial prosecution there in admiralty, which will try and decide the question of belligerency, neutrality, contraband, and capture. So again you will promptly find the same answer if the question were, What is the manner of proceeding

prescribed by the law of nations in regard to the contraband, if it be property or things of material or pecuniary value?

"But the question here concerns the mode of procedure, in regard, not to the vessel that was carrying the contraband, nor yet to the contraband things which worked the forfeiture of the vessel, but to contraband persons.

"The books of law are dumb. Yet the question is as important as it is difficult. First, the belligerent captor has a right to prevent the contraband officer, soldier, sailor, minister, messenger, or courier from proceeding in his unlawful voyage, and reaching the destined scene of his injurious service.

"But, on the other hand, the person captured may be innocent, that is, he may not be contraband. He therefore has a right to a fair trial of the accusation against him. The neutral state that has taken him under its flag is bound to protect him if he is not contraband, and is therefore entitled to be satisfied upon that important question. The faith of that state is pledged to his safety, if innocent, as its justice is pledged to his surrender, if he is really contraband.

"Here are conflicting claims, involving personal liberty, life, honor, and duty. Here are conflicting national claims involving welfare, safety, honor, and empire. They require a tribunal and a trial. The captors and captured are equals, the neutral and the belligerent state are equals.

"While the law authorities were found silent, it was suggested at an early day by this government that you should take the captured persons into a convenient port and institute judicial proceedings there to try the controversy. But only courts of admiralty have jurisdiction in maritime cases, and these courts have formulas to try only claims to contraband chattels, but none to try claims concerning contraband persons. The courts can entertain no proceedings and render no judgment in favor or against the alleged contraband men.

"It was replied, all this is true; but you can reach in these courts a decision which will have the moral weight of a judicial one. By a circuitous proceeding convey the suspected men, together with the suspected vessel, into port, and try there the question whether the vessel is contraband; you can prove it to be so by proving the suspected men to be contraband, and the court must then determine the vessel to be contraband.

"If the men are not contraband, the vessel will escape condemnation. Still there is no judgment for or against the captured persons. But it was assumed that there would result from the determination of the court, concerning the vessel, a legal certainty concerning the char-

acter of the men. This course of proceeding seemed open to many objections. It elevates the incidental inferior private interest into the proper place of the main paramount public one, and possibly it may make the fortunes, the safety or the existence of a nation depend on the accident of a merely personal and pecuniary litigation.

"*Moreover, when the judgment of the prize court upon the lawfulness of the capture of the vessel is rendered, it really concludes nothing, and binds neither the belligerent state nor the neutral upon the great question of the disposition to be made of the captured contraband persons. That question is still to be really determined, if at all, by diplomatic arrangement, or by war.*"

So far very well. Whether the *principles* which are to govern the *right of capture* are those which relate to contraband goods, or to enemy's property, or both; when we come to the capture of persons, and not of goods, the *principles* which govern the *mode of procedure* fail, because there is no tribunal designated by international law having jurisdiction over the case. For the determination of questions concerning the vessels and goods there are tribunals recognized by the law of nations. For the determination of questions concerning the capture of persons there is no tribunal acting directly *in personam*, or which pronounces any opinion respecting the captured persons, except as that opinion is incidental to the determination of the liability or rights of the vessel, which forms the subject-matter of the inquiry and the decree. Mr. Seward well says, that the judgment of the prize court concludes nothing, and binds neither the belligerent nor the neutral, and that the disposal of the captured persons is still to be determined, if at all, by diplomatic arrangement or by war. But when, after expressing surprise that the law of nations has furnished no more reasonable or perfect mode of determining questions of that character, he proceeds to state, that the regret we may feel on the occasion is nevertheless modified by the reflection that the difficulty is not altogether anomalous, and to say that *equal* and *similar* deficiencies are found in every system of municipal law, especially in the system which exists in the greater portions of Great Britain and of the United States, — and gives, as examples, the actions of trover and ejectment, in the first of which there is merely the

fiction of alleging in the declaration that the property has been lost by the plaintiff and found by the defendant; and in the other merely the supposition of a lease, with a fictitious lessee and a casual ejector, in order to avoid certain objections to a trial of the title by direct averments between the real parties; but in both of which the courts have ample jurisdiction, and the merits of the case are tried precisely as if no fiction was resorted to, — we must confess our surprise that any analogy could be imagined. Nor is our surprise lessened when the Secretary proceeds to say: —

"If there be no judicial remedy, the result is, that the question must be determined by the captor himself on the deck of the prize vessel. Very grave objections are against such a course. The captor is armed; the neutral is unarmed. The captor is interested, prejudiced, and perhaps violent; the neutral, if truly neutral, is disinterested, subdued, and helpless.

"The tribunal is irresponsible, while its judgment is carried into instant execution. The captured party is compelled to submit, though bound by no legal, moral, or treaty obligation to acquiesce."

Clearly, thus far, the case is like that of the capture of goods. The question of the right to capture is never determined by the captor upon the deck of the prize vessel; and the objections stated apply to all cases of capture. If they are valid against the capture of persons supposed to be hostile agents, they are equally so against the capture of persons supposed to be officers and soldiers, and of goods supposed to be contraband also. The captor must always, of necessity, determine whether the case is one in which he will assume to exercise the belligerent right; for he never carries a prize court with him. But he only determines for himself whether he will assume the right. If he capture goods and vessel, he sends them into port, for disposition, through process of law, in a prize court. If he capture persons, he sends them into port, and places them in the custody of the government, for such disposition of them as shall be required and allowed by the law of nations. The prize court of the belligerent may be as unscrupulous with regard to the vessel and goods as the government may be as to the persons, and in either case the neutral nation will not be bound by the determination, but

may seek its redress as well in one class of cases as the other, and by the same means, and if "reparation is distant and problematical, and depends at last on the justice, magnanimity, or weakness of the state in whose behalf and by whose authority the capture was made," in regard to captured persons, it is quite as likely to be so in respect to goods, when there has been a condemnation.

It may be admitted, that in ordinary cases the judicial tribunal which determines in relation to the property, may be expected to be guided more by legal principles than the government which determines in respect to the persons, and which is influenced, perhaps, by political considerations. But the prize court is influenced, to some extent, by such considerations, in determining the rule which is applicable to the case; and whatever difference exists is not a difference in principle, nor one which arises from any necessity. The Secretary inquires: —

"What if the state that has made the capture unreasonably refuse to hear the complaint of the neutral or to redress it? In that case the very act of capture would be an act of war, of war begun without notice, and possibly entirely without provocation."

But the same will be true if the prize court of the belligerent confiscate ship or goods, and the neutral is dissatisfied with the decision. The Secretary says further: —

"It must be confessed, however, that while all aggrieved nations demand, and all impartial ones concede, the need of some form of judicial process in determining the character of contraband persons, no other form than the illogical and circuitous one thus described exists, nor has any other yet been suggested. Practically, therefore, the choice is between that judicial remedy or no judicial remedy whatever. . . . . .

"I think all unprejudiced minds will agree that, imperfect as the existing judicial remedy may be supposed to be, it would be, as a general practice, better to follow it, than to adopt the summary one of leaving the decision with the captor, and relying upon diplomatic debates to review his decision. Practically, it is a question of choice between law, with its imperfections and delays, and war, with its evils and desolations."

But this illogical, circuitous, judicial remedy is no remedy

at all, as the Secretary had before shown very conclusively, where he says that there is no judgment for or against the captured persons, and that the question is to be determined, if at all, by diplomatic arrangement or by war.

Suppose, by way of illustration, that a prize crew had been put on board the Trent, and she had been sent in for adjudication; and that upon the filing of the libel, and the hearing of the case, the judge of the prize court had declared his opinion that Mason and Slidell were liable to capture, on the principle that subjected enemy's goods to capture, but that he did not find that the transportation was a violation of neutrality, and therefore the vessel was not liable to confiscation; and thereupon he discharged the vessel, with costs for detention. No proceedings would have been had against Mason and Slidell. They would not have been parties to the libel or the trial, nor entitled to be heard, and of course there would be no judgment against them. But the government would still hold them, and allege the original capture and the opinion of the prize court as a justification. What kind of a judicial remedy would that be against those persons, who, having no opportunity to be heard in the court, were nevertheless claimed as bound and held by the judgment, notwithstanding that the vessel, against which the proceedings were had, was released? As to them, it would not be even an illogical and circuitous remedy. It is a farce, or worse, to designate it as a judicial remedy. There clearly is no judicial remedy in any case of the capture of persons, international law having provided no tribunal with jurisdiction over such case.

This may be a defect: it undoubtedly is so; one proper to be remedied by separate treaty, or by a congress of nations. But it is better to admit the defect, and to place the responsibility of determining the question, as a political question (which it truly is in the existing state of the law), upon the government making the capture, than to talk about a judicial remedy, upon a political question, in a prize court, which has before it no process against the person, does not hear him, nor render any judgment for or against him, for the reason that it has no jurisdiction whatever over him. The total want of

jurisdiction of any prize court over Mason and Slidell, over the political offences which they have committed, and over the question whether they should be held or discharged under the capture, cannot for a moment be denied. All this serves to show the utter folly of the position, which has been contended for so strenuously by some persons, that it was necessary to send in the Trent for adjudication, in order to legalize the capture of the persons, supposing that a right of capture existed, even although there might be no right to have the vessel confiscated.

But we perceive as we proceed why Mr. Secretary Seward, after reaching the sound conclusion that the judgment of a prize court could determine nothing in relation to the lawfulness of the capture of these persons, still admits that, as a general practice, it is better to follow this "illogical" judicial remedy upon a political question over which the court has no jurisdiction, and upon which there is in fact no adjudication. It is in this way that the conclusion is reached that the captain ought to be required to show that the failure of the judicial remedy results from circumstances beyond his control, and without his fault. It is admitted that there are cases in which, even where goods are captured, it is not necessary to send the vessel in for adjudication. Captain Wilkes gave two reasons for not sending in the Trent. His language, as quoted in Mr. Seward's reply, is: —

"I forbore to seize her in consequence of my being so reduced in officers and crew, and the derangement it would cause innocent persons, there being a large number of passengers who would have been put to great loss and inconvenience as well as disappointment from the interruption it would have caused them in not being able to join the steamer from St. Thomas to Europe. I therefore concluded to sacrifice the interests of my officers and crew in the prize, and suffered her to proceed after the detention necessary to effect the transfer of those commissioners, considering I had obtained the important end I had in view, and which affected the interests of our country, and interrupted the action of that of the Confederates."

We infer from this that Captain Wilkes did not intend to capture the Trent, and did not consider that he had done so. He speaks of her, it is true, as "prize"; but this, taken in

connection with his statement that he forbore to seize her, and with all the facts which seem clearly to show that he did not take possession of her, must be construed to mean that he considered her as prize if he had seen fit to treat her as such, but that he concluded merely to detain her long enough to capture the persons.

We do not, however, deem this material. Supposing it to be a case of release after capture, he gives two reasons for it. Mr. Secretary Seward inquires into their validity, and finds the want of a sufficient crew to be a good reason, and the desire to perform the duty of capture without inconvenience to third persons to be a bad one. Supposing this to be legally true, the latter reason certainly could not vitiate the former, because it is perfectly consistent with it. Ordinarily, if a man offer two independent grounds of defence, one good and the other insufficient, the validity of the first is not impeached by the other. If Captain Wilkes was in fact reduced in officers and crew, so that he might for that reason decline to send in the Trent, it is of no consequence that he stated also the great loss and inconvenience it would cause to innocent persons as an additional reason why he forbore to seize her. The case presented was one for inquiry into the fact of the reduction of the crew, and whether the prudential reason was sufficient. But the Secretary was doubtless willing to reach the conclusion that the prisoners should be surrendered. He could not do this upon the merits of the case, tried by international law as existing between the United States and Great Britain; and instead of placing the surrender, as he might have placed it, upon the implied relinquishment by Great Britain of the general principles and doctrines which her statesmen and courts have maintained against neutral nations, when she has been the belligerent, and which in consequence have been assumed by jurists here as governing principles, he, unfortunately, as we think, adopted the "illogical and circuitous" reasoning by which he brought the question of the necessity of sending in the Trent as one upon which the question of surrender was to depend, and then (after treating the reasons which were given for the omission as separate and independent) he finally concludes that

"The second reason assigned by Captain Wilkes for releasing the Trent differs from the first. At best, therefore, it must be held that Captain Wilkes, as he explains himself, acted from combined sentiments of prudence and generosity, and so that the release of the prize vessel was not strictly necessary or involuntary."

In other words, he treats the two as a single mixed reason, and the whole mixture as bad and insufficient, by reason of the benevolent alloy or adulteration which was combined with the prudential part relating to the weakening of the crew of his own vessel; and thus he finds that

"For this error the British government has a right to expect the same reparation that we as an independent state should expect from Great Britain, or from any other friendly nation, in a similar case."

Here we reach the reason for the self-congratulation, to which we have already adverted. The Secretary proceeds to say: —

"I have not been unaware that, in examining this question, I have fallen into an argument for what seems to be the British side of it against my own country.

"But I am relieved from all embarrassment on that subject. I had hardly fallen into that line of argument when I discovered that I was really defending and maintaining, not an exclusively British interest, but an old, honored, and cherished American cause, not upon British authorities, but upon principles that constitute a large portion of the distinctive policy by which the United States have developed the resources of a continent, and thus, becoming a considerable maritime power, have won the respect and confidence of many nations.

"These principles were laid down for us in 1804 by James Madison, when Secretary of State in the administration of Thomas Jefferson, in instructions given to James Monroe, our Minister to England.

"Although the case before him concerned a description of persons different from those who are incidentally the subjects of the present discussion, the ground he assumed then was the same I now occupy, and the arguments by which he sustained himself upon it have been an inspiration to me in preparing this reply.

"'Whenever,' he says, 'property found in a neutral is supposed to be liable on any ground to capture and condemnation, the rule in all cases is, that the question shall not be decided by the captor, but be carried before a legal tribunal, where a regular trial may be had, and where the captor himself is liable to damages for an abuse of his power.

" ' Can it be reasonable, then, or just, that a belligerent commander, who is thus restricted, and thus responsible in a case of mere property, of trivial amount, should be permitted, without recurring to any tribunal whatever, to examine the crew of a neutral vessel, to decide the important question of their respective allegiances, and to carry that decision into execution by forcing every individual he may choose into a service abhorrent to his feelings, cutting him off from his most tender connections, exposing his mind and his person to the most humiliating discipline, and his life itself to the greatest dangers? Reason, justice, and humanity unite in protesting against so extravagant a proceeding.' "

A moment's consideration must serve to show any one that the two cases are entirely dissimilar. In the cases of impressment it is well known that the British officers who seized sailors on board of American vessels did not place the persons thus taken in the custody of their government for inquiry, and for the determination of the question what disposition should be made of them, but they were immediately put to service in the British navy, and required to perform service therein, as if they had voluntarily enlisted. The commander, therefore, in those cases, not only assumed that there was ground for capture, but he determined the question of right, and carried the judgment into immediate execution. Mason and Slidell, on the other hand, were delivered over to the government for the determination of the question whether the capture was rightful, and it became the duty of the government to make an immediate inquiry, and to decide all questions arising out of it. The analogy to the case of captured goods was carried out, as far as it could be in the absence of any tribunal having jurisdiction over the captured persons. If Captain Wilkes had sentenced Mason and Slidell to hard labor on board of his vessel for their rebellion, there would have been some analogy to the cases of British impressment, to which the instructions of Mr. Madison related.

As the case is thus put by the Secretary, it would seem that the great objection to impressment was, that the British officer did not capture and send in the ship, and that, if he had done so, the objection would have been obviated.

But this is not all. Mr. Seward, after having thus found

that Captain Wilkes was wrong in not sending in the vessel, adds: —

"In coming to my conclusion, I have not forgotten that, if the safety of this Union required the detention of the captured persons, it would be the right and duty of this government to detain them.*

"But the effectual check and waning proportions of the existing insurrection, as well as the comparative unimportance of the captured persons themselves, when dispassionately weighed, happily forbid me from resorting to that defence."

We have already adverted to this, and to Earl Russell's reply to it.

The Secretary says, at last: —

"I prefer to express my satisfaction, that, by the adjustment of the present case upon principles confessedly American, and yet, as I trust, mutually satisfactory to both of the nations concerned, a question was finally and rightly settled between them which heretofore exhausted, not only all forms of peaceful discussion, but also the arbitrament of war itself, for more than half a century alienated the two countries from each other, and perplexed with fears and apprehensions all the other nations."

But what question is finally settled by the surrender, when it is made explicitly upon the ground that the proceedings were erroneous because the vessel was not sent in, (one of the reasons for the omission to capture and send her in being deemed insufficient,) a ground upon which Great Britain did

* In the debate from which we have made several extracts, Lord Palmerston referred to this passage in Mr. Secretary Seward's reply, in this wise: "Much criticism has been passed upon a remark of my right honorable friend the Secretary for War, that war puts an end to treaties. Undoubtedly war does put an end to treaties, and even to declarations of this sort [the Declaration of Paris], and in the event of war you would have to rest upon the honor and good feeling of the parties who had agreed to them in time of peace. We have had a recent instance to show that that principle is admitted and acted upon, and that such declarations are not always likely to be observed by governments; because the President of the United States, maintaining, as he did, that the capture of those two gentlemen on board the Trent was at variance with the unvariable and acknowledged principles of the United States, and allowing therefore his duty to give them up, yet declared that, if it had been for the interest [!] of his country, — departing from his own principles, and from the admitted doctrine of the United States, — he should have felt it his duty not to give them up." We doubt whether the President will admit that this is a fair construction of the paragraph above quoted.

not place the demand, and which she does not admit to be of itself a sufficient ground on which to place it? And more especially what is finally settled, when this surrender is accompanied by a declaration that, if the safety of the Union required, it would be the right and duty of the government to detain these persons, notwithstanding the irregular manner in which they came into its possession, and the right of the British government to claim reparation therefor? This, surely, not only settles nothing, but leaves all the matters in a much more involved state than they were before the case of the Trent occurred; and it is for this reason alone that we have dissected the reply of the Secretary, which has been so much lauded by political partisans.

It may be said, that, if the surrender had been made upon the general ground which we have suggested, nothing of international law would thereby have been settled. This is true. But it would have left the whole subject-matter open to discussion and negotiation, and the United States would have stood in a favorable position to press home upon Great Britain the adjustment of questions relating to neutral and belligerent rights.

The despatch of Earl Russell to Lord Lyons in reply to Mr. Secretary Seward's communication calls into prominence no fact to which we have not already adverted.

The first part of it, in which he states that "the general right and duty of a neutral power to maintain its own communications and friendly relations with both belligerents cannot be disputed," and his suggestions respecting the importance of so doing when the neutral nation has numerous citizens resident in the territories of both belligerents, and when its citizens have property of great value in the territories of each, is well fitted to show that the neutral nation has the right to have ambassadors and consuls within the territories of each belligerent, and to receive and recognize such officers of each belligerent, if an independent and recognized power. Such relations, being once established between two powers, should not be broken off by a war entered on by either party with a third power, neither should a war prevent the establishment of such relations between either of the par-

ties to it, being an independent nation, and any other power. When such relations are established, a vessel of the neutral nation may carry despatches from the minister or consul of either belligerent residing within the neutral territory to his government at home, on the presumption that such despatches relate to the affairs between the two governments. That was the case of the Caroline (6 Rob. Adm. 461), cited by Earl Russell, in which Sir William Scott admitted that the vessel had the right to carry the despatches to the home government, but nevertheless condemned her "to pay for heating the poker," that is, to the costs and expenses of the adjudication. But that case is so unlike the present that it furnishes no precedent. It is valuable only for the principles which are stated in it.

Earl Russell says: —

"It seems no less clear that such communications must be as legitimate and innocent in their first commencement as afterward, and that the rule cannot be restricted to the case in which diplomatic relations are already formally established by the residence of an accredited minister of the belligerent power in the neutral country. It is the neutrality of the one party to the communications, and not either the mode of the communication or the time when it first takes place, which furnishes the test of the true application of the principle. The only distinction arising out of the peculiar circumstances of a civil war and of the non-recognition of the independence of the *de facto* government of one of the belligerents, either by the other belligerent or by the neutral power, is this, that 'for the purpose of avoiding the difficulties which might arise from a formal and positive solution of these questions, diplomatic agents are frequently substituted, who are clothed with the powers and enjoy the immunities of ministers, though they are not invested with the representative character, nor entitled to diplomatic honors.'"

The last part of the paragraph is copied from Wheaton's "Elements of International Law" (Book III. Ch. 1, § 4), and, standing alone, might perhaps have a tendency to show that Mason and Slidell, having been commissioned by the belligerent government as ambassadors, were to be regarded as diplomatic agents, clothed with the powers and enjoying the immunities of ministers. It is evidently for such purpose that his Lordship cites it, although he subjoins, in very guarded terms, —

"Upon this footing Messrs. Mason and Slidell, who are expressly stated by Mr. Seward to have been sent as pretended ministers plenipotentiary from the Southern States to the courts of St. James and of Paris, must have been sent, and would have been, if at all, received, and the reception of these gentlemen upon this footing could not have been justly regarded, according to the law of nations, as a hostile or unfriendly act toward the United States. Nor, indeed, is it clear that these gentlemen would have been clothed with any powers, or have enjoyed any immunities, beyond those accorded to diplomatic agents not officially recognized."

But a reference to the preceding paragraph in Wheaton shows that he is speaking of a case in which diplomatic relations of some sort have been already established; and from other parts of his work it appears conclusively that he cannot be cited as an authority for the proposition that Mason and Slidell, on their way to Europe, had any diplomatic character, or that they were entitled to any immunities by reason of their commissions from the Confederate States. On the contrary, those commissions only proved them to be, as we have before said, officers of the Confederacy on an errand hostile to the United States.

In the fourth section of Wheaton, immediately preceding the paragraph quoted by Earl Russell, the author says: —

"In the case of a revolution, civil war, or other contest for the sovereignty, although, strictly speaking, the nation has the exclusive right of determining in whom the legitimate authority of the country resides, yet foreign states must of necessity judge for themselves whether they will recognize the government *de facto*, by sending to and receiving ambassadors from it; or whether they will continue their accustomed diplomatic relations with the prince whom they choose to regard as the legitimate sovereign, or suspend altogether these relations with the nation in question. So, also, where an empire is severed by the revolt of a province or colony declaring and *maintaining* its independence, foreign states are governed by expediency in determining *whether they will commence* diplomatic intercourse with the new state, or wait for its recognition by the metropolitan country."

The words which we have italicized in this paragraph give us the application of the paragraph cited by Earl Russell. In a note by the editor of Wheaton to the paragraph cited by

his Lordship, reference is made to the instructions which were sent by Mr. Webster, then Secretary of State, to Mr. Rives, Minister of the United States to Paris, upon the last change in the constitution of France by the elevation of the Emperor Napoleon III., in which he said: —

"From President Washington's time down to the present it has been a principle always acknowledged by the United States, that every nation possesses a right to govern itself according to its own will, to change its institutions at discretion, and to transact its business through whatever agents it may think proper to employ.

"This cardinal point in our own policy has been strongly illustrated by recognizing the many forms of political power which have been successively adopted by France in the series of revolutions with which that country has been visited. . . . . And if the French people have now, substantially, made another change, we have no choice but to acknowledge that also, and, as the diplomatic representative of your country in France, you will act as your predecessors have acted, and conform to what appears to be the settled national authority."

The text serves to show that the United States would *commence diplomatic intercourse with a new state only upon ascertaining that it maintained, as well as declared, its independence*, and the note that they will *continue the intercourse with a nation already existing, in case of a revolution, when the revolutionary power and authority appear to be settled.*

Respecting the privileges and immunities of ambassadors Wheaton says: —

"From the moment a public minister enters the territory of the state to which he is sent, during the time of his residence, and until he leaves the country, he is entitled to an entire exemption from the local jurisdiction, both civil and criminal. Representing the rights, interests, and dignity of the sovereign or state by whom he is delegated, his person is sacred and inviolable. To give a more lively idea of this complete exemption from the local jurisdiction, the fiction of extra-territoriality has been invented, by which the minister, though actually in a foreign country, is supposed still to remain within the territory of his own sovereign. He continues still subject to the laws of his own country, which govern his personal status and rights of property, whether derived from contract, inheritance, or testament. . . . . This exemption from the local laws and jurisdiction is founded on mutual utility, growing out of the necessity that public ministers

should be entirely independent of the local authority, in order to fulfil the duties of their mission. The act of sending the minister, on the one hand, and of receiving him, on the other, amounts to a tacit compact between the two states that he shall be subject only to the authority of his own nation. . . . . .

"The minister's person is, in general, entirely exempt both from the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the country where he resides." — *Elements*, Part III. Ch. 1, §§ 14, 15.

These extracts, which but express the received doctrines upon the subject, indicate that the broad seal of the Confederate States, even if it were as broad as the Atlantic Ocean, could not confer upon those agents any privileges or immunities, either during their transit or on their arrival in England, until they had been received in a diplomatic character by the British government, or until the independence of the Confederate States should be acknowledged by Great Britain. When that takes place, it will hardly have a retrospective operation, so as to constitute them ambassadors *ab initio*. Will her Majesty's legal advisers stake their legal reputation upon an opinion that Mr. Mason, when he had landed in England, was entitled to exemption from arrest for debt by reason of the diplomatic character conferred on him by the Confederate government? Not they! Earl Russell himself will not attempt to maintain that proposition for an instant. No respectable county-court lawyer in England will venture such an opinion. (We will not say that such an opinion might not be obtained from M. Hautefeuille, "for a consideration.") Still less will any lawyer in Great Britain undertake to maintain that Mr. Slidell, who was sent to France, was entitled to privileges and immunities in England as a diplomatic agent; and if not, what interest had Great Britain in maintaining the rights and privileges of his embassy either on ship or shore? Earl Russell says: "The general right and duty of a neutral power to maintain *its own communications and friendly relations* with both belligerents cannot be disputed." And again: "In the performance of these duties ['the duties of humanity, reciprocally due from nation to nation'] on both sides, the neutral nation has itself a most direct and material interest, especially when it has numerous

citizens resident in the territories of both belligerents." But it is not supposed that Great Britain was the guardian of France in this matter, charged with the duty of maintaining the communication and friendly relations of France with the Confederates, or that she had any direct and material interest in the performance of any duties of humanity arising between France and the Confederation; and if she had not, Mr. Slidell's diplomatic character as ambassador to France, where he has not even to this day been recognized as a diplomatic agent, will not show that he was entitled to privileges and immunities, *as an ambassador*, on board a British vessel. To what rights and immunities he was entitled as a citizen of the world, or to what liabilities he was subjected as contraband of war, or as an active enemy of the United States, are other and different questions. How far it would be the right or duty of Great Britain to protect him *as an ambassador*, if he had been accredited by an independent nation to the court of Paris, is still another question.

A minister, as we have seen, is under the jurisdiction of his own government while actually resident at the court to which he is accredited. But here again we must recollect that the Confederate States had, as to the United States, only an insurrectionary and belligerent jurisdiction, and as to Great Britain, being recognized only as a belligerent, they had only a belligerent jurisdiction. The British cabinet will hardly admit that there is a belligerent jurisdiction on the part of the Confederate government within the territory of Great Britain. As to her ports, the acknowledgment of the belligerent *status* may be said to have opened them to the vessels of the Confederates, until excluded.

Assuming that he has shown by his own reasoning, and the authority of Wheaton, that Mason and Slidell were entitled to a diplomatic character and diplomatic immunities, Earl Russell proceeds to controvert Mr. Seward's application of Sir William Scott's remark, that you may stop an ambassador; to maintain that an ambassador is not contraband of war, and cannot therefore be taken on board a neutral vessel; and further, to deny the application of what that eminent judge said respecting the transportation of civil officers.

In this connection it is quite possible that there is something slightly significant in the use by his Lordship once and again of the term "*dictum*" as applied to certain opinions of Sir William Scott. It is well understood that, in general, this term is applied to those remarks of a judge which are not necessary to the decision of the case, and that, so applied, it indicates that the remark referred to is not to be regarded as having the character of authority, or perhaps that it is even suspected of being unsound. If this designation is to be applied to all those portions of Sir William Scott's opinions which were not necessary to the determination of the case before him, his "judgments" may be shorn of some of their honors. But Earl Russell does not directly deny that the *dicta* of the judge express the rules of law as they have heretofore been held by Great Britain. He attempts to show that Vattel, who is cited by Sir William Scott as an authority for the position that you may stop the ambassador of your enemy on his passage, does not support the position that you may stop him on board of a neutral vessel. But Earl Russell is unfortunate in supposing that Sir William Scott had reference to but one passage in Vattel, in the remarks which he made respecting exercising the right of war against, and stopping, an ambassador on his passage. His Lordship cites and quotes from Vattel, Book IV. Ch. 7, Sect. 85 : —

"On peut encore attaquer et arrêter ses gens, par-tout où on a la liberté d'exercer des actes d'hostilité. Non-seulement donc on peut justement refuser le passage aux ministres qu'un ennemi envoye à d'autres souverains ; on les arrête même, s'ils entreprennent de passer secrettement et sans permission dans les lieux dont on est maître."

Translated in Mr. Chitty's edition as follows : —

"His people may also be attacked and seized wherever we have a right to commit acts of hostility. Not only, therefore, may we justly refuse a passage to the ministers whom our enemies send to other sovereigns ; we may even arrest them if they attempt to pass privately, and without permission, through places belonging to our jurisdiction."

But if his Lordship had turned to Chapter V. he would have found that Vattel, after stating, in Section 63, that a sovereign who attempts to hinder another from sending and receiving

public ministers does him an injury, and offends against the law of nations, says, in Section 64 : —

"Mais cela ne doit s'entendre que d'un tems de paix ; la guerre donne lieu à d'autres droits. Elle permet d'ôter à l'ennemi toutes ses ressources, d'empêcher qu'il ne puisse envoyer ses ministres pour solliciter des secours."

Translated in Mr. Chitty's edition : —

"But this is to be understood only of a time of peace ; war introduces other rights. It allows us to cut off from an enemy all his resources, and *to hinder him from sending ministers to solicit assistance.*"

We suppose that the substantial fidelity of this *English* translation will not be denied ; and in some cases you can hinder the enemy from sending, only by stopping the ambassador. Sir William Scott, doubtless, had reference to both passages in Vattel, and the latter not only justifies his remark, that "you may stop the ambassador of your enemy on his passage," but, if Mason and Slidell were to be regarded as ambassadors or diplomatic agents, it covers the very case ; unless an exception to the right to stop or hinder can be established by reason of the neutrality of the vessel or its position on the voyage. In other words, the diplomatic character, while on their transit, will not save them. There must be something else to establish the exemption.

His Lordship is equally unfortunate when he says further, of the remark of Sir William Scott, "The sole object which Sir William Scott had in view was to explain the extent and limits of the doctrine of the inviolability of ambassadors in virtue of that character." We must be permitted to dissent from this conclusion. The case in which the remarks were made was that of the Caroline, before referred to, in which the judge held that the carriage of despatches by a neutral, from the minister of a belligerent residing in the neutral territory, to the home government, was lawful, but condemned the vessel to pay costs and expenses, because by taking such despatches the neutral merchant "gives the captors an undeniable right to intercept and examine the nature and contents of the papers which he is carrying," and subjects himself to the inconvenience of having his vessel brought in for examina-

tion, and to the necessary detention and expense. After saying of captured despatches, "If the papers so taken relate to public concerns, be they great or small, civil or military, the court will not split hairs, and consider their relative importance," he took a distinction between "despatches coming from any part of the enemy's territory, whose commerce and *communication of every kind the other belligerent has a right to interrupt*," and despatches of ministers resident abroad to the home government of the belligerent, and said, "They are despatches from persons who are, in a peculiar manner, the favorite objects of the protection of the law of nations, ambassadors, resident in a neutral country for the purpose of preserving the relations of amity between that state and his own government."

Still further, to show the propriety of permitting the despatches of the latter to be carried by the neutral, because the neutral country has the right to *preserve its relations* with the enemy, he added: —

"I have before said that persons discharging the functions of ambassadors are, in a peculiar manner, objects of the protection and favor of the law of nations. The limits which are assigned to the operations of war against *them*, by *Vattel* and other writers upon those subjects, are, that you may exercise your right of *war against them*, wherever the character of hostility exists; *You may stop the ambassador of your enemy on his passage;* but when he has arrived, and has taken upon himself the functions of his office, and has been admitted in his representative character, he becomes a sort of *middle* man, entitled to peculiar *privileges* as set apart for the protection of amity and peace, in maintaining which all nations are, in some degree, interested."

The italics in this extract are those of Sir William Scott. This statement of the case, and of his language, shows conclusively that, so far from its being his sole object to explain the extent and limits of the doctrine of the inviolability of ambassadors, his reference to them was merely by way of illustrating his doctrine in relation to the differences in the character of despatches. The case involved no question respecting the privileges of an ambassador.

Now let us consider the paragraph from Vattel which Earl Russell cites, to the effect that the enemy's people may be

attacked and seized wherever we have a right to commit acts of hostility. Upon this proposition of Vattel his Lordship draws this conclusion: —

"The rule, therefore, to be collected from these authorities is, that you may stop an enemy's ambassador in any place of which you are yourself the master, or in any other place where you have a right to exercise acts of hostility. Your own territory, or ships of your own country, are places of which you are yourself the master. The enemy's territory, or the enemy's ships, are places in which you have a right to exercise acts of hostility. Neutral vessels, guilty of no violation of the laws of neutrality, are places where you have no right to exercise acts of hostility."

We beg leave to say that this conclusion does not result from the principle as stated by Vattel. On the contrary, that of itself seems fully to justify the seizure of an ambassador of the enemy on a voyage from his own country to a neutral port, and in a neutral vessel, because *you may and do exercise acts of hostility on board neutral vessels* having contraband of war or enemy's property on board, and do exercise acts of hostility in every capture of that character. The vessel is captured and sent in *solely upon the ground of the right there to do a hostile act.* When you capture enemy's property, it is an act of hostility against the enemy. When you capture contraband of war, belonging to the neutral, it may be said to be an act of hostility against neutral and enemy also. But in both cases *the justification is founded upon the right to exercise those acts of hostility in and upon the neutral vessel. Ergo*, you may capture the ambassador there, unless there is some other reason than the fact that he is on board a neutral vessel to prevent it.

Of the language of Sir William Scott in the case of the Orozembo, — where he says, of the transportation of civilians, "It appears to me, *on principle*, to be but reasonable that, whenever it is of sufficient importance to the enemy that such persons should be sent out on public service, at the public expense, it should afford equal ground of forfeiture against the vessel that may be let out for a purpose so intimately connected with the hostile operations," — his Lordship says: —

"The other dictum of Sir William Scott, in the case of the Oro-

zembo, is even less pertinent to the present question. That related to the case of a neutral ship, which, upon the effect of the evidence given on the trial, was held by the court to have been engaged as an enemy's transport, to convey the enemy's military officers, and some of his civil officers whose duties were intimately connected with military operations, from the enemy's country to one of the enemy's colonies, which was about to be the theatre of those operations, the whole being done under color of a simulated neutral destination. But as long as a neutral government, within whose territories no military operations are carried on, adheres to its profession of neutrality, the duties of civil officers on a mission to that government, and within its territory, cannot possibly be 'connected with' any 'military operations' in the sense in which these words were used by Sir William Scott, as, indeed, is rendered quite clear by the passages already cited from his own judgment in the case of the Caroline."

Now we must say, that the case does not show that the civil officers in question were connected with any military operations, nor that Sir William Scott's remarks had reference to any military operations with which it was supposed they might be connected. He says of them, that they were "persons who were going to be employed in civil capacities in the government of Batavia"; and the principle of which he speaks seems to be the general principle on which you may wage war, annoy the enemy, interrupt his communications, or capture his despatches. In the case of the Caroline he says: "It is the right of the belligerent to intercept and cut off *all* communication between the enemy and his settlements, and, to the utmost of his power, to harass and disturb this connection, which it is one of the declared objects of the ambition of the enemy to preserve."

After quoting a paragraph from Bynkershoek (*Quæst. Jur. Pub.*, Lib. I. cap. 9), his Lordship says: —

"The principle of contraband of war is here clearly explained; and it is impossible that men, or despatches, which do not come within that principle, can in this sense be contraband. The penalty of knowingly carrying contraband of war is, as Mr. Seward states, nothing less than the confiscation of the ship; but it is impossible that this penalty can be incurred when the neutral has done no more than employ means usual among nations for maintaining his own proper relations with one of the belligerents. It is of the very essence of the definition of contra-

band, that the articles should have a hostile, and not a neutral destination. 'Goods,' says Lord Stowell, 'going to a neutral port cannot come under the description of contraband, all goods going there being equally lawful. The rule respecting contraband,' he adds, 'as I have always understood it, is, that articles must be taken *in delicto*, in the actual prosecution of the voyage to an enemy's port.'"

And thereupon his Lordship asks: —

"On what just principle can it be contended that a hostile destination is less necessary, or a neutral destination more noxious, for constituting a contraband character in the case of public agents or despatches than in the case of arms and ammunition?"

Now to the question thus put we confidently answer, that the difference is quite material and the distinction plain. Ordinarily, contraband goods and munitions of war can be made available to the enemy only by transportation to some place where the enemy can put them to use or service. Usually this is a transportation to an enemy's port. Persons sent to solicit assistance, or purchase arms and ammunition, — whether designated as ambassadors, or commissioners, or hostile agents, — are made available, and perform the hostile service abroad; and the destination, of course, is to the neutral country. If, therefore, such agents can be seized at all, under any circumstances, they may be seized on their outward passage; for that alone will prevent the hostile service which they are to perform.

But, notwithstanding what is thus said by Sir William Scott, we suppose that there can be no doubt that a neutral vessel, transporting munitions of war from a neutral port to a neutral port, there to be delivered to a vessel of the enemy lying there, would be guilty of as great a violation of neutrality as if she were transporting them directly to a port of the belligerent. Sir William Scott did not refer to such a case, because the case before him did not require it; but Earl Russell will hardly contend, that, if the captain of the Trent had, at Havana, taken on board two rifled cannon and two smooth-bores, to be delivered on board the Nashville, at Southampton, the fact that the destination was to a neutral port would have been sufficient to save her from capture and confiscation.

This serves to illustrate the principle. The question is, not what is the character of the port of destination, but whether the transportation is for the hostile service. If the transportation is of munitions of war, and the goods are to be landed at a neutral port, and a subsequent disposition to be made of them, which has no connection with the voyage by which they are transported thither, then they are not contraband of war; although there may be a supposition that they will be there sold, at a round price, and will eventually reach the enemy's territory; because such sale and subsequent transportation are not connected with the original voyage. But if the goods were transported to the neutral port, to be there put on board another vessel, and carried to a port of the enemy, the last voyage is but a continuation of the first, and the whole is a single transaction.

But we are not without authority on this point of the neutral destination, and very good English authority too. Dr. Phillimore, in his recent very learned work upon international law, recognizes the right of the belligerent to make search and seizure where the voyage is from one neutral port to another neutral port. He puts that as a case, not of exemption, but as one where there is less to excite vigilance, and as one where allowance should be made for the ignorance of the master, or for imposition practised on him. He is speaking of despatches, and says: —

"It is indeed competent to those interested with the care of the ship on board of which such despatches are found, to discharge themselves from the imputation of being concerned in the knowledge or management of the transaction. But the presumption is strong against the ignorance of the master of the ship; and when he has knowingly taken on board a packet or letter addressed to a public officer of a belligerent government, the plea of the insignificance of the communication, and its want of connection with the political objects of the war, will not avail him; nor, except perhaps in an extreme case of imposition practised upon him, will the plea of ignorance of the *contents* of the despatches avail him: his redress must be sought against the person whose agent or carrier he was.

"With respect to such a case as might exempt the carrier of despatches from the usual penalty, it is to be observed, that, *where the com-*

mencement of the voyage is in a neutral country, and to terminate at a neutral port, or at a port to which, though not neutral, an open trade is allowed, in such a case there is less to excite the vigilance of the master; and therefore it may be proper to make some allowance for any imposition which may be practised on him. But where the neutral master receives papers on board in a hostile port, he receives them at his own hazard, and cannot be heard to avow his ignorance of a fact with which, by due inquiry, he might have made himself acquainted." — 3 *Int. Law*, 374.

There is a suggestion in Earl Russell's despatch relating to the contract service of the Trent to carry Her Majesty's mails. It is said : —

"It is to be further observed, that packets engaged in the postal service, and keeping up the regular and periodical communications between the different countries of Europe and America, and other parts of the world, though, in the absence of treaty stipulations, they may not be exempted from visit and search in time of war, nor from the penalties of any violation of neutrality, if proved to have been knowingly committed, are still, when sailing in the ordinary and innocent course of their legitimate employment, which consists in the conveyance of mails and passengers, entitled to peculiar favor and protection from all governments in whose service they are engaged. To detain, disturb, or interfere with them, without the very gravest cause, would be an act of a most noxious and injurious character, not only to a vast number and variety of individual and private interests, but to the public interests of neutral and friendly governments."

It will be noted that Earl Russell distinctly admits that there is no exemption from capture by reason of this postal service. We adverted to this subject in our previous article, in which this case was partially discussed. It is quite clear that such a contract does not change the character of the vessel from that of a private merchant-ship to that of a national vessel. The bluster of Commander Williams, who occupied the respectable station of mail-guard, and whose conduct was not as respectable as his station, was entirely out of place. With the removal of these persons he had, so far as appears, nothing whatever to do, and the cabin-boy might have interfered with as much authority. Such a contract does not render the British government responsible for the supplies of

the ship, nor for the conduct of the master; nor can it alter the rules of international law applicable to her as a merchant-ship, or the right of a belligerent against her as a neutral. She is not authorized to carry contraband of war, or exempted from the penalties of a violation of duty in this respect, merely because her owners have a contract which gives them certain profits for transporting the mails, and subjects them to the duty of the carriage. The change of the mode of communication from that of casual and occasional transportation through the letter-bags of merchant vessels, to that of regular mail-service by similar vehicles propelled by steam, may furnish a reason why, under certain safeguards against a violation of neutrality, the mail-packet should be exempt from search and seizure; and the treaty which gives the exemption will specify and provide for the safeguard. But until such treaty stipulation shall exist, all the concern that the belligerent has with such contract and transportation by the neutral is, as an act of comity, to exercise his belligerent right in such a manner as to cause no unnecessary interruption to the postal service of the neutral; which is precisely what was done by Captain Wilkes in this case. And we are pleased to observe that Earl Russell, so far from alleging the omission to capture and send in the Trent as a distinct matter of grievance, or as furnishing specific ground of objection, says that the fact of the capture of the vessel being brought before a prize court, "although it would alter the character, would not diminish the gravity of the offence against the law of nations which would thereby be committed."

We make this extended reference to the portion of the case relating to postal service, because it has been put forward by speech-makers and paragraphists in England, and by sympathizers in America, as a distinct ground of objection to the proceedings of Captain Wilkes.

The treaty by which postal ships between the two countries are entitled to certain exemptions in case of war, which has been cited to show that the character of the Trent as a mail-packet should have given her some protection from seizure, so far from furnishing such proof, is a strong circumstance to show the reverse of that proposition. The provision by special

agreement for the protection, shows that the change in the mode of transacting business does not of itself furnish protection.

Thus far we have considered the case on its analogy to the capture of goods contraband of war, Earl Russell, following the lead of Mr. Seward, having argued it on that basis. It has been supposed that the legality of the capture must depend upon the question, Contraband of war or not? But we are of opinion that the analogy to the case of enemy's goods is quite strong, and by no means to be ignored. Considered in reference to the principles which regulate the capture of such goods, some of the objections to the legality of the proceeding vanish at once. It seems necessary only to establish the hostile character of the persons at the time of the capture. In this view of the case there is no longer any question as to the direction and termination of the voyage, as enemy's goods may be captured on any voyage; and the question respecting the necessity of sending in the vessel must disappear, because the carriage of enemy's goods does not render the vessel liable to confiscation. There would have been no necessity for sending in the Trent for the carriage of the persons, nor in fact any propriety in so doing; and an adjudication releasing the vessel, if she had been sent in, and requiring the captors to pay the costs of sending her in, could not be required. There would have been no good reason for libelling her. The legal proceedings would with more propriety have come from the master or owners, to procure the payment of expenses.

In the view of the case we have thus presented we have been content to treat the act of the Trent as if it were not one of hostility; but it is by no means clear that it is entitled to that favorable construction. Our limits, however, admonish us that it is not expedient to enter upon the discussion of that question.

From the examination we have thus made of the principles of international law, as existing between the United States and Great Britain at the time when the Trent was stopped, we draw these inferences and conclusions, to wit: —

1. Regarding Messrs. Mason and Slidell as being, in the language of Earl Russell, *quasi* ambassadors, the principle

quoted from Vattel and approved by Sir William Scott, stated by Dr. Phillimore and indorsed by Mr. Wheaton, that you may stop the ambassador of your enemy on his passage, has for its foundation a right to deal with him as an enemy, and an important officer of the enemy, who is not protected, on his outward passage, by his diplomatic character, even on board a neutral vessel; and that you may capture him, notwithstanding he has reached a neutral port, and taken his passage from that place, provided he has not reached the country of his destination, the voyage from the neutral port which he has reached to the port of his destination being but a continuation of the voyage originally undertaken.

2. If, on principle, you may capture an ambassador under such circumstances, *a fortiori* you may capture any hostile agent or official of the enemy, found proceeding, under like circumstances, on a hostile errand or mission. In fact, upon principle, the right to capture the latter exists, even if a right to stop the former were denied.

3. The right to capture despatches being conceded, (with the exception of despatches from, and even to, ambassadors and consuls abroad,) *a fortiori* you may capture the bearers of despatches, commissioned for that purpose, being at the same time, in the emphatic language of Captain Wilkes, themselves "the embodiment of despatches." This case is not within the exception, there being no ministers or consuls of the Confederate States abroad, but agents only, who were exerting all possible diligence in hostility to the United States.

4. Upon the principles which regulate the transportation of contraband of war, in the absence of treaty stipulations, Mason and Slidell were as much contraband as officers and soldiers, and equally liable to capture. The question is not dependent upon the usage of wearing a uniform and a feather, nor upon the use of arms merely. If a character of hostility attaches to the person at the time as an agent or civil officer, he is liable to capture. The errand of Mason and Slidell was emphatically one of hostility, and it makes no difference whether the voyage was or was not from neutral port to neutral port, if in the prosecution of it the parties are giving aid to the hostilities of the enemy.

5. Upon the principles which regulate the capture of enemy's goods, which bears the closest analogy to the case of the capture of enemy persons, the latter are liable to capture wherever found on the high seas, and these persons were most emphatically enemies, in actual hostility at the time.

6. In the case of the capture of persons only, the belligerent may well waive the right to capture the neutral vessel in which they are found (supposing such right to exist) for any reason that seems sufficient to him, and the omission to send in the vessel cannot affect the right of capture and detention, because there is no judicial tribunal having jurisdiction to try the validity of the capture, even if the vessel were sent in.

Mr. Secretary Seward, in his communication to Lord Lyons, says: "The claim of the British government is not made in a discourteous manner. This government, since its first organization, has never used more qualified language in a similar case." And Mr. Sumner, in his speech in the Senate, refers to the delivery of the parties as having been done at the instance of the British government, "courteously conveyed."

While we have no desire to add anything to the honest indignation which has been exhibited by the great body of the Northern people respecting the circumstances under which this demand was made, we must protest against these admissions, as being utterly unfounded, and therefore improper. It is true that the phrase of the despatch was that of the most studied courtesy. After a statement of facts which omitted all the well-known reasons which induced Captain Wilkes to make the capture, the conclusion is reached, and undoubtedly well reached on that statement of facts, that the government of the United States ought to offer such redress as alone should satisfy the British nation; and that is, the liberation of the prisoners and a suitable apology for the aggression. "Should these terms not be offered by Mr. Seward, you will propose them to him."

If this had been all, and the United States government had been left free to present the full statement of facts, and its views of the right to make the capture, the courteous tone of the despatch would have deserved all commendation. But

behind all this is the instruction to Lord Lyons to leave Washington within a week if the demand should not be complied with, — most extensive naval and military preparations in England, — the immediate embarkation of large bodies of troops for Canada, — and orders to the commanders of naval squadrons in the Gulf and elsewhere, the nature of which may be surmised, although not promulgated. To the inquiry made by Mr. Adams, in consequence of these preparations, whether a refusal would be followed by war, it was answered that the course was not determined on; and Lord Lyons was instructed, if an inquiry should be made by Mr. Seward as to the consequence of a refusal, to make an equally oracular reply.

It was fully understood, therefore, as well as if it had appeared in the despatch itself, that any attempt to sustain the seizure on the principles of international law as used and heretofore approved by Great Britain would be at the peril of instant war, and that Great Britain held herself in readiness to avail herself of her great naval strength to ravage our unprotected coasts, towns, and cities, in order to avenge the outrage of stopping the Trent for an hour or so, and taking from that vessel four persons, not subjects of Great Britain, and in whom she professed no interest, except as they were passengers on board a passenger packet belonging to her subjects. Really this is a somewhat strong exhibition of courtesy. If this be courtesy, "save us from our friends."

Taking the statement of facts, as presented by Earl Russell himself, without qualifications, — suppose the seizure to have stood without justification and without excuse, — it did not appear to have been made by the order of the government in the first instance, and at the most it could have been supposed to be only a mistake of his rights on the part of Captain Wilkes. Putting the worst construction upon it, the case was not one which required instant war, or a demand with instant war as the possible alternative of non-compliance. It is not wonderful that this kind of courtesy should have elicited a deep feeling on the part of the people of the United States, which, although it has subsided, is not extinguished, nor likely to be entirely so within the present generation. The

case is in singular contrast with the conduct of the United States, which remonstrated and negotiated respecting impressment for years and years before threatening hostilities; and which let the invasion of their territory and the burning of the Caroline remain to be discussed, years afterward, by Mr. Webster and Lord Ashburton. Perhaps the expenditure of Great Britain, incurred by these warlike preparations, whether it was to the extent of five or twenty millions, and the loss of a direct trade with the Northern States, occasioned by the course of the British government, to the amount of some twenty millions more or less, with the incidental losses otherwise occasioned by a fear of war on the part of her own subjects, may be regarded as some punishment for the insane violence of her press and people, which drove the government into such an exhibition of national courtesy, and proved, that *it is in a constitutional monarchy that the mob is the ruling power*, and not in a republic.

As we have become pretty well accustomed, within the last year, to the manifestations of injustice toward the United States by a very large portion of the English press, and even to their openly expressed wishes that the Confederates may succeed in their attempts to dismember the Union, the warlike ebullition of the English people upon the capture of Mason and Slidell was less surprising to us than it would otherwise have been. But we must admit, that it was with no little astonishment that we have perused, in the columns of the New York Times, of January 4th, an article purporting to be an opinion of M. Hautefeuille upon this subject, to which we have already referred. Known as an extreme supporter of neutral, as against belligerent rights, it might have been expected that his views, based upon what he deemed the true principles of international law, would be adverse to the right of capture, because he has advocated, to the full extent, the principle, that free ships make free goods, and of course free persons; and maintains that, unless the ship is let out to the belligerent for the purposes of the transportation, there is no violation of neutrality. Rejecting, as he does, the British decisions as authority, he himself cannot be regarded as authority on the questions at issue, and the expression of an opinion by

him, adverse to the proceedings of Captain Wilkes, if put forth in terms of ordinary courtesy, would not have called for special remark. But the tone of this article and the *animus* exhibited in it are such that we hesitated respecting its authenticity; and it is only upon assurances that no doubt exists on that point that we feel at liberty to speak of it, and its author, as we had intended to do, according to its and his merits, or rather demerits.

We have not space, however, at the present time to do justice to the subject, and it may be that we shall not consider it of sufficient importance to advert to it hereafter. We close, therefore, with a few short extracts, and a single remark.

"President Lincoln affirms that there is no Southern Confederation, — that there are only citizens of the United States in rebellion against legitimate authority; whence he concludes that he is engaged in chastising — in reducing to subjection — rebels, but that there is no war. It is in order to effect this chastisement that he, the representative of legitimate power, declares all ports of the Southern States closed to foreign commerce, and that he decrees the confiscation of all vessels found guilty of having attempted to violate the law made by the territorial sovereign. Thus, it is not for having violated a blockade, it is for having disobeyed a custom law, that neutral vessels have been condemned. There are, therefore, no belligerents, but only, on the one hand, rebels, and on the other hand, a legal power, resolved, by mere force, to bring them back to their obedience. It is in the character of rebels that Messrs. Slidell and Mason have been seized. This simply amounts to saying that rebels may be seized and arrested wherever they shall be found, even on board a foreign vessel, or, in other words, in a foreign territory. . . . . .

"If, then, there be no war, if the Americans be not belligerents, the act perpetrated by the commander of the San Jacinto against an English vessel is an outrage committed against the independence of the British flag; it is an act of downright piracy, for which the perpetrator, if he acted without the special orders of his government, should be made responsible to the tribunals, but of which the whole responsibility will fall on the Cabinet of Washington, if it has given instructions to that effect.

"But had the Trent committed a contravention of any customs regulations? Had she disobeyed the sovereign orders of Mr. Lincoln? Even admitting for a moment the monstrous pretension of the Presi-

dent of the Northern States, we have no hesitation in replying in the negative. . . . . .

"Therefore, from this point of view, as well as from others, the act committed by the commander of the American frigate, the San Jacinto, is opposed to the most elementary and the most important principles of maritime international law. It constitutes an aggression on the liberty of the seas, and an audacious outrage on the English flag.

"What motives, what excuses, can the Northern Americans allege to, we will not say justify, but even to explain this outrage? . . . . .

"Mr. Lincoln would do well to reflect, that neither France nor the other powers would tolerate the perpetration of such outrages on the persons of their subjects; nor would they, without demanding full satisfaction, endure the insolence and brutality too common to certain American officers in the exercise of their rights. . . . . .

"The Northern Americans should beware of calculating on the too great longanimity shown towards them by England of late years, or supposing that this Trent business will be settled in their favor, like that of the Island of San Juan, and so many others. Times are changed. The United States were lately the exclusive holders of an article indispensable to the commerce, the industry, and, consequently, the prosperity, of Great Britain. Cotton weighed immensely in all the decisions of the English Cabinet. Now the United States no longer possess cotton, — the precious article is in the hands of the Southern Confederation. The interests of England naturally lead her in the direction of the cotton producers, and assuredly this business of the Trent, if not settled by ample satisfaction, is of such a character as to lead England to take the step which in all probability she would not have done so soon."

It seems quite clear that this opinion must have been obtained through Confederate instrumentality; and it was probably paid for in something much better than the bonds of the Confederate States.

ART. II. — *The Art Journal.* New Series. Vol. VIII. Nos. 85–88. January — April, 1862. London: James S. Virtue.

ART is, after all, the business of our century, and war but a passing incident. Christian civilization has reached too great proportions and momentum to be staggered by any shock of arms. In our Northern United States, hardly a sight or sound indicates that the pursuits of peace have been interrupted by our national convulsion. Art and arms are not antithetical. War has its industries and æsthetics, its pomp and circumstance. If murder be a fine art, as De Quincey argues, much more so is war, with its elaborate tools and trappings. Indeed, the artistic in military affairs, from the monstrous crests and rude arms of olden time, down to the forage-cap and rifle of to-day, would form a voluminous history.

With the January number of the time-honored London Art Journal, referred to at the head of this article, begins a new series of engravings on steel, and with the April number commences an illustrated catalogue of the British International Exhibition of 1862. The illustrations, like those of the catalogue of 1851, will no doubt be drawn largely from ornamental art, in the limited sense of the term, and will be regarded by most persons with idle curiosity, or with only a commercial eye, perhaps with but the trifling attention that may be given to the needlework patterns in a lady's magazine. To others, the catalogue and the event it chronicles will have a deep and manifold interest.

The International Exhibition now open emphatically recalls the world's attention to art, and, by striking associations, to some dark events of the last ten years. Our minds are carried back to the original Crystal Palace, then a new architectural wonder, hailed as a splendid symbol of the reign of Victoria and universal peace. Should man, now that he had built the glass house of the proverb, throw stones any more? Should not industry, empalaced more gloriously than Victoria herself, henceforth bear a quiet sway supreme?

"Her court was pure; her life serene;
God gave her peace; her land reposed;
A thousand claims to reverence closed
In her as mother, wife, and queen.

"She brought a great design to pass,
When Europe and our scattered ends
Of our fierce world were mixt as friends
And brethren in her halls of glass;

"And statesmen at her council met
Who knew the seasons, when to take
Occasion by the hand, and make
The bounds of freedom broader yet."

By the recent death of the Prince Consort, — one of the most active promoters of the World's Fair of 1851, and the originator of its international breadth of plan, — the queen is no longer wife; nor has her empire kept its repose, Europe its friendly peace, and the fierce world its brotherhood. After Tennyson's Ode to Victoria, just quoted, the next poem of his that we remember to have seen was the war-song of the Light Brigade at Balaklava. Still later, England was doing battle in India and China. And her statesmen, — have they, during three years past, met in council to seize occasion for enlarging the bounds of freedom in Italy, in Mexico, in the United States? No sharp questions need be asked, only the sad contrasts noted between the peaceful visions of poetry and the turbulent course of time. And so it will continue to be, in spite of commerce and art, in spite of World's Fairs and pacific queens, until Christianity has worked out the elevation and enfranchisement of every class, the extinction of every oligarchy, in this sense "putting down all rule and all authority and power." Oppression is chronic war, and alone leads to outbreaking war; and class privilege is chronic oppression. Not "the Empire," but a universal and enlightened democracy alone "is peace." When they intelligently rule everywhere whose pursuits and interests are those of peace, then, in Tennyson's words,

"the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law."

The Southern rebellion, and the attitude of Europe toward the United States, have much to do with manufactures and commerce, and these have everything to do with that aspect of art which is indicated in the title of this article, "Ornament in Nature and Art." Not the lighter graces only of Nature, not merely some frivolous appendages to man's work, are embraced in this topic. By ornament, as will hereafter be explained, we mean all in the properties and construction of any object which goes beyond its bare necessity, and is fitted to produce an agreeable effect, especially as related to other objects.

The economical relations of the subject render it one of great importance. Less than two years ago, nearly two millions of dollars were shipped in one day from New York for Europe, mostly to pay for beauty which might have been created at home, and which the Europeans have the wisdom to study in its application to the arts. To the specie annually shipped must be added all exports not of manufactured articles, and not counterbalanced by imports of food and raw material. The old proverb of the Continent has held true of us, after losing much of its force in respect to England, — "The stranger buys of the Englishman the skin of the fox for a groat, and sells him the tail for a shilling." The South and the West have borne to the Northeastern States very much the same relation which the whole country has sustained to other lands. Even an axe-helve, it is said, must go North to be manufactured, to receive its perfect curves and smooth finish from Yankee machinery. Proverbially, rocky New England is prosperous for the immediate reason that it is the work-shop of this continent; and it is such, not in view of its large manufacturing towns only, but because many a house, many a home, is a factory, — many a woman or child is a skilful artisan on her or his own account. Out of New England, Newark and Philadelphia, for example, are noble testimonies to the value of a multiplicity of arts, — in the latter city carried on to a great extent by capitalists of foreign birth, as well as by foreign workmen. What may not be hoped from these sources of wealth, when cities have been built on pins, fortunes accumulated on dolls' eyes, and states enriched by wooden toys?

The ornamental arts are still more significant in reference to the diffusion and increase of human happiness. The beauty of a work is more than half the joy of its production. Moreover, few persons can give much time to music, painting, and the like, while all are continually surrounded with that universal art which is civilization itself, in its materiality. Rising up and sitting down, at home or abroad, in the street or in the cultivated country, we can hardly see or touch anything that is not a piece of human art, and as such either truly or falsely designed, and well or ill finished. They whose life is mostly within doors are especially shut up to human work as their constant visible object of contemplation, entering largely into the formative influences that mould their character and the daily elements that make up their happiness, be they producers, as the most are, or only observers. Everything that pertains to a household, for example, is a work of art, not wonderful only because familiar. The princes of the Japanese embassy, while in New York, examined a large stock of hardware, and purchased nothing but a quantity of tin plates; had they been savages, they would even have decorated themselves with these plates. A tin cup is one of the humblest things that concern us; yet it is as truly an instance of ornamental design as a golden goblet; it has the fundamental elements of beauty; it exhibits the straight line, the circle, angles, the cylinder or cone, proportion, graduated light and shade, surface finish, and perhaps in its handle the infinite curves and infinite shadings which are the secret of most perfect beauty. The goblet has little more. A Scotch writer well remarks: "We are beginning to understand that art is not painting, is not sculpture, merely, but a much larger matter, embracing, with architecture as the mistress, every department of technic production, on the results of which æsthetic meaning may be impressed." For the sake of daily human enjoyment, therefore, we should educate ourselves rightly to produce, select, and enjoy that workmanship which is common. Not many can so much as see, still fewer can possess, the great works of man's hand, pictorial or sculptural; all may be environed with the beautiful.

The highest argument for the arts of design is more dis-

tinctly Christian. One of the grandest features of Christian civilization is an expansion of the former luxuries of the few into the comfort and blessing of the many. In nothing more strikingly than in this is the elevating and equalizing power of the Gospel shown. Imprudence and extravagance, into which the comparatively poor sometimes run, is but an incidental evil, that may well be overlooked in a most pious thankfulness at seeing a mechanic's home better carpeted and as well furnished in every way as were once the rooms of princes, and little less luxuriously than are now the houses of the rich. The silks and velvets of an industrious Irish girl, exchanged for the squalor of a Galway hut, or the rags of an immigrant's American shanty, and as costly as the dress of her mistress, are among the most manifest tokens of the kingdom come and coming. He who can see their bright hues fluttering along the street on a Sunday, and not feel like singing a metre of the seventy-second Psalm, is blind to the signs of "the latter-day glory." Furthermore, it is peculiarly Christian to find nobility and dignity in that which is common, such as the most ordinary appliances of civilized life, even as it is in the same spirit to love and exalt the poor and the outcast. One of the Prophets does not consider it beneath his theme to close his long, sublime message with an allusion to the commonest ornaments and utensils; he crowns his Messianic vision by saying, "In that day shall there be upon the bells of the horses Holiness to the Lord, and the pots of the Lord's house shall be like the bowls before the altar," — in other words, the least things shall not only be consecrated by the spirit of piety, but also (may we not add?) by the spirit of Divine beauty, investing the very pots of the kitchen with something of the grace that shapes the golden bowls of the altar, and harmonizing all external life with the moral glory of a reformed world, — symbolizing, too, the spirit of the Gospel, which magnifies the humble, and lifts up the degraded.

As already hinted, we have to rid ourselves of the thought that ornament is some gewgaw, some frippery, pinned on or nailed on something else, and which might as well be put off as put on. Many individuals, thus poorly apprehending it, despise the whole matter, except as it may connect itself with

trade. *Ornament*, and its intense derivative word *adorn*, originally mean to beautify, and embrace not only adjuncts, but all which exceeds the primary purpose and necessity of a thing, and is adapted to produce a pleasurable effect, especially of a relative sort. Throw together a mass of discolored materials, without order; if they be made to enclose a habitable space, protected from wind and rain, you have a house. But if the materials be put together with but the slightest reference to form, hue, or to appearance as involved in situation, the structure at once begins to partake of the ornamental. This quality attaches itself to whatever may be properly said to have shape, color, or place. Color and curve adorn a carved leaf; the leaf, a moulding; the moulding, a cornice; the cornice, a house; the house, a landscape; the landscape, a world; the world, a universe; yea, the whole universe is but a jewel on the finger of God. We grant that a distinction is to be made when form is thought of simply in respect to mechanical and scientific exigencies; but this distinction may be dropped, since there is such a thing as "functional beauty," and since all beauty springs from the root of use. All that rightly adorns, as will yet be shown, is a blossoming forth of essential nature, an outflash of essential being. In popular language, the distinction may also be dropped which limits the term *decoration* to adjuncts, and *embellishment* to finish.

It is evident, then, that ornament, in its worthiest sense, includes all beauty, namely, as regarded in certain relations; that it enters into the very idea of civilization, and of any cosmos, as opposed to chaos; that it is not this or that piece of superfluous finery stuck upon something and as well slipped off, but is a light and character in which all things may be considered. Manifestly the idea embraces all the art of nature and of man. We speak of ornature, and we think only of a rose-petal, or gold-leaf, or a marble tassel; but the greatest art-critic has wisely said, (we condense his language,) that "the only essential distinction between decorative and other art is the being fitted for a place, and in that place related to the effect of other pieces of art. The best sculpture yet produced has been the decoration of a temple-front, the best painting the decoration of a room. Raphael's best doing

is merely the wall-coloring of a suite of apartments, and his cartoons were made for tapestries. Titian and Veronese threw out their noblest thoughts, not even on the inside, but on the outside of the common brick and plaster walls of Venice."

We are partly prepared now to reply to certain objections and fallacies, — partly, inasmuch as the whole subject, as it often happens, is the full answer.

The most respectable prejudice against the ornamental arts is the would-be Biblical, — a strange one, for it runs counter to the economy of the Old Testament, and to the silence and the true spirit of the New. The most common temptation to excess of ornament is offered in dress, no doubt; and it is in this connection that the Bible utters an express caution. Yet we are encouraged to believe that God will much more clothe us than the martagon lily, the royally scarlet petals of which are so reflexed into an Oriental turban, or the arches of a modern crown, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed as splendidly. It may be urged that all decoration is none the less enfiladed by the apostolic warning, to wit, that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with sobriety; not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array. We reply, that it is a precept to *adorn*, not the contrary, and that it regulates only the spirit of adornment. Taken, as all Scripture should be taken, not narrowly in the letter, but broadly in the spirit, it is aimed, not at nature's own gold and pearls, but at extravagance, vanity, frivolity; the precious substances named being rather the glowing imagery than the object of the Apostle's thought, and perhaps the Asiatic imagination creating both the peculiar need and the language of the caution. If here, as elsewhere, the Apostle's diction was richly broidered, even when he was discoursing of temperance in dress, much more would the "weaker vessels" be tempted to magnificence of attire. The most abject literalist must at last confess that long hair is as obviously fit to be plaited as silk is to be woven, and that pearls and gold were meant to be ornamental; and that these are no more to be wholly cut off and discarded, than the right hand is literally to be cut off, or the coat formally surrendered when the cloak is taken away.

It is very significant that the New Testament simply restrains one class of persons, and that in respect only to personal use of the arts of decoration.

Another victim of the same prejudice is the religious temple. But if the truths, that God is to be worshipped in spirit and everywhere, and that man is the true temple, forbid the costly and beautiful in Christian architecture, with equal force these truths prohibit the plainest house of prayer. The spirituality of Christianity is the antithesis simply of evil passions, and heartless religion, and a low morality; its simplicity is not opposed to complexity of art and of thought, but to guile and false philosophy. The high qualities mentioned are, in fact, antagonistic to this mole-eyed interpretation, which would belittle and materialize the Scriptures into teaching a gospel, not of Christian life, but of architecture poor in spirit, of humble steeples, of meek carpets, of mournful coats, of penitent bonnets, and, if possible, of faded roses, and songless birds. The final reign of Christianity is rather pictured in all the magnificence of a city walled with jewels; and "they shall bring the glory and honor of the nations into it," not exclude that glory and honor.

In the name of religion or morality, still other objections are brought, such as, that life is too brief and solemn for the arts of beauty, and that works of duty and charity demand all our time and resources. But is life too short and serious, are duty and charity too exacting, for the great multitude of laborers to earn their bread by work that is and must be decorative in no small degree? — to earn it, too, in the spirit of a dull, mechanical task, producing false and lifeless art, whereas, if they and others were to give thought and heart to the subject, their toil might be education and joy to them, to all? True seriousness, true benevolence, should not overlook considerations so palpable and weighty. To a like plausible fallacy, that the arts of embellishment lead to corruption of manners and of faith, we reserve a reply, only remarking that Christianity inspires to high civilization, and its ecclesiastical annals point to enough clear causes of its debasement without numbering the arts among them, — only repeating, also, the sentiment of the great reformer of corrupt faith, that Satan should not have all the good music.

The exception taken in the name of beauty itself is more subtile, namely, that beauty unadorned is adorned the most, an adage which every artist, every woman, knows to be false, except as it goes against ill-judged ornament. There is no line nor tint the loveliness of which is not dependent on accessories, and may not be enhanced by a studied disposition of the same. But, granting the literal truth of the proverb, to what does beauty owe its beauty if not to its own ornate qualities?

We hardly need pause to notice other fallacies, such as those which assume the name of simplicity, economy, utility. The human body, the most glorious of all visible objects, is a living answer; nothing is more truly simple, economical, useful; nothing more exquisitely beautified by the hand of God, — every detail of beauty growing out of utility, indeed. A scarecrow is not the ideal of simplicity, the genius of starvation is not that of economy, and utility is not mere bread and butter. All possible prejudice in this matter of ornament is a setting up of the false against the true, or a lower good against a higher, and is to be excused only so far as it is excited by meretricious display.

To treat with disdain the idea of ornament, to depreciate it, is a curling of the lip at the universe itself. It is, in fact, the distorting of a feature of the face, which, like every other feature, is not squared nor rounded by gross simplicity, not left colorless or neutral in tint, not projected on the mechanical principles of low economy and utility, but is a wonderful complication of every flowing line and graduated shade of beauty, and tinged with all depths of red, from the carnation of the high light to the dark crimson of the shadow, as if Nature had spent all her art in its ornamentation, — that is to say, if, in the presumed instance, the feature be well formed; if badly shapen, it is not to be supposed that a deformity would be thrust into notice even to express contempt, so that the very act, if ventured on, is a virtual surrender of the question.

The universe, every inch of it, is enriched with the most finished and prodigal adorning, — every atom, if we descend into the microscopic world. If we accept the received opin-

ion that external nature was degraded and disordered by the first shock of human sin, or that it was from the beginning conformed to a prospective history of sin and death, still whatever significance nature has in this direction must be regarded as an expressiveness finely worked out in every detail by Divine art; so that each seeming instance of earth's imperfection and woe, pointing to man's, is at the worst but as the beautiful inverted torch sculptured on tombs, or the broken column or broken flower, carefully designed as such by the sculptor, for sepulchral monument and tablet. There are other reasons, however, without overstraining the one now mentioned, why there seems to be some lack or discord in the garniture of nature; and every reason implies an exceeding appreciation of beauty in the mind of the Creator, not an undervaluation of it at all; so that, in this world of thorns and thistles, out of the very nettle — supposed neglect — we pluck the flower of beauty.

Is there, in nature, that which we call desolation? It will be found a finished picture, so intricate that no artist can copy it all. The most barren rock, the bleakest coast, is an infinite mystery of charming form and color. Nature so loves ornament that she drapes and embroiders ruin itself, and stains it with her mellowest hues, often her richest; she makes haste, indeed, to throw over the crumbling works of man a pall of mossy velvet and gold. Are there great blanks, as we deem them, of bark and body, of cliff, plain, and sea? Here and there power is to be shown in sublime masses, and therefore the surface as distantly seen is not to be broken up; yet those masses are full of charming detail, every part of them is costly mosaic. Further, there is a unity in creation, which, like all unity, is of things similar, — in a sense monotonous, — as in the waves and colors of the sea, the leaves and colors of a landscape; and that unity is a heightening, not a lowering, of beauty; there is no true variety even but in such unity. Is there, nevertheless, much quietness in the general effects of nature, and in many individual effects? Chasteness and sobriety are not the absence of embellishment, rather a manner of it; the absence is poverty and dead vacancy, abhorrent to nature. This character, also, disappears on close

examination; the homeliest sparrow, no less than a bird of paradise, is a wonder of color in every feather and of grace in every filament; the quiet sky, in every point of its space, is living and delectable color, and the whole is arched and graduated in tint, in every part; a dull November or March landscape, to those who have learned to see, is a marvel of exquisite grays, purples, and browns, as well as a wonderful net-work of naked stems.

But, is it said, thus are actual, shapeless blotches on almost everything? They are often necessary, as Ruskin observes, to show the loveliness of color, which is best seen when separated from form; as, for example, when dashed across the plumage of birds, without regard to the shape or direction of the feathers. Is it affirmed that there is positive inferiority in many created things? It is an inferiority in degrees of beauty, rather than absence of the quality; and the reasons for it exalt the quality, instead of cheapening it. In those animals, and other objects, which symbolize to us the appetites and passions, or the unpleasant realities of life, there should be fewer elements of the agreeable, as the same author has remarked; and, as he well argues, all things that are inferior in office, likewise, would degrade beauty if largely endowed with it. Of this class, for example, are nature's scavengers. But the glorious reason is, that, by degrees of the beautiful, God would teach us the very idea, unrecognized if all things were equally lovely: by degrees, as by a stairway, he would invite, incite, and lead us upward in the knowledge and reproduction of the beautiful.

For the rest, admitting that the Creator always illustrates in his own work the great law of moderation, it may be affirmed that the world is the very perfection of beauty, viewed as consistent with the moral and other ends proposed in its constitution. His work cannot but be perfect, for its purpose. When any man has exhausted Nature, has done more than to recombine her glories in his imaginings, has conceived something different and better, then may there be reason to talk of a physical perfection not to be found in her. It may even be asserted, that, if the visible creation had been formed for beauty alone, it would not have been made other

than it is, certainly not as the first stage of our existence. We have no reason to believe that the physical elements of heaven itself are not all present in this scene of being, differently combined. And for all that seems exceptional in this scene, our argument has still one reserved thought; it is that Nature may designedly indulge in what are called her "rests and monotones," may even interpose discords to emphasize the very harmonies of her loveliness and grandeur.

Let it be repeated, therefore, that every inch of the universe is enriched with the most finished and prodigal adorning possible, under any given circumstances. Flowers and sunsets are not exceptions; lavish beauty and delicate detail are the rule. If we look at plain granite, it is as if its variant mixtures of white, black, and rose crystals were the one thing worth attending to; and yet the globe is a cabinet of minerals endlessly diverse. If we glance at leaves, — the sober accompaniments of blossoming snow and ripened sunshine, — it is as if the mere notching of leaves were the one matter of great importance in Nature's estimation; yet there are twelve hundred varieties of the lily tribe to be looked after, to say nothing of a hundred thousand species of plants. If we turn to the animal world, it is as if all things were to be neglected rather than the polishing and gilding of a poor beetle's wings; yet there are eighty thousand known species of insects, not to mention two hundred and fifty thousand kinds of animals. Moreover, not one individual rock, plant, animal, not one foot of land, wave of sea, film of cloud, is to be slighted. So it is, from the gorgeous tropics to the sable and eider, the bergs and auroras of the arctic, misnamed desolate; and from the sparry depths of caves, and coral abysses of the ocean, to the moss on the purple mountain-tops. Nor is anything too prosaic in its uses to be wholly untouched with beauty; not a tooth but must be of carved ivory. Nor is anything too perishable to be worthy of precious ornature; the bloom that endures but for a night, is painted as if to last forever. Nothing is too evanescent to receive the finest touches of grace; surf and vapor are as perfect as if they were not to change instantly and glide away. Nothing is too far out of man's sight to be elaborately finished; every berry of the wilderness or

prism of the sealed rock is carefully manipulated as if for a world's fair. Nor is it enough that Nature's decorations are beautiful; they overflow the brim of beauty often, and run into the quaint, the grotesque, the grand, as if through mere excess of decorative fancy and energy; the ornamental smile of creation broadens into humor, and even into what may be termed the playful-terrible.

And all these original phenomena of things are not enough; every transformation by man's hand brings forth some hidden tissue, or graining, or coloring; the very tints and lustres of our daily food might well so ravish the sight as to stay the appetite. Nay, exuberant Nature is not satisfied when man changes her from glory to glory; she is ever attiring herself anew in every growth and process. The seasons bring each its wonders, and together they continually turn that mighty prism of the year which successively tinges a zone with the delicate azure of snow, the tender green of spring, the gold of harvest, the fiery reds of autumn, thus throwing upon the earth in regular order the most observable hues of the solar spectrum. To crown all, night and day, reflection and shadow and breeze, are forever playing with shape and tint, so that the tuft of cherry-leaves nodding at your window is a little universe of ever-varying and numberless curves and colors and lights, not content with its own opaque green, but momently borrowing shade from the earth, mellow brown from the adjacent building, warm glow from transparency, sheen from sunshine, and many a touch of far-brought cool blue from the sky. In truth, so changeful are the aspects of sea and sky, that, every instant, we have everywhere a new universe, revealing itself suddenly, and then vanishing, never precisely to reappear. If there be any place where they would find a fit home, who disparage the beautiful and ornate, it is a desert of sand; yet even there every grain of sand is a jewel, the mirage glimmers like a dream of Eden, the sky at morning and evening makes itself royal; even there the Artesian well they must sink would overflow the sands with emerald, the corn they must plant would wave its purple plumes, and trees would spring into arches and crowns.

Nature further pleads for the arts of embellishment in the

voice of human instinct. It cannot be said that, while it is well for Omnipotence to adorn, it is not for man to do his best, or to do much, in this line of effort. God himself has fired the soul with unquenchable activities in the direction of the beautiful. It is a well-proven fact, that the first thought of the untutored savage is to decorate himself, his instruments, and his rude shelter. In the order of nature the ornamental comes before the useful. Every step of civilization is an advance in the same order; the high-backed, stately carved chair, comes before the luxurious fauteuil. Instinct is on the side of embellishment; and so, too, is that great natural law in vindication of which the gravest and most reverend authorities might be cited, showing how closely the elegances of life are connected with manners and morals. Passing by this tempting branch of the subject, let it only be observed that the earth is receiving modifications on a stupendous scale, by the sciences and machineries of this century; and the question left to us is, shall man replace and reproduce natural beauty in his works, or displace and destroy? Shall he make or mar?

By way of giving a more practical turn to the subject, and further illustrating it, a few of the many principles of ornamentation may be added. In the absence of any work, within our reach or knowledge, that is both systematic and exhaustive in respect to such principles, we can only gather a few of them here and there, mostly from the voluminous writings of Ruskin.

First, as to form and color. In the words of the author just named, "the first necessity of beauty in color is gradation, as the first necessity of beauty of line is curvature; the second necessity in color is mystery and subtilty, as the second necessity of line is softness." He adds, "The finer the eye for color, the less it will require to gratify it intensely." These remarks are founded in deep philosophy. The flowing line, the shaded delicate or indescribable tint, or combination of tints, involve that grand law of beauty, proportion, and that grander law, infinity, the attribute of the God of whose being beauty is the reflex. In nature, it has been noticed, there are few straight lines, or even regular curves, still fewer raw or unrefined

colors; and many things that seem to have these qualities will be found to have them only in a comparative degree. Owen Jones lays down the principle, that the straight line, the inclined, and the circle, are to be combined always to balance one another, — that is, we suppose, when any one of these elements is so present as to give character to a composition; and he further decides that all junctions of curves with curves or with straight lines should be tangential. But there is no space here to give in detail the principles of ornamental composition, nor so much as to enter upon the complicated and interesting subject of color, one of the most neglected or else most misunderstood of all arts.

The next and most commanding principle is that decoration should grow out of the mass, and be expressive of function, whenever this is possible. Use should be the root, ornament the branch and bloom. Thus the original projections of rafter and tie-beam, afterward cut in stone, became the distinguishing features of the Grecian cornice; the feet of Egyptian chairs, in fanciful reference to their use, were carved as lion's paws. It is the manner of Nature. Every undulation of the body is founded on some hidden muscle or bone. The human ear, because the beautiful shape is allied to the function of the ear, is wrought into a sea-shell; the eyelashes, necessary to protect the eye, are a fringed curtain, admirable for beauty as well as in office. In art, the happiest lines are often positively necessitated by use, not merely suggested thereby, as in the form of a scythe-handle, a ploughshare, a ship. The associations of use, likewise, may govern the embellishment, as in the marine figures of a fountain. Above all, the entire shape of a thing should spring from its central idea, its heart. The farm-house, according to the doctrine of architectural books, has its centre and heart in the great farm laboratory, the kitchen, and around this apartment and its adjuncts should be grouped all parts of the house. This heart of a thing, as well as the living spirit and inner necessity that breathe in all true form and decoration, justifies an accommodated use which has been made of the words, "Whose adorning, let it not be that outward adorning, but let it be the hidden man of the *heart*." Thus would unity of design be secured, no less than expressiveness.

A third principle is, that ornament may be conventional, or must be so under certain circumstances and conditions. This conventionality, at which a semi-educated taste sometimes revolts, is not altogether unnatural and sophisticated. It is affirmed that ornament in the early and purest ages of art is always conventional. A child's first attempts at drawing are in the conventional or abstract style, however rude. An irregular circle, with a smaller circle superimposed, two lateral straight lines and two descending ones projecting from the lower circle, and two dots placed in the upper, that is a child's abstract picture of a man; and there is more wisdom in it than we think. Nature cannot, or should not, always be followed closely in art. Material forbids it, as in the sculpturing of waves or delicate flowers; the general effect may be given, but anything more is either a failure or a piece of trickery that denies the material. Wall-paper may give suggestions of foliage, not close imitations, which the materials and process preclude; blue leaves of unexampled form, connected by impossible branches, are a wise confession of inability, and of a purpose, limited by conditions, only to hang pleasing color on a tracery of hinted vegetation. Position often forbids; for instance, where a high or an obscure place renders everything invisible but a rough outline; or where a flat surface demands flat patterns: the flowers and other figures of a carpet should not be so perfectly wrought that we are led to believe ourselves crushing down flowers at every step, or walking on a prostrate trellis. Office, again, prohibits a too naturalistic method. Beauty should not be degraded by too nice detail in the embellishment of a barn or a gross utensil. So also color may call for conventionality. In drapery, the prominence of the idea of color, as well as the flowing and folding of the material, protest against a close imitation of nature in the forms and colors of the figure. In general, the more perfect the form, where the form is advantageously seen, the less perfect should be the color. Geometric patterns may be very vivid; a vine in outline less so; a vine in sculptured relief should be left as simple marble or wood; it would belie nature and itself if stained, whether or not in natural hues. Conventionality is further recommended by the subordination of

parts to a whole; by the nature of some ornamentation as mere signs and symbols; by the perishableness of certain substances as material for human work; by the personal use of the decoration; and by the repetitious character of the figure, the repetition demanding a less amount of organic form, a lower grade of it, and a slighter degree of realization. Such are some of the eternal laws of fitness that regulate even the patterns of calico.

A fourth principle is honesty. All falsehoods and shams ought to be avoided. The innocent lie is the worst, in effect if not in intention, because the most common, the most insinuating, the least observed, and the least excused by temptation, whereas the black and malicious lie is at once detected and abhorred. The world is continually in danger of being frozen and buried under a snow-fall of soft white lies, sifting in at every crevice, blinding every eye, covering up all truth, and smothering all life. Painted imitations of wood and stone are enough to mention as illustrations. There are exceptions to the general rule, doubtless, that could be justified by worthy reasons; gilding is thought to be an instance, since it is gold, and does not pretend to be solid.

Another law of ornament is, that it should not be largely associated with scenes of care and toil, such as factories, shops, stores, nor with anything disagreeable. We have seen a drug-store more expensively and elegantly fitted up with cabinets of carved wood, than possibly any private library in the world. The more beautiful the work and material, the more objectionable it is in such use, because associated with that which is not only prosaic, but unpleasant. Just indignation has been expressed at the use of the choicest Greek mouldings in dry-goods shops, where they are common, cheap, and out of place. The rule applies to dress, furniture, and implement, as well as to building. Decoration, the more so if it be precious, is for scenes of rest, — home, the house of prayer, the place of pleasure, — wherever we have leisure to enjoy it, and delightful or lofty thoughts to link with it, unmingled with trouble and weariness. Moreover, sights have the effect of sounds; we want the beautiful to talk to us when we can listen; we do not want the noise of much form, color, gilding, added to the

buzz of business and the clatter of work, particularly if the style of decoration be what is well called stunning. But we cannot agree with Ruskin that the appurtenances of railroads should be divested of all pleasant art; there is enough of waiting and rest, recreation and poetry, in railway travelling to justify the ornamentation of stations and cars.

A sixth rule is temperance and repose. Children, whenever they begin to play, proverbially never know when to stop. So with that lively child, Fancy. God and Nature have set us a wise example, even in the richest natural effects. Freedom is glorious, but is glorious chiefly because it enters into the idea of self-restraint. There are occasions, however, when man can hardly run to an extreme in a true, not false, ornature. Home should be made as visibly pleasant as possible. Public buildings, representing the collective wealth and wisdom of a community, can hardly be too excellent. The church edifice calls especially for the spirit of sacrifice in costly material and labor. What can be more admirable, for example, than the broad, high-reaching, highly sculptured front entrance of the old Gothic churches, throwing wide a passage to all mankind, inviting all with profuse beckonings of beauty, and lifting up the arch for the King of Glory himself to come in! To him were brought the gold and frankincense, to him the precious box of alabaster. If his simple spirit and polity are sometimes buried under a needless pride and ostentation, it is better that riches be so expended than directly on self. "He made his *grave* with the rich."

To this enumeration of a few general principles, a fitting rear-guard may be found in the rule that all ornament should be inspired by the study of Nature, and regulated by her immutable laws, though not always a literal copying of her forms. It should convey as much natural truth as possible, consistently with its principles. To this end, each nation should draw from the storehouse of its own familiar scenery.

> "O thou sculptor, painter, poet!
> Take this lesson to thy heart:
> That is best which lieth nearest;
> Shape from that thy work of art."

The Egyptians built their pillars in the forms of the lotus, the

bulrush, the papyrus, and the palm. The Greeks adopted their own acanthus and honeysuckle. The Gothic workers selected the oak, ivy, fern, and even the common dock and parsley. It has been well argued that all debasement of art, and all enervation of character in connection with the fine arts, have been through want of sympathy with and adherence to Nature. Certainly both man and his work must be invigorated and ennobled by communion with Nature, and by reproduction of her truths, her freshness, and her loveliness. In this way — this one of the "Two Paths" — ornament would never become

> "but the gilded shore
> To a most dangerous sea; the beauteous scarf
> Veiling an Indian beauty; in a word,
> The seeming truth which cunning times put on
> To entrap the wisest."

Every child, every youth, should learn to draw directly from nature, beginning, it may be, with a turnip, seldom copying pictures, never copying them if they are not by the great masters of pictorial truth. The visible results of right practice might be little, and worth little; fond parents might not be able to point visitors to monstrosities framed in gold, and very admirable in the obsolete sense of the word; but the invisible results of earnest pursuit of the right method would be sublime, — new eyes received, a vast, new world of nature and art revealed, and pure healthfulness of taste and soul inspired. Ruskin's "Elements of Drawing" goes far to supply the needed guide, but unfortunately refers the student to many things beyond his reach, if not beyond his pecuniary ability also; and the study of the human figure, recommended by this author as indispensable to excellence and purity in all art, ornamental or more technically fine, requires other manuals. In every institution of learning, the arts of design, especially of decoration, should be taught, both theoretically and practically. Many persons might find pecuniary profit in design; many are themselves destined to be artisans; many more would have some direct influence on mechanics and manufacturers; all would be disciplined, would be educated in that most fundamental of all respects, the knowledge of things in distinction from other men's thoughts about things;

and all would help to create a right supply in the market, by becoming discreet purchasers, and would aid in many ways the development of that feeling for art which is half the prosperity of any nation.

We have mostly adhered to the common and narrow acceptation of the word *ornament* in stating the above principles. Of course it would be impossible within the limits of this article to attempt a statement of the more frequently discussed principles of those high arts which, as we have seen, are ornamental in their original idea and application.

There is ample need of a wider and profounder attention to this whole subject than has ever yet been given; great need of a systematic, popular, and exhaustive treatise. Other errors may often be impenetrable, but bad taste is easily shamed out of countenance by holding up to it the mirror of nature. If we were to sum up the greatest and most common violations of the principles of beauty in this land, we should mention cheap extravagance, cheap falsehood, baldness, squareness, and imitative monotony, relieved only by occasional foolish novelty. We are cheap; we build, make, buy, for the hour, not for permanence. We are, nevertheless, often extravagant and barbarous in taste; gilding everything to excess, and thus depreciating the preciousness of golden effect; making small carpets with figures designed for the great halls of the Tuileries, — glaring colors, and roses as large as cabbages; dresses with spread-eagle patterns; marble stores like palaces, even furnished with ebony inlaid with mock-gold. We are false; — every door, wall, pail, grained or marbled, to the obliteration of the truer and more beautiful graining of nature; every ceiling stuccoed; the interior of churches covered with trickeries of form and color; and, until recently, all furniture veneered, whereas our native woods are abundantly varied and rich. We are most unnaturally bare and square; — the men cut and patterned into angles and straight lines, from the top of the hat to the toe of the boot; the women striped and plaided; crockery inclining to be angular; every house an exact cube or parallelopiped; windows alike and square, and set at regular intervals, not combined, or varied, or projected; the outer walls blank, with no hint of inner

construction ; the building and blinds raw in color ; the village street forbidden to wind gracefully up and down, hither and thither, but ambitious to be city-like, and graded into eternal levels, and crossing at everlasting right-angles. We are fashionably monotonous and fickle ; — all buildings copies of one another, without regard to owner and use, so that a man hardly knows whether he is entering his neighbor's house or his own, — if not copied full size, then in miniature, like a martin-cage ; all furniture and dress aspiringly and drearily alike, — if not costly, then cheaply imitative. When the style of anything changes, the entire nation hastens to follow, pellmell.

The unsettled problems of the subject, such as the claims of styles, their application to newly-used material, and the merits of hand-work as opposed to that of machinery, must be left untouched, with the single remark, that it seems unwise and useless to bemoan the present confusion of styles, instead of accepting it as either a step-stone or cap-stone to the cosmopolitan character the human race is rapidly assuming. Nor is it in our way now to follow the topic up into the impalpable region of language and music.

The marrow and soul of ornament would be lost to us, however, if we were to overlook its sentiment and significance. By this is intended something more than the analogy between the finished graces of art and those of character ; — the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, the cherished parental instruction worn as an ornament of grace unto the head and chains about the neck, the wisdom that is as rubies and jewels of fine gold, — these are the realities of which material adornment is the shadow and figure. Nor do we refer to the truth that all ornament is language, and that many ideas and feelings may be conveyed by it, general and specific. The sentiment and meaning of it all, we think, may be summed up in one bright word, — joy, — the joy of life, of superabounding vitality, faculty, power, resource, divine and human, which not only work, but work with will and pleasure, rejoicing and playing over the work, not driven by stern necessity to a labor that looks only to bare necessity and barren utility. To all who have eyes to see, ornament in nature and art is a gospel, — glad tidings of mighty life and inexhaustible resource, in a

word, of infinity, speaking forth in all the work of God and of man, and saying, "I can not only make, I can adorn, and all shall be to me but happy play, my work my joy," and straightway leaping and sparkling into ornament as the fulness of the sea breaks into crests of foam. In this there is perhaps an affirmation and revelation of the immortal superiority of the spiritual to the material, so that even a bit of embroidery or the streak of an apple may be an evangel of all that which Christianity teaches in common with natural religion, not omitting the priceless worth and equal rights of the individual man.

Such would be a popular statement of the truth. But the ornamental enters into the very idea of life and of a universe, not alone into the idea of abounding life. Shall we look more deeply into the matter, at the risk of being misty or mystical? Life, in its simplest aspect, is defined by Guyot as "a mutual exchange of relations," and he finds it in "the lively actions and reactions, the perpetual play of the forces of matter," — "its incessant and prodigious activity," — no less than within the narrower limits of animal and vegetable organism. No thought has been to us so fruitful, none has led to so clear a perception of the essential unity of all great ideas, as well as the correspondence between all departments of being. Indeed, the thought seems to be wrapped up in the derivation of the very word *universe*. The definition applies to and explains all manner of life, intellectual, social, commercial, moral, Christian, no less than cosmical. But the point is, that life consists in exchange, in action and reaction. And it is evident to all observers that life and beauty most abound together. Where chemical life acts with greatest intensity in mineral elements, there the crystal is born and multiplied in its highest perfection. Where light and heat are most powerfully present, in connection with all vegetable constituents, there are luxuriance and bloom and wealth of color. Where all modes of life, spiritual and other, meet in man, there is the crown of natural forms; and most lovely when the overflowing vitality of childhood is yet unexpended. The reason is this: the beauty of a line or color depends on its purity, and purity is synonymous with energy, as Ruskin has shown. It is the presence of weakness, decay, death, that deform and discolor, or simply neutralize all glow and shapeli-

ness. The vigorous tree is perfect; the flowing stream — well called "living" — is pure and sparkling. This energy that purifies, perfects, beautifies, is life, for life is an interplay of energies. Life, then, of necessity evolves beauty; and its free, right interactions, without disorder or obstruction, are joy itself, — "the oil of joy" as it were, so smooth and pleasurable is the normal movement of all spiritual and physical machinery. Hence the great import of the words "eternal life," as expressive of blessedness, and the phrase "beauty of holiness," that is to say, the beauty of wholeness and health, for the three words have a common root. It is the beauty of a complete being that evolves pure, and therefore beautiful, moral colors and lines and lights, and even physical, by the force of its living and unswerving energies, the parts acting well together, and the whole in harmonious working with other beings and external objects. Moreover, since fancy and imagination are the powers most prominent in ornamentation, it is in ornament especially that we feel the presence of a free, spontaneous, and thus happy, activity or life; for imagination and fancy are the very faculties which, in our experience, work most easily, untiringly, involuntarily; these are the faculties that are awake in sleep, needing not the repose that other powers of the mind demand; the working of these we most often designate as play. Because the involuntary right action of all its powers, even of the "will" itself, expresses the soul's perfect state, therefore it is in the production of the beautiful — largely due to self-acting and tireless fancy — that we may best behold the ideas of joy, purity, energy, life. It is well called "creative" work, even when human; it is such in its divine happiness and pure vital power, as well as in reference to the results it originates. And here we might add, that there is indeed an evil energy, a false joy and beauty, in the realm of art as in that of morals; but it is disordered power, often more intense in its brief abnormal activity than is regulated power; and it is a wondrous confirmation of the foregoing remarks, that even then, as vital energy, it must produce at least a semblance of joy and beauty, — the joy of delirium and the beauty of death.

Ornamental art smiles to us in every playful line and cheerful color; we have attempted to explain why. With the

happy life inherent in art are mingled other joys; — gladness in the infinite gradations and boundless variations of curve, color, and shading; gladness that sympathizes with the workman's pleasant work and success; gladness that throbs in unison with the life of nature suggested in decoration, the delight of fellow-feeling with God's rejoicing creatures; the happiness also of living over the past as recorded in man's work, and being thrilled with the struggles, hopes, and pleasures of ages gone by; the happiness, above all, of co-working with the Spirit who, as the all-indwelling life, garnished the heavens and the earth, and conspiring with and emulating the Lord of the old and the new creation; the happiness, finally, of that reconciled conscience and purified heart without which we are insensible to the beauty of beauty, without which the loveliest forms are discords and accusing witnesses, and the gold of heaven would be dim.

But as all things have their sweetest beginning and ending in love, so has this subject. The life that breathes in works of beauty, like all vitality, is love; for life, according to the definition above given, is a mutual exchange, a giving and taking, and that is love. "And all that life is love," sings the hymn, more profound than its intention. The lowest life — the chemical — works by affinities; much more each higher. All this aside, however, it is the beautiful that is chosen for the gifts of friendship; and there is in all beautiful production an affection that learns all its wisdom and skill through loving regard to nature, that toils for the sake of some who are dear, that beautifies only when it fondly lingers and plays over its work like sunshine on the mountains, and that does all, or should do all, as an adoring service and sacrifice to the God of beauty, the infinite love. A gospel of love, no less than of life, may be found in all that is ornamental in human effort, while in the delicate beauty of nature there is superadded the truth of Divine grace, the more signal because mingled with judgment. In every dainty flower the gentleness of God would arrest the feet of indifference and recklessness, in every wavy outline of a landscape his tenderness writes itself, in every touch of light and every bright color his mercy smiles, and in every harmless and graceful creature he plays with his children of filial heart.

ART. III. — 1. *History of Western Massachusetts; the Counties of Hampden, Hampshire, Franklin, and Berkshire; embracing an Outline, or General History, of the Section, an Account of its Scientific Aspects and Leading Interests, and Separate Histories of its One Hundred Towns.* Springfield: Samuel Bowles & Co. 1855.

2. *The Bay-Path: a Tale of New England Colonial Life.* New York: George P. Putnam & Co. 1857.

3. *Timothy Titcomb's Letters to Young People: Single and Married.* New York: Charles Scribner. 1858.

4. *Bitter-Sweet: a Poem.* New York: Charles Scribner. 1859.

5. *Gold-Foil, hammered from Popular Proverbs.* New York: Charles Scribner. 1859.

6. *Miss Gilbert's Career: an American Story.* New York: Charles Scribner. 1860.

7. *Lessons in Life: a Series of Familiar Essays.* New York: Charles Scribner. 1861.

THE propensity to be a reformer was not more native to the American character of a few generations ago, than to the character of other nations in the world; it has secured its present hold by indulgence and encouragement, and by having at last found its way into that tide of hereditary transmission which holds in solution, and from time to time precipitates, such specialities as the Bourbon and Hapsburg shapes of face, and the Douglas truth and tenderness. The Spaniards, wise and thoughtful, — as most lazy fellows are, — distinguish, quietly and gravely, (with cigar between the lips,) *being* as a continuous, dignified state, from *being* as some active, determinate condition; and to this they give the verb *estar*, to that *ser*. Now the momentary disposition to change, as something we think better catches the eye, becomes, when lengthened out into habit, the idiosyncrasy of the reformer; and this is the character of a large number of our free-speaking and fast-thinking people. The most active of these let the beard grow, brush back the hair from the forehead, and have *Missions;* and the rest of the reforming part of this race, also brushing

back the hair and letting the beard grow, believe in *Progress*, and follow their leaders so long as their leaders go.

Opinion is puffed into one's face, in the street, from both sides, oftener than whiffs of tobacco-smoke. "I guess" are the try-words of the American baby, making his way into the machinery of the self-rocking cradle; and the beneficent Central-American halter chokes close behind the inaugural "I reckon," in the throat of the Yankee* Filibuster, who has been plunging for once too far into the midst of foreign institutions. To have an opinion, and after having it to utter it, is as necessary to Americans as to have and use an inquisitive weapon, such as a penknife, or iron nail, or at least a pin. It could hardly be otherwise, since every man votes, and since every lawgiver (and, unhappily, in a large part of the country, every law-handler) and every great question, political, industrial, financial, and educational, is set straight up before everybody's vote, to stand or fall by the majority of ballots. The young, and the still younger men, down to those who are just learning to thrust their determined feet through the legs of trousers, are not, to be sure, voters, but they are growing up to be voters, and they practise incessantly in the utterance of opinions, as the Lacedæmonian boys used to practise with bows and arrows.

The general feeling has been (at least while our land was whole) that this country is to show the way and to teach reform, wherever, in governing or achieving, reform is needed, or a way is to be shown. Some one, and an American, is to find out and proclaim; and therefore all must be up and doing. Americans must always be hitting somewhere, and hacking at something. Incessant use of sharp tools has made the youth of this country daring and skilful; but it has made them also the most annoying race to slip in front of, or to sleep in front of, or to do anything of one's own in front of, that can be found by travellers on sea or land, except — (the exceptions, too, are to be found in our own country, but we will not just now find them).

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* This is written in our old way of regarding Southerners as members of the great nation known to the world abroad as Yankees.

Happily, for a people of such born and taught reformers, it is a matter of necessity that they should bear with one another, after some sort, and make mutual room for the escaping idea; and so they do, sometimes very wonderfully. The old horny-handed cooper, for example, whose fingers, when little, were first pricked in his father's work-shop with splinters of puncheon-staves that, a long half-century ago, walled in a sea of madness and Lethe, lends his ear, indulgently, among the newly-landed hogsheads, to the urchin-vagabond who is stealing the molasses with a straw; the statesman, if there yet linger one in public life where he finds little occasion and less welcome, — or, in fault of a statesman, the eminent politician, — stands, meekly to recite to one or many conceited know-nothings from among his constituents; and the well-taught and deep-thinking divine turns a placid, pale cheek to any long-winded layman who feels able and willing to tell him the true meaning of Holy Scripture, and who does tell it to him, so far as there is time to go, with the same readiness with which he affirms, from behind his counter, the quality and first cost of his goods.

In short, Americans in general tolerate, and the most thoughtful and best-taught helplessly submit to, the self-assertion of their countrymen against all and singular. From such a people, to be sure, the ingenuous blush of old-time modesty has necessarily gone as thoroughly and hopelessly as the fair sky-hues from the lift of London or of Pittsburg, and reverence has dwindled to some such vestigial portion in the American man as the eyes of underground fishes; but, on the other hand, a mutual tolerance and indulgence which are truly wonderful qualify, in a hopeful way, the mischief that would, without them, far more largely come of the untying and unmuzzling of the individual in this country. Two members of a herd, pushing each other by the head and front, will sometimes each give way in turn; will now and then both unlock their opposing horns and withdraw a little; will by and by again set their broad brows together, and in this way will long strive with each other, and take turns in yielding, for mere sport; although, when they are more in earnest, the one bears the other by main strength backward, until the

weaker gives up the struggle. If more evenly matched, each will gain or lose, according as one or the other, while they move about the field, gets the advantage of the ground, or puts forth more sudden might. Much in the same way do our guessers and calculators in holding and giving out their opinions. They are not always in earnest at first; they are not always in earnest at all; although if they are so, then the stronger must overcome, even if it seem that, in the end, the earth is to be smothered in ashes or drowned in blood. Meantime, an opinion, in this country, until it is opposed, goes, with all whose prejudices or whose interest may not be touched by it, for the received opinion; nor does it lose its credit till it is overborne by strength. For one reason or other, — either indifference or a feeling that the sacredness of opinion is to be kept up for the sake of everybody's chance with it, (generally owing to a mixture of the two,) — every American feels bound to indulge every other American in the utterance of opinion.

The seeming encouragement, however, is no encouragement, nor even a kindly indulgence, for the most part; it is simply a toleration. Whenever there has been motive enough for the making of a party, a party has been made, either of the great American people against the world, or else of one set of the people against another set; and whenever parties have been formed, then individuals are no more encouraged to assert themselves, than some one hair of the head has leave to assert itself against the general consent of the rest, or a bit of the standing or running rigging of a ship to have its own separate will. There are only a few men in a great many who are forth-right strikers, and only a few that have good strong lungs, and know how to shout; so are there only a few leaders, at any time, and the great many are followers; and all the utterances of opinion that we hear from so many tongues, each speaking for itself, are but the breathing over again of stale breath. The great number of votes carries anything that any man cares about, and therefore whichever party is the stronger conquers, and whoever belongs to the stronger party conquers with it.

Opinion, moreover, that is, the expression of one mind

offered to another, is the "governor, teacher, spiritual pastor, and master" of the American people, and, in general, they have no other. Parents, for the most part, and other guardians, decline the privilege and responsibility of meddling with young people's inclinations of mind and conscience, and leave those who ought to be taught by themselves to the cheap teaching of opinion out of doors. Accordingly the newspapers and the novels — with the popular moralists in the case of that large and respectable class who read and are influenced by such books as those whose titles we have set at the head of this article — teach the greater number of Americans. If there be little power of teaching in such schoolmasters, then our people are but little taught. If opinion be fluctuating and shallow, then our people's principles and convictions will be fluctuating and shallow.

That there is no sacredness attaching to the individual man, (unless where he stands or falls as a representative, and then the sacred regard is for self,) is clear, from the way in which men are killed on our great thoroughfares, and pushed out of the way or trampled over, when a good many others are in a hurry; and the reason why opinion ever seems to be held sacred is, that every one is always awake to his own interest and ready to "mistrust," as the common word is, that the thing which he sees or hears of may concern him; the same reason for which a boy, instead of treading upon a crumpled parcel of paper lying on the sidewalk, takes it up and opens it, hoping to find nuts inside.

Whatever thing is standing before the eyes of this generation of Americans, (if it catch their eyes at all,) they, by this necessity of their nature, or of the nature of things, open their mouths upon and judge in words, and find fault with, — each for himself or one of them for all. For the most part, they guess either that it never was good for much, or that it is the worse for wear; and there they leave it standing, if it concern them no further than as a mere standing thing which they must judge while they see it. If it be an institution or a law which keeps something in or keeps some one out, they argue for it and praise it, if they like it, or, if they do not like it,

they batter it with breath as if it ought to be frittered before them like a topsail blown from the bolt-ropes.

In the mass of the American people is a conviction that the supremacy of opinion (which is the expression of humanity) has been gained by an American conquest; that a great many powerful and formidable things are leagued against it, secretly, if not openly; that the human race, wherever it has descended from democracy, has a propensity to abandon and forget its prerogatives; that certain classes of society are, by their condition, of course opposed to the supremacy of opinion; and that history has been written, for the most part, in the interest of a conservatism unfriendly to man. To most Americans, a thing which seems to stand stiffly is a thing to be suspected, because this stiffness seems to protest against the supremacy of opinion. Things spiritual and material alike — habits, truths, houses, social forms, and forms of government — must not look too lasting, for the look speaks of privilege and exemption. The putting down and putting out of the way of a thing of this sort, now and then, and here and there, is as natural to our people, as the cutting of an occasional representative Greek throat and the firing of an occasional Greek house by the Mussulmans. A supremacy gained by conquest is kept fresh in the feeling of both sides by a frequent assertion and vindication in this way.

If we may judge from the common habit of speech, the general feeling of Americans is, that whatever is (unless they have just made it) most likely is not right, but is to be righted by them or by some of them. This feeling has brought about a general readiness for change; and until any one has a plan of his own for which all standing things ought to give way, he welcomes and instigates the knives and axes of his neighbors, to "*make something different; anything but the same old thing forever.*" Old habits, old laws, old institutions, old truths, become tiresome to the great body of this people, and must at least be made to appear new, with paint and varnish, or sound old oak must give way for slight new pine.

In the mouths and in the hands of this whole race, the readiest thing was the English language; its being invited their judgment; its being in their use made it necessary for them

to meddle with it, change it, and reform it, — in short, control it; its name made it necessary for them to conquer and subdue and appropriate it. Its claim to an ancestry and a history made it aristocratic and unpopular; its pretence that it had a certain special constitution, or idiosyncrasy, or nature, was not to be allowed against the application of common sense. Thus countless Americans, claiming to be popular writers (and being simply vulgar), have found opportunities to indulge themselves in all sorts of freedoms and familiarities with our noble speech. Some one — it mattered little who, but some one of them must do it — set a thing which he called, if we remember rightly, "Fonografë" to worry the English language, while plenty of others, with nothing better to do, joined in the amusement and exercise of urging it on. One (perhaps the self-same "fonografer") having received as good a degree as Dr. Johnson's, boldly made a dictionary; plucked letters out of words, and braided the tails of words into such shapes as he fancied, and then claimed that the great thing was done, — that this was the American tongue which he presented to his countrymen. Happily, a national language (and, still more, a language common to many great nations) cannot come down with a crash, any more than the universal grass; or else, with all the ignorant and impertinent whittling and improving which our people have done to it, the English would have been already a ruined tongue. As it is, the enterprising and inventive author of the American Dictionary has persuaded some millions of his countrymen to spell at least a few hundred words after himself, for the time being; and these millions write and print books and newspapers in this fashion; and for the Americanness of his work this Doctor of Laws received a wreath made of Connecticut and other domestic laurel, which was laid, still green, upon his tomb, when he went down, and which still keeps many of its leaves and much of its greenness. When the copyright runs out, it is to be hoped that booksellers, even if they still water his garland, will forsake his garbling of the English language.

Refined taste is a thing which especially belongs to privacy, gentleness, and elegant intercourse. It is not, therefore, a popular quality. Thus those who write for the greatest number

are never reminded of their want of it, if they have it not; and their public not only do not crave it, but like them the better for being without it. Whole series of books that have made, and have not ceased making, money for their publishers and authors, are written, not so as to bring their readers up to a higher level of taste and refinement, but so as to confirm them in bad habits of manners and speech already formed. Stiff and stilted language, the use of Latin instead of Saxon words, — needlessly, and not in Johnson's way, — lengthening out of words and phrases, finically, — these are some of the lesser faults of our American writers. Cant expressions, and slang expressions, and vulgar phraseology are worse, and quite as common.

Such as our American people is, it is of the utmost importance that those who lead any large and influential part of them should be such men as can and will lead them well and wisely; for, well led, Americans will follow well. We have written, already, of that large number among us who honestly believe in going on and growing better. Of their accepted writers is Dr. Holland. It is a little difficult to estimate rightly and fairly the author whose books and moral influence have given us occasion for this article. Like a true American, he has tried a good many departments of authorship. We may say of him what Johnson wrote of one of his own, and the world's, friends, *Nullum, fere, scribendi genus non tetigit;* and if he has not done all things equally well, he has done many things excellently. Being a journalist, he began, it would seem, with historical sketches in his own journal, and afterward made them into an "outline history"; from history he went over into the adjoining field of romance; next climbed the tempting hill of poesy; and latterly has been gathering — upon this hill elsewhere — and discoursing upon samples and principles of morals.

For good history is wanted, first, good stuff, and then, ability, time, opportunity, and will, to make good use of it. Dr. Holland's work in this department was about Western Massachusetts, his own neighborhood. For histories of that sort there seems to be never any lack of material in Massachusetts, when men dig deep enough; and whoever does

such work does, as we think, a very good thing, and deserves to be, as he generally is, well rewarded for it. It gives one a kindly feeling, as the eye runs over the titles, "History of Belchertown," "History of Watertown," and the like, to think of the cosey relation between writer and readers, and between the members of a community set up or strengthened by those printed pages. The citizen with the tan-yard, the lawyer who stoutly planted his foot upon a town-boundary, and would not give an inch, the first setter-up of a lightning-rod, the merchant who built a house after one of Downing's designs or a plan in the "Country Gentleman," the retired Senator who brought in guano or poudrette, all have their snug places, and all are pleased with themselves and one another. Neighborhood-tales are always interesting to neighbors, unless they are very ill told; and in what spot where blood runs in men and women, can fifty years of time be taken up without many grains of poetry and romance among them? In Massachusetts we have plenty of good daring and good deed, and to all of us anything which can be made out to be a part of her history — from the little rag of a tradition left fluttering beside the pathway of record by days lost long ago, down to the larger and whole histories of these late times — comes warm and kindly.

Dr. Holland, in using his materials, has not pressed and dried out color and fragrance. He goes into his work with a sympathy for private interests and sufferings, and with a feeling of the sacredness and obligation of lawful society; and having read his other books, we can now see in this, his first, intimations of the morality that he was one day to teach, and even in one sentence or so, where there is a striking bringing in of a pair of eyes above the scene, — the eyes of Goffe the regicide, — we have intimations of his imaginative power. There is more than one very good expression of what, in manifold, ever like and unlike shape, pours out of all our Puritan mouths, — honor to the cause and the men that out of a wilderness made New England a garden; nor does he forget or fail to own, now and then, that the men who fled from persecution did, when they were out of ken of the Star-Chamber, "smite with the fist of" righteousness, and apply their square-

toed shoes, with right good-will, to the more fleshy parts of impugners of their own doctrine and discipline; indeed, used, often, through-thrusting and other weapons of administration much deadlier than fist and shoe-sole.

We must take time here to write, that there are elements of romantic history in Massachusetts that, with all the assiduity of her sons, have never, to our knowledge, been used as they might have been. That Shays's rebellion, for example, (to take no other,) — the rising up of a real captain or two who had smelt powder or taken snuff on fields of real warfare, the march of armies through our kindly Commonwealth, the turning of the courts of justice out of doors, — all this to our young minds (and there are plenty of young minds still, though we have dropped our romance) smelt of the mystery of Monmouth and Wat Tyler. It was, *even then*, "long ago," too, (for we then made the same foolish mistake for which we now correct our children, thinking forty or forty-five a very great sum of years,) and its seeming distance made it strange, while the horror of its crime was with the past, because the men that made it were mostly dead, or still walked the earth only in shrunk and crippled bodies, shadowy and shadowless, almost, as ghosts. Moreover, in their day, the rebels had been thoroughly put down, their ranks broken, and their men broken in spirit; their chiefs driven, like sheep imbogged, into most deep disgrace and desperation; the spirit of insubordination frightened out, and law and justice settled firmly and beyond fear. All these things being so, and the Commonwealth being safe, our young appetite for something coming up, out of the common way, not business-like and tame, — for a sudden spring and rush of happenings, for great trials of strength, martial array, and fife and drum, — we were near saying, for the "battle and murder, and sudden death," that are prayed against in the Litany, — would have gone very hungry had there never been, in the history of our smooth-flowing, deep prosperity, one formidable rebellion, so well put down. That moody and muttering half-martial array of men without plan and in debt, — unlike as it is, alas! to the dread, secret deliberation of wise and clever villany and ambition, and the malignant, deadly drilling, and the desperate, outraging rush

to murder and wasting, which characterize a rebellion of men reckless of all but their own plans, and ambitious only of selfish gain and greatness — yet was not more vulgar than the Porteous Mob, and is far enough off, in time, to wear good shades and a broad, deep hue over it all, for the long look of eyes that can see romance. Dr. Holland has written the story of the musterings and marchings, the withstandings, withdrawings, and disbandings, of the rebels and the right-minded, and the no-doings and the undoings of the General Court, fairly and wisely.

Among the hundred historical sketches of the hundred western towns, made by a hundred different hands, perhaps, we step, before we know it, on a good illustration of the way in which, among us men, history is written. We find two lines, in the part where education is treated of, telling the world that "about the year 1830" a certain boarding-school flourished under the charge of a certain person, — so little (and that not rightly given either in date or name) about the most thoroughly-appointed school that ever existed in this country! its character and influence forgotten, in a single generation, out of the place which, beautiful as it is, that school adorned and dignified, and the large and generous man who gave it its chief beauty and excellence dropped out of men's minds as if none of us were alive to claim his honor for him! *

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* There is a hill in one of the fairest towns in Massachusetts, and standing a little apart from the main village, on which, forty years ago, were the houses of three brothers, built respectively (it sounds like a fairy tale) of stone, brick, and wood. Behind the houses a noble forest of oak, maple, chestnut, and tall evergreens covered the hill-top, and went down the back of it to a broad level and glen and stream. In front, the pretty town, with a meeting-house spire or two, and dwelling-houses mingled with tall and spreading trees, shimmered in summer silence. A broad, smooth, gleaming river, a little farther off, made a sweep through the wide, rich valley, so beautiful that it was written of in books. Beyond, again, an easily-climbed mountain — not the only one, but the kindliest-looking as well as the nearest of the mountains — stood opposite, shutting off all farther sight, and yet luring the heart toward itself as having the fairest of all out-sights to offer to all climbers. This scene was in the valley of the Connecticut, and these were Mount Holyoke, and the river, and Northampton, and Round Hill.

The brothers sold Round Hill and all its beauty to two gentlemen from the University, who, having travelled and been much abroad, knew that the education of Continental Europe was better, without being more costly, than our own, and

Our author's first novel, we believe, was "The Bay-Path," in which, taking his Western Massachusetts for a scene, he mythicizes some of the characters that he had met in history. It is a book not specially to be remembered, and one which Dr. Holland seems so far to have forgotten, and to suppose others to have forgotten, that he has taken its opening scene and carried it to a poem that he was building, and, having made it over and made it better, used it for the fore-front of that work. His next novel (a much more skilful one) was "Miss Gilbert's Career, a Story of American Life"; in which the heroine is a girl with a literary career, and the hero a youth with a moral and intellectual growth and teaching, out of orphanage and hard days' work, into the Congregational ministry. These two characters, after various experiences, are brought together in marriage. The moral of this book may be said, perhaps, to be, that not ambitious striving, but strong work, and suffering, and sympathy with others, must make the highest and truest man and woman.

"Timothy Titcomb's Letters to Young People, Single and Married," is intended to teach the youth of both sexes how to be honest and sensible, and to live like Christians; and "Gold-Foil, hammered from Popular Maxims," is for the teaching of the world at large in general morals and religion. These are good books, both. "Bitter-Sweet" is a poem, whose chief moral object is to work out the thought that evil

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were resolved to make such a school in this most beautiful place as should surpass all American or foreign schools. In 1823 they came hither, and they soon peopled this scene with happy childhood from all quarters. The wood became a boys' haunt, the flat field down behind it a play-ground; and in the glen the brook was taught to swell into a lake; and in the houses, and in many more added to them, the boys studied, and slept, and sheltered themselves (sometimes) from outside weather.

If we were to speak out the words of love and praise that thirty and more years ago were so familiar to us, echoes and answers would come from those far rice-swamps and cotton-fields from which so many loyal and kindly and generous feelings seem wellnigh banished, and even out of those floating-batteries and breast-works whose guns have not been so utterly cruel and remorseless as those who manned them! The heart will not let go its young, instinctive love, for it was fastened rightly; it will not change the estimate of character which grew with years into its nature. That school was what we thought it then, and so was our master, Joseph Cogswell.

is part of God's plan, and answers a good purpose in it. Of this book and its subject, we shall have more to say.

Dr. Holland takes openly, but without the least rudeness, the office of reformer and leader of the better opinion among us. This the subjects and objects and general character of his writings, as well as abundant special passages, show. The title-pages tell us that his books have been issued in a great many thousand copies; and after having read them, we cannot wonder that they have been widely read, and cannot doubt that they exert a large influence. His use of American phrases, his choice of utilitarian illustrations, his speaking in the first person to the second person, and his bringing up a second or third time, or oftener, after the manner of a public speaker, a thing or a phrase, — these all are of his part as a leader of American opinion.

That Dr. Holland has imagination in a high degree is shown, not only by many passages in which objects, persons, and scenes are wonderfully well thrown out, but by the whole book, "Bitter-Sweet." That he has good power of reasoning, and a very good command of language and sense of the strength of words, he evinces abundantly. That he has an honest and good purpose, and is in earnest about it, he everywhere proves to us thoroughly. He writes honestly and purely, and he does not write in general, but in the plainest and strongest way rebukes particular vices; and that not like one who willingly meddles with forbidden subjects, but like one who honestly feels that men and women ought to be rebuked for wickedness known to be too common, and ought to be shamed out of it, even at the risk of shocking some false delicacy. While the rascals who live by the ruin of our youth can bribe publishers of newspapers to scatter revelations of their loathsome and abominable trades and enticements to crime wherever print can go, this true and manly writer, in his honesty of purpose, uses plain English about vice, and uses it extremely well. Witness such passages as the chapter on Sensuality, in "Gold-Foil." What an eloquent sentence, too, is that in the "Letters to Young People," about cutting the channel of a Ganges! He argues, perhaps, a little too patiently on the next page; but how true and

beautiful is what he says about homes and children just afterward! We ought all to be thankful to a man who has made his way to a great many thousand readers, and then deals so fairly by them, and appeals to all that is good and holy, as he has done in setting forth the contrasts of base and lovely in this and the like chapters. The scene in "Gold-Foil," toward the end of the book, in which the vices of the imagination are described, seems to us a very remarkable specimen of descriptive power, and intensely impressive. We are glad to believe that there are a great many pure and holy persons in this world; but we would have the warnings of that chapter made dreadful and ghastly. Who that cares for the best worth of manhood, and the beauty and glory and loveliness and sacredness of womanhood, will not draw sympathetic breath, and strain all muscles, while this brave author is striking down the deadly phantoms?

Throughout his books we everywhere find fresh and manly sense and morals. The chapters of "Gold-Foil" on Patience, Perfect Liberty, the Canonization of the Vicious, and Home, are full of admirable thoughts and wordings, and there are a great many capital things in the chapter on the Preservation of Character. Take for an example this: —

"We meet, in every town, men who feel that they have filled up the measure of their character, and have nothing farther to do in life but to bear that like a full vessel to their grave, without spilling a drop. They walk the streets as if they were bearing it upon their heads. They bow to their acquaintances with the consciousness of their precious burden constantly uppermost. They refrain from all complication with the stirring questions of the times, through fear of a fatal jostle. They speak guardedly, as if a word might jar their priceless vase from the poise of continence."

There is more of this than we have quoted, which sticks to our pen, and which we can scarcely help bringing away; but there is still better elsewhere. How admirably he writes of Burns and Goethe and the great Frederic,* and of the fashion

* In giving this name, we guess only from the author's "antecedents"; for he enigmatically refers to a "brute" "apotheosized by the world's greatest living writer."

that lesser celebrities have of dining off the memories of vicious men of genius, and pledging one another in the bad blood of their dead heroes. Husbands and fathers and moralizers, who have, over their cups, made maudlin speeches about great men's having been the better for having been bad, or who have rhymed, with whiskey singing in their heads, about the beauty and blessedness of great weaknesses (which are generally great wickednesses) in gifted men, have, very likely, as they ought, been ashamed of themselves soon after; but the sense of right in the rest of us is thankful for downright truth, as Dr. Holland writes it, about splendid talents amused lifelong with the ruin of admiring women and young men, and a glowing wit used commonly like the red-hot iron to stir bar-room drinks.

We find ourselves inclined to quote a good deal more from "Gold-Foil" than from "Letters to Young People"; and we consider the former as the higher work. Dr. Holland seems to us decidedly to have advanced in freedom of thought and strength of style when he passed from the one to the other. Yet we would not disparage the Letters, which are excellent, and which, if they have done as much good as they ought, have done a great deal. What he writes about food and physical culture is well added to what has been well said in our day for making strong men and women, instead of the things half made or half worn out which shrink within ill-fitting clothes, and shamble under their own weight.

We stop short of agreeing with our author about beards, having been accustomed to listen unmoved to the eloquence of an Episcopalian who argued that the conversion of the world might be secured by three things together; which three things were free churches, the choral service, and loose beards. Razors seem to have been invented pretty nearly, if not quite, as soon as men found their hair hanging into their broth; and the figure which long-bearded nations have played in history, as contrasted with those who have shaved their faces, (were there anything in these differences,) is not tempting to us. We plead that there is an endless beauty about the mouth and chin of man, and in the play of the muscles that frame the quick lips to utter honest truth and tender love, or shape

them into all those many phases, from the school-boy's whimper to the man's trembling struggle between old friendship and new duty, or his stern will against wrong, or his most burning scorn for cowardice or other baseness. Man's mouth, the men who plead with it, and the men who look upon it while they listen, and the true-eyed women who learned love and holy law from it, will never, for more than a generation, suffer to be hidden in a free race. The later Greeks, to be sure, of the Lower Empire and the Moslem bondage, whined over the degeneracy of the surviving Latins for making their images of saints unbearded; but the age of their own fathers' better manhood and inspired skill had represented all the best and noblest of the only gods they had as beardless.

We have kept the author's highest work for this last place. "Bitter-Sweet" we consider by far his best-wrought novel, as well as his most imaginative book. Poetry, as most men write it, has this advantage over the prose written by the same men, that it is more carefully and thoughtfully finished, and has fewer faults and greater merits. The requirements in language are far higher in poetry than in prose; and in the patience, industry, and skill which are generally required to mould and polish verse, the whole conception and plan, and the several thoughts and illustrations, grow better. We do not mean that we would, if we could, compel all poetry to go in rhyme, or even in verse; for, on the one hand, no amount and no goodness of verse could make that poetry which would not have been poetry without it, and, on the other, true poetry often reveals herself to the wiser, kindlier eye wearing no tinkle or flash of words. The most exemplary specimens of prose are in volumes of verse, more or less even-footed; and one of the most beautiful poems in English is "The Bride of Lammermoor," in which, perhaps, are not half a dozen lines of verse. Beginning in mystery and sadness, going on through love, hope, beauty, nobleness, tenderness, laughter, wronging, to ruin, despair, and death, it has in it everything that can move the heart of man. As the reader's memory rehearses the story that he has read through, from the funeral hatchments and hangings, and the mockery of the mourning-feast, with which it opens, along the half-foreshown prophetic path

of destiny to the grave in the sea-shore waves, with the single black feather tossed up at the old servant's foot, he marvels at the wondrous beauty of the work, while he sits occupied and oppressed with its utter gloom. So poetical, indeed, is the whole thing, that the four lines of verse in which the prophecy is told furnish rhyme enough for all the book beside. They cling to the chief personage, and fling a melody through the whole of the dialogue, and even the description in which he is concerned; they ring through the book, and make all rhythmical. The truth is, that beauty and perfectness of conception, thorough and harmonious elaboration, and deep thrilling of the heart of nature, make poetry, whether in verse or not. The truth is, moreover, that language will be poetical when thought is poetical, and will be even rhythmical in passionate passages, though it be not measured into lines of even syllables.

"Bitter-Sweet" is for the most part in "blank verse," and very good blank verse; and at a glance we see one advantage that it gains by being written in measured language. Its scene is in a farm-house, its characters are all rustics, and yet there is no impression of vulgarity from any part of it. The scene is well laid; the plot is good, and completely worked out; the characters are individual and life-like; the language is excellent, and the figures and illustrations are very happily chosen, and often extremely beautiful. The conversation is natural, and the reasoning real, and not mere sham-fight, in which one party plays at being driven off the field. Where the persons tell their stories, they tell them well, and the stories come in easily and are welcome. The storm of the Thanksgiving evening, and the talk of the in-door gathering of the grown-up children of the house, seem real.

For a beautiful imaginative description, how admirable is this: —

> "The mill is still. The distant factory,
> That swarmed, yest'reen, with many-fingered life,
> And bridged the river with a hundred bars
> Of molten light, is dark, and lifts its bulk
> With dim, uncertain angles, to the sky."

And this: —

> "The ruddy firelights from the hearth
> Flap their bright wings against the window-panes, —
> A billowy swarm, that beat their slender bars,
> Or seek the night to leave their track of flame
> Upon the sleet; or sit, with shifting feet
> And restless plumes, among the poplar boughs."

And others, as,

> ". . . . . the thin chime of melting minstrelsy, —
> Rising and falling, — answered far away."

The beginning and the ending of the poem seem to us alike beautiful. Of the characters, Ruth, Mary, and Grace seem very well drawn, notwithstanding that the first talks a good deal of trash; for that very thing is done in real life without spoiling a character for us. The author's women, here, as elsewhere, strike us as being better than his men. David, the chief personage in the book, and its hero, seems to us exactly what his maker has, in his prose, tried vainly to describe, — "a puppy." There is a great deal of unnecessary doggerel in the book, much of it brought in by way of giving the grandchildren some part; and there is the story of Blue-Beard, sufficiently well told, but what it does for the book, or the story, or the moral, except filling out the leaves, we cannot think. The chief and great fault is in the moral. To show this, let us tell the story.

Two girls, at different times, go out from the Old Red Farm-House with the husbands of their love. Mary, the earliest wedded, soon finds that she has married a drunken profligate; and he, having first corrupted his wife's best instincts, leaves home with a painted harlot for his companion, and abandons his wife to utter penury and the double shame (if one of these shames could be doubled) of her husband's infidelity, and his abuse of trust and swindling, discovered after his flight. She now, deserted, shamed, and penniless, goes to the city, and there, in the author's very happy words, "picks her bread up at a needle's point." Alone, and shunning all, she is found out by one who wants a piece of embroidery wrought; and seeing in him, instinctively, a pure and good man who has a happy wife at home, madly determines to revenge herself on marriage by seducing him. All this is nat-

urally and admirably told; and so well was all done, that she succeeds in moving the well-poised, strong, and happy man to passion. At the very point and crisis of their mutual sinful experience, he starts back, recovers himself, falls on his knees in agony before God, is rescued, and has the privilege of saving her also. As the poem expresses it,

> "It seems as if that noble man were sent
> To give me rescue from the pit of death;
> But from his distant height he could not reach
> And act upon my soul; so Heaven allowed
> Temptation's ladder 'twixt his soul and mine,
> That they might meet, and yield his mission thrift.
> . . . . .
> He led me, step by step, to higher ground.
> . . . . .
> I grasped the arm of Jesus, and was safe."

This man was "David the Poet," who had married the second of the two girls that we have mentioned; and, meantime, his wife is sure that her husband, whom she had believed the man of all men, scarcely a man, is faithless to their marriage of a few happy months, and she is miserable beyond words. On this Thanksgiving night, David "propounds" a theory that evil is a good thing; and while he goes over the house, following Ruth, the last unmarried daughter, into cellar and kitchen, pouring forth melodious morality about the beneficence of sin and the like, and illustrating his propositions with carrots, apples, and cider, his wife, Grace, and Mary have been telling their sad stories to each other, — Mary having only not given her "preserver's" name. At length, David, looking out at the window, descries through the storm a man staggering and falling. He is found, and brought back to life, and discovered to be Edward, Mary's long-lost husband. He tells them the story of his own great profit from the ministry of sin, hears briefly his wife's blessed experience with the same healthful instrumentality, and dies, willingly, holding his wife's hand. Then David, — poet and successful sinner, — who has forgiven his wife all her unhappiness, after her confessing, on her knees, that she had abused him and his faithful love, points the moral, and the whole company of the Old Red Farm-House give in their adhesion to the new dogma of the sacredness of sin.

We have done, we believe, fair and even justice to the morality of "Bitter-Sweet," while we give cheerful praise to its excellence of expression; and the reader can see, as well as we, the wrong of it. David is absolutely pompous with the glory of his theory and experience, and reads the old Pharisaic anathema in this way: "Stand by, for I am hallowed by more deep experience of sin than thou." The danger would be, that young, married, or other men, who feel their own weakness, and see that sin is the appointed way and means of strength, would each find some female object of sympathy, and having securely planted the foot of "the ladder of temptation" by her, would go down its steps to meet her and lift her with himself to a divine height of strength and holiness.

Let us say, in a word, to all married people, that each has a full right to know all the other's experience as man and woman, husband and wife. A man may have professional secrets that concern in no way the woman who shares his life; but tender experiences with other women he has no right to; and for this David to leave his wife wretched, and loftily insist that she shall get over her true suspicion and well-grounded fear of him, is rascally. The pure love of a wedded woman is the divinest thing that we see on earth. It is merciful, like God's, and true and trusting after falsehood and wrong; and it has this property of the Eternal nature, that it has taken and appropriated past and present, associating to itself all the earlier life and all the future of the loved one; has brought all its treasures of memory and imagination and hope, and bestowed them here; and then, when the husband has had a false passion, this wounds and scars forever the tenderest as well as the most living thing in the world. We do not say that a man who has so sinned is hopelessly base. O no! he may be very pitiable for the strange strength of the temptation, and may claim all our sympathy for his honest, humble struggle; but the wife's case is not changed by these circumstances which affect the husband's guilt; and surely he is bound to feel that what she loses and what she suffers are to be uppermost to him in his thought and deed.

Dr. Holland has carried out to a dangerous extreme a theory which has its particle of truth, but much more of error.

It is a great mistake to claim that innocence is not a strength pleasing to God. We say fearlessly, that such a theory is unreasonable in itself, and false to our own experiences with innocent wives and children. Innocence is infinitely stronger, as well as better, than experience, and, with God's grace, is precisely the best and strongest thing among men. Nor is it sin or temptation that is good for us; the only good thing about them is the rescuing strength of God that saves us out of them. Dr. Holland asserts that "there is and there can be no standard of belief and good for all ages." Now, are not faith and morality the very things of all in which men must not seek to be original, and to invent? Just here he has gone wrong. His purpose and his practical morality, almost everywhere in his books, are honest and excellent; but here, where he strives to fasten a good practice on a most vicious theory, we speak strongly against the attempt. This is the author's greatest fault, and this is the chief disfigurement of his highest book. We think him far better fitted for, or rather, in these books, far more successful in, practical than theoretical teaching of morality.

We have already written that American popular writers are not required by their readers to have refined taste, and indeed are better liked for wanting it, — perhaps do their work better for being without it. A fine inward sense is as surely needed in a reader to feel and to judge rightly of a writer's refined thoughts and language, as a delicate touch is needed to appreciate the finer textures of fabric or fibres of wood. The use of catch-words and slang phrases (including cant, which is religious slang) most easily becomes general among Americans, because, for the most part, speakers and writers address themselves to the mass, and want to be popular. In Dr. Holland's writings, with all (and there is very much) that is well thought and well expressed, there is also much of this use. Let us quote at random: "I have yet to see the first"; "the genuine article"; "a thing that pays"; "alike in cash and comfort"; "second-hand, and badly damaged at that"; "pays but poorly"; "I believe in dress"; "a beautiful cravat, sustaining a faultless dicky, is about all a man can stand." This stops happily short of the luxuriance in which the Rev. Dr. Magoon

introduces an edition of Spurgeon's Sermons: "How much can-do stands up in your boots? If any, go ahead; if not, shut up." None of Dr. Holland's phrases are so coarse and vulgar as these; but they are too much of the same character, and for the same reason. The reverend editor uses such words as he thinks popular: Dr. Holland does the same thing, though he has more respect for English and for himself, and seeks popularity more decently. The style of his writings, with all their strength and beauty, has too many exceptions to the rule of refinement. Contrast him, for example, with Hawthorne.

Want of high taste we see in Dr. Holland's persons more largely than in his words. Nothing that can properly be called a gentleman or a lady is to be found among the characters of his books. In "The Bay-Path" he had more than one such out of history, as Pynchon, for example, and Holyoke, his son-in-law; but they wear no likeness of gentleman, after his manipulation. He seems to think that the Puritanic faith neutralized, in those who held it, all gentle blood and training, which is, of course, thoroughly a mistake. In "Miss Gilbert's Career" he neither finds nor makes any elegant or refined or well-bred character whatever. In this respect his novels suffer a great loss; for they miss sadly the crowning influence of a thorough gentleman or lady. One cannot escape the feeling of want, even if he can put away the impression of vulgarity taken from reading a novel in which he has met characters intended to be elegant, and who are entirely second-rate. In this respect his women are, happily, better than his men, of whom — leaving out Blayne and Sargent (very good fellows, but who do not properly come into this estimate) — Dr. Gilbert, the influential medical man, and Mr. Kilgour, the opulent bookseller, are very ordinary and coarse; and the young religious business-men from New York, who form the "Committee of Supply" for a new church there, are as thorough blackguards as the family of Huckleberry Run, which he cites for examples of all that is low.

While we write, another of Dr. Holland's books — "Lessons in Life" — comes from the press, and we bring it to our scale. Although it seems to us not equal in merit to Gold-Foil, yet it is

very similar in kind. It shows much the same sort of good, and much the same sort of bad, — in some instances not only of the same *sort*, but the same, for the author, as he could hardly fail of doing in the fast getting-out of his books, sometimes writes over again the same things; but, perhaps better than any other of his books, it shows the writer as an American, as a leader of the better public opinion, and as Dr. Holland. The I-and-you style, the honest morality, the plain speaking, the slang, the American use of un-English words, — the want of fineness of appreciation, together with an appreciation of what is good, and a fondness for distinguishing and contrasting, — the happy thoughts, well worded, — the unconscious, yet often strongly-marked irreverence, — are all here.

Such phrases as "not up to," "back out of," "it 's of no use [or "it 's useless"] for you to tell me," "not love to" do something, "rugged in health," are of pretty wide range among our countrymen. The use of "commence," "presume," and the like, brings before one the schoolmaster and mistress, who never, by any chance, can say "begin," and the milliner's apprentice, who, in answer to your question whether her employer is in, so often, instead of "Yes," says, "I presume she is." When we get to phrases like "efficiency," "vitality," "transcended by initial manhood," "exhausted in no department of its constitution," "with something of interest," and the like, we feel that we are on the "plane," as the word is, of a more pretending and influential class.

As a casual illustration at once of Americanism, and of the want of that sense which brings humor and pathos, witness this. A neighbor has found a certain man's heart barred; the author tries it, immediately afterward, to better purpose. "I go in and *open the door* right through that mood, into the genial and good heart, and *the door flies open when I come.*" There is the formula, unintentionally given, of the "*reannexation*" of Texas and the rest of the world. "Down in his heart, under an affection which was as deep as his nature, was planted this seed," our author writes; and as he is a professional man, we cannot but ask, What was the seed planted in? The printer, with the connivance of the proof-reader, has made a droll mistake or two, as where we read, "*pitfalls* who manage an inter-

view as a general manages"; and the author's mistake, above, is one doubtless arising from haste.

There are worse faults. For taste, nothing can be worse than this: "I suppose *God is attracted to very much the same style of character.*" And there is no excuse, of any kind, for this: "God loves Quakers, but *I do not think he admires them; I do not see how he can. I wondered what I should think if I had made them; I should have been about equally vexed and amused.*" It is trash, to be sure; but is it not incomparably and most painfully worse? What business has Dr. Holland, or any honest man, with such a phrase as a "series of Christs," with the apology that he means no harm by it? We cannot see that he, any more than the most foul-tongued man in the street, has a right to take Divine names in vain; but we can see that he has incomparably less excuse for it. He claims that he does not intend to be light or irreverent; but is it any better to be, as he is in that chapter, heavy and irreverent? A less offensive thing, by far, is to explain to us that the fancies and imaginings of Shakespeare are "reproductions of God's thought." This is only fudge; the other, unhappily, is blasphemy. On the other hand, we find many most excellent things. A very good expression is that about the "filling in the music of the outdoor birds," and that about the "blinding flash, and stunning crash, and rush of rain." Good feeling and principle are shown, as usual, in what he writes of women, "the good of marriage," punishment, want of respect, and influence of praise. The chapter on Education is excellent.

ART. IV. — *Undercurrents of Wall Street. A Romance of Business.* By RICHARD B. KIMBALL, Author of "St. Leger," etc. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1862.

A VERY favorable decision has been pronounced on the literary merits of this book. But there are other questions which we propose to discuss. What is its moral character, its religious character? Has it any such character? or is it positively irreligious? One thing is certain. No thoughtful man can read the book without being impressed by it. It goes below the merely imaginative or the amusing. It makes us think, and enters into our thinking. Its representations of humanity affect us deeply, and that, too, all the more for their plainness, their want of striking originality, as some might say. We feel that they are true, because they go down to those deep things in which all men are original, which no man has borrowed from another, but all derive from the primitive stock of goodness or of evil, those more interior matters in which men *agree*, in distinction from the mere surface features in which they so greatly differ. They lead us, in short, to that department of anthropology with which the Apostle was so much better acquainted than the satirist. There has been a gross misnomer here. When we speak of human nature, or a knowledge of human nature, there are almost always had in mind these surface differences. The writers who depict them most vividly, whether as casuists, satirists, or outside reformers, these are called our shrewd men, our sharp men, our keen observers of the world and man. These, it is said, show such a deep knowledge of human nature. Keen it may be, sharp it may be, but what is there *deep* about it? A day's walk in the streets of London, with a good pair of eyes well employed, will give Dickens the materials of one of his longest novels; just as a walk in the woods will give a man who has an eye for the grotesque in crooked roots, and gnarled limbs, and odd, fantastic forms of every kind, the materials for a jumbled composite picture which the astonished admirer of such oddities calls most exquisitely true and natural. Such a "natural writer" need only note every outside difference that

he meets, every eccentricity of speech or action, real or affected, and he has produced, forsooth, a perfect picture of humanity. Let each man be dressed up in the odd costume of his individuality, only caricatured to the highest possible degree, or let him have some odd phrase which he repeats on all occasions, and we are immediately in raptures with its exceeding naturalness. How true to the life! We know the man every time he appears upon the scenes; we have seen something like him in our own experience, and the recognition gives us a higher idea of our own powers of observation. And so the picture may be infinitely varied. Another man may be represented as ever canting, as never opening his mouth without proclaiming himself a hypocrite, — doing this foolishly, unmeaningly, in season and out of season, as though he were afraid the world would not believe him hypocritical enough, or might fail to see the author's design in this his favorite creation, which is, of course, the honor of "pure and undefiled religion." Another man is made so unreasonably good, that one can hardly help detesting his shallow virtue, so absurdly overflowing, without any originating fountain, either in God's grace, or in any truth of humanity. Another is represented as so inexpressibly mean, and so ever exhibiting his meanness, that the sound-minded reader, if he has any natural pity for an ill-used subject, finds himself involuntarily on the side of the poor creature; the author has made him so very mean, so absurdly mean, that he becomes the object of compassion instead of hatred. This is because we cannot help feeling that the false virtue of the one and the monstrous moral deformity of the other are both alike, without any true ground in the human constitution, whether in its natural or regenerate state. Grace never made such goodness; nature never developed such crime. There is no more reason in the one than in the other; there is no reason in either of them; and hence the reader gets a sense of injustice, which is all very natural, though the sentimentalist may regard it as very perverse. The avowal may not seem creditable either to our artistic or our moral sense, and yet we must confess an aversion to such good people as Dickens's Brothers Cheeryble, their goodness is so surfeiting; while, in spite of ourselves, we get

on the side of wicked old Ralph Nickleby, his devilism is so pitiably motiveless and extravagant. So, too, we cannot avoid a touch of sympathy for the Quilps, and the Grides, and the Smallweeds, and that miserable, canting Uriah Heap. They are not only the author's creations, but his arbitrary creations; they look so very ugly simply because he chose to put upon them such hideous masks; we know not but that their "natural faces" might be as fair, or rather no more deformed, than those of the characterless good people whose outsides he has so painted in seeming contrast; we see, in short, no reason, either within or without, — no reason in nature, education, discipline, grace, or circumstances, — why the virtue should not have been on the one side as well as on the other. The end is aimless, the goodness has no root; the proceeding is wholly arbitrary, and our sense of justice revolts against it.

The author of the "Undercurrents" exhibits, too, a knowledge of human nature, but it is of a different kind and from a different source. It is Biblical, we may say, although the book makes no show of Biblical authority, and is very far from being what is commonly, and most absurdly, called a religious novel. In other words, unlike the mere satires of Thackeray, or the caricatures of Dickens, it displays a knowledge of man grounded on the great truth that underlies the anthropology of Revelation. It is the Bible view of humanity, — severe, yet just; true, yet kindly; profound, while making no array of shrewdness or profundity. Had our satirists generally recognized the Scriptures, if only as presenting a picture of humanity, they would never have caricatured the race so horribly; they would never have employed one page to paint men as devils, worse than devils, more foolishly wicked than devils, and another to exhibit the writer's extreme aversion to that sober doctrine of human depravity which gave the noble Apostle "great heaviness and continual sorrow of heart," — that compassionate doctrine of human depravity, which, in the sense it brings of the common ruin, is the only antidote to the satirist's morbid misanthropy, — that loving doctrine of human depravity, which finds below all superficialities, and all individualities, even in the deep original sin of the race, the true

ground of human brotherhood. A state of perfect individual blessedness, although not foreign to the thought of fraternity, does not primarily suggest it. Peace, harmony, sinlessness, — they are consistent with it, they are strengthened by it, but they do not demand the social or kindred idea. We seldom think of the brotherhood of angels; there is but little of tenderness in the conception; it does not greatly move. But the human brotherhood! here is a new element; here is a thought of power. What makes it so deeply felt when felt at all? It is a community of sin, of suffering, of struggle. Higher than this, and stronger than this, it is the hope of a common salvation. The philanthropy that has not one or both of these elements is spurious; the satire that does not recognize them is the very spirit of Antichrist; the "knowledge of human nature" that ignores them is not the heavenly σοφία, but the "wisdom" of the serpent, "earthly, sensual, devilish." "Who can understand his errors?" What human intelligence can fathom the abyss of evil in humanity, that dark profound beyond the deepest profound in nature, that vast unknown within,

> "Upon whose dizzy verge we stand appalled,
> And fear to cast our swimming eyes so low."

He alone who came from heaven to heal could know the desperateness of the disease. He alone could estimate the depth of the perdition, in the labor of the atonement, in the greatness of the redemptive work, or by what other name we may call that restoring process which was necessary for the outward judicial reinstatement, as well as the perfect inward cure, of our fallen humanity. No doctrine teaches charity like this. The worst man is only the developed representative of the evil that is in the best; the best man is only a proof of what the Divine grace or the Divine providence can do for the worst. And yet along with this deep view of the common evil we may hold what the mere casuist may regard as utterly inconsistent with it. The highest human virtue is sinful more or less; the deepest human wickedness is connected with some redeeming trait. This is simply holding that the best acts are not what they ought to be; the worst, not as bad as they might be. Our confusion has arisen from a wrong notion of

that old doctrine of "*total depravity*" which has, of late, been so much denounced, and so little understood. On both sides there has been misconception of the accurate language of the older theologians. *Total* is a term of *extensity* (we use the word for the sake of the parallel), but not of *intensity*, — of width and breadth, but not of depth. We are bad enough, doubtless, but the *degree* of badness does not enter into the logical statement of the doctrine. The word is subjective; it measures the man rather than the *amount* of his sin. He has not *all* evil, but *some* evil *everywhere*. He has not all depravity, but he is all depraved, — in thought, affections, will, — in body, soul, and spirit. Again, *total* is opposed to *partial*, — the partial in time and circumstance. It denies that man is partly good and partly bad, that he is part angel and part devil, or that he is either the one or the other. He is wholly fallen, but not out of sight of redemption. He is not one day holy and another day sinful, but *always* sinful, — not evil in one respect, and innocent in another, but *all* wrong, — wrong everywhere, wrong in everything, in "every imagination of the thoughts of his heart," — wrong always, or as the Hebrew expressively gives it, "all the day." In nothing is he free from sin. Evil he carries ever with him wherever he goes, and into whatever he may do. "Never, never," says St. Augustine, "was I innocent." Such is the doctrine. We are not now argumentatively defending it, but only stating it as it truly is. Man is not righteous, that is, he is unrighteous, —

> "In all his works and ways
> Unholy and impure."

He is not "just before God; he is not clean before his Maker." Yet he is not a devil; there is not in him the utmost *intensity* of evil; he has not reached the irredeemable state; the worst man on earth, perhaps, has not arrived at that depth of depravity where he loves evil *per se*, or would say with Milton's Satan,

> "Evil, be thou my good."

There is that in every man, even the worst man, that yet moves the Divine compassion, yea, more, that has yet a hold upon the Divine love.

Premising this, we are prepared for an assertion that may seem very strange, and even contradictory. We venture the paradox, that every individual man we know is worse, much worse, and at the very same time better, much better, than he appears to be. We judge him wrongly in both ways; others do the same with us. There are, indeed, great differences of manifestation; some exhibit more of the one side, some of the other; but there are very few — none, perhaps, on earth, among the holiest or the vilest — in whom the seeming paradox does not hold true.

The author of this book may not have proposed to himself any such proposition, or any such doctrine of human nature, as the guiding thought of his story, but he furnishes illustrations of it on almost every page. His good people have many faults; they are, in fact, very imperfect people, almost every one of them. On the other hand, his bad ones — if we may be even allowed to draw such a line between them — are not as bad as they might be. What is more to the purpose of our criticism, they are not unreasonably or foolishly bad, nor unreasonably or foolishly good, — that is, good or bad simply because the writer tells the reader they are so, and makes them act accordingly. The weaknesses and some of the rather doubtful acts of Parkinson; the conventional sins of mercantile life; the business virtues of the one lawyer, the business vices of the other; the narrow, selfish religionism of Golding; the suspected Wall-Street life of Downer, as compared with that most exquisite picture of his domestic worth; Harley with his "whole-souled God bless you," and his spirit of speculation, utterly reckless of the evil it might do to himself or others; Matilda with her fierce vindictiveness; the ordinary mixture of good and bad we find in the other characters, — these all come naturally out of one common fountain of humanity, modified in its flow by outward influences, whether of fortune or discipline or that heavenly thing we call grace. It is the generic or birth-evil which is in every man, individualized by that outward education, natural or supernatural, through which, in the inscrutable providence of God's election, one fallen child of Adam is made to differ from another equally fallen. We may remark by the way, that there is

only one character in the book that may be said to be without a fault, — pure goodness, unsullied virtue, at least as judged by the human standard. It is the wife. But she is near the grave, and weaning fast from earth. The author was artistically right in suffering no shade to fall upon that perfect picture.

But what have we here, some may say, but the old infidel "doctrine of circumstances"? Men are what education and outward influences make them to be. We admit the influence, but with a reserve that wholly changes its character. It is the "doctrine of circumstances," but radically different from that of Owen and Fourier, — radically different from that religious indifferentism which seems to resemble it in its charity, while it directly reverses the position on which that charity is grounded. Mankind are very much alike, — here both doctrines are in harmony. Radically, human nature is one; even the outward differences, both moral and intellectual, are much less than they seem to be. So far they proceed *pari passu*. The conclusion, too, seems very much the same, if not absolutely identical, at least so far as language is concerned, in both. Seeing we are all so much alike, *therefore* we ought to be very kind, very loving, very *charitable* to one another. So say both; and yet the one conclusion must be a cheat, for, when carefully analyzed, it destroys itself. It talks of charity, but really leaves no ground for charity; it claims to be a fountain of tenderness, but its cold indifferences have no power of emotion; it talks much of evil, but really admits no evil; it has no deadly disease, and can, therefore, have no restoring cure; it acknowledges no perdition, and can, therefore, have no real *salvation*, whether we take this much misunderstood term in the sense of rescue from some impending outward evil, or in its more etymological, as well as more spiritual import, of the ultimate *salus*, σωτηρία, healing, or soul-health. We are all equally good until evil circumstances make one man worse than another. We are all equally bad until favoring circumstances — meaning by the term all helping things in nature, providence, or grace, regarded as outward to ourselves — shall make one man better than another. Without arguing here for the absolute truth of either of these views,

one must see that the difference between them is immense, both in their theoretical and in their practical aspects. The one, we say, really admits no evil. It has no real charity, for it smooths away all the dark features in which the human resemblance most strikingly consists. It can have no strong brotherhood, for it finds the evil to be relieved, the misery to be healed, the great peril in which man most needs help, to be in the ever varying, ever alienating circumstances of outward society, instead of looking for them in the very heart and root of humanity. We are all equally good, unless where the current has been turned to evil. We are all equally fallen, unless where something has checked the downward tendency, making it less downward, less evil than it would have been, or actually turned it into an upward, though resisted direction, — into a heavenward, though ever earth-impeded path. It is enough to state fairly and distinctly the two views, leaving it to the thoughtful mind to judge which is the most in accordance with the most striking facts and appearances of human history, — which has most of love, of charity, of power, of struggle, of emotional life, — which has most accordance with the solemn, Scriptural declaration, "that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world stand guilty before God."

Of the human nature thus viewed as a natural, evil current mixed with an outward resisting good of disciplining circumstances, Parkinson may be regarded as an admirable average representative. He is very far from being a hero. He sets out with a predominant worldly fondness for wealth. To be rich, respectably, seems to him to be "the chief end of man." For this pursuit he means to live a good and honest life, according to the Wall-Street standard. He sees no higher virtue around him, — nothing to awaken the conviction how far this is below the right aim of an immortal being. It is only after a long course of severe discipline that he begins to get a glimpse of this truth. He fails twice. True, he pays his debts, and preserves his mercantile idol, *credit*, though, like Dagon of old, it gets somewhat battered in the process. But he seems to have had no difficulty in his conscience as to the general morality of a business that so frequently leads to such results. He becomes very poor. He experiences the usual treatment

of the bankrupt. There is not much in his character, as it there appears, to show that he himself might not have done to others very much as his creditors did to him, when they tried to prevent losses by his failure. He would probably have been more good-natured than Golding, more kindly than Bulldog. For with some of these outside amenities he seems to have had more of a natural furnishing than they; but there is no evidence that he would have acted on any principle of religion or morality radically much higher than theirs. After his repeated bankruptcy he engages in a kind of business which, to a keen casuistry, would hardly seem defensible in all respects; but of this he appears to have no consciousness. Circumstances had driven him to such a mode of life. It might have occurred to him, that, in this note-buying and note-selling business, others, through his means, and to make his gains, small as they were, might suffer from sheriffs and Bulldogs, even as he had done. But it fell within the conventional morality of the only society with which he was familiar. He could not get out of it or above it, and so had no time to talk with his conscience about it. Besides, he was no casuist, and we must say we like him all the better for that. He seems to have had no faculty for what may be called the algebra or the differential calculus of morals, and we think him morally healthier on that very account. A man had better do some questionable things, than to be everlastingly killing his conscience by the Benthamite plus and minus solution of moral questions.

But Parkinson is fixed. He must yield to circumstances; he could not get out of Wall Street; and thus he toils on for long years, meeting with a variety of adventures, unromantic indeed, but having an interest, often higher than the most labored romance. This Wall-Street note-shaving life is a new field, a very peculiar field. It would have been thought, *a priori*, the last in which a novelist could hope to be successful. We cannot say that we fully understand its mysteries, but Mr. Kimball has certainly thrown a wonderful interest about these very dry and commonplace transactions, as they would in themselves appear. Much is owing to the quiet yet admirable way in which he tells these stories. But besides this, there is somewhere a masterly power, — we can hardly tell

what it is, — by which the reader becomes fascinated with all that relates to this Mr. Parkinson, ordinary and drudging as he seems to be. Many years of his life are spent in this hard way. Chapters are filled with his struggles to support himself and a beloved family, — his petty successes, his petty failures, all touching our compassion the more from the very fact of their pettiness, when we remember what an intensity of human feeling they may call forth within that small circle where they are the great events of the day. He fails one week in making five dollars as he had expected; he cannot fulfil some domestic arrangements; he is afraid to meet the beloved child at home, and dim her smiling eye by the confession of his straitened way. Nothing heroic here, nothing romantic, nothing very "thrilling"; but it is more than thrilling, — it touches, it moves the very quick of our hearts, — to use a very homely yet most expressive phrase, *it hurts our feelings* when we think of this petty misery, this every-day misery of our most ordinary human life.

He struggles on. Fewer and fewer are his friends; deeper and deeper sinks his poverty. Along with this there are some exceedingly rich domestic incidents. There are episodical matters very well managed, both as descriptive scenes, and in their bearing upon the winding up of the story. This proceeds so steadily, and in the main so evenly, that we find it difficult to imagine how the author will bring it out, or whether he will not simply drop the reader by the way, until at last, by a very sudden incident, striking indeed, and yet, by its extreme probability saving a vast deal of tiresome plot-developing machinery, Parkinson is made comfortable in his old age, with a character well and religiously developed by the disciplinary process through which he has passed. He becomes a true Christian, we think, though the author does not say so. It is left to the reader's religious discernment.

Now what can there be to interest us, it may be asked, in such an ordinary character, and in such a plain story as this? There is matter of the deepest interest; of that the reader may be assured. It pervades the book, not only the main, but also the episodical, or incidental, narratives. There is the striking episode of Downer, the poor Wall-Street drudge, enduring

poverty, toil, the contumacy of men who have money as he had once, suffering finally, and that undeservedly, the loss even of his Wall-Street reputation, yet laboring on for his dear world at home, and presenting a picture of domestic excellence equal to any that was ever drawn by the poet or the novelist. We have been greatly interested, fascinated we may say, with this most original, yet most ordinary, character of old Sol Downer. We should love to dwell longer upon it, but it would interfere with our main purpose. It is a very peculiar creation, all Mr. Kimball's own; for there is nothing like it in the whole range of fictitious literature. We would simply say, in passing, that the author might safely rest his literary reputation on this one admirable sketch, and the hearty, healthy, truthful interest he has succeeded in throwing about it.

We have expressed the conviction that our author is a religious man, and that his knowledge of human nature is sound, because grounded on those Scriptures which are no less a revelation of man to himself than of God to man. But this Mr. Parkinson, who is the hero, if the book had such a thing as a hero, does not seem commended to us for his piety. He has a serious fit now and then, but does not appear to be a very religious character; and there is no attempt, even after he has gone through all his hard discipline, and becomes subdued, and seems to have a new and higher life, to make him a very *remarkable* convert, detailing his experience and warning others. Moreover, there is something in him which looks rather irreligious. He is set in contrast with the *pious* man of the book, if we may so characterize him, from the stress that is laid upon his religious profession. Golding is a member of the Church; he is, moreover, an elder in the Church; he is a scrupulous attendant of the weekly prayer-meeting; he gives to missionary societies; and yet this Wall-Street representative of business and Christianity behaves very cruelly to poor Parkinson, who, though not a member of the Church, is an attendant, with his pious wife, in the same congregation. They hear the same sermons; their children go to the same Sunday school; all presents the appearance of religious and congregational respectability, until the non-professing world-

ling fails, and his more spiritual co-worshipper hurries to his lawyer for an attachment against the bankrupt's assets, and a process which will consign him to a prison.

To a superficial view it might seem that the author had an irreligious purpose here, and meant to make a kind of Dickens caricature. But clearly this is not the case. Golding is not a foolish, canting hypocrite. He is no hypocrite at all. This character in the hands of Dickens is, generally, a very absurd and superficial one. Our author gives us a deeper chapter in human nature. Golding is no hypocrite, but a fair representative of numbers who sincerely profess religion, and think they have it. They are men who at some period of their lives have had much trouble about their souls; they have been converted, or supposed themselves converted; they pray sincerely, and even fervently, though with little or no self-knowledge; they mean sincerely, in some way, to serve God; they become zealous for all good things, very conservative in the state, stanch supporters of the ministry, lovers of social order, respecters of the Sabbath, warm opponents of infidelity, diligent in business, fervent in spirit, liberal to missions, yet counting as of the very essence of Christianity the precept which requires each man to provide diligently for his own. Such a man is Golding, full of worldliness, and, it may be, having no real Christianity at all. Yet, we do not hesitate to say it, amid all this mass of pride and worldliness there may be some true faith, even though it be but the thousandth part of a grain of mustard-seed. There may be some good grain taking root among these thorns, and on this stony ground; there may be some little religion, some heavenly grace, just living on in that deformed spiritual growth, and which may yet be to it, when disciplined and better brought out, the seed of everlasting life. He is no hypocrite; we do not think the author meant to paint him so. He is a very poor Christian, — perhaps no Christian at all, — and yet a seeker of salvation in his poor, blind, selfish way. He may not be wholly self-deluded even, but a man whose native depravity, which he shares with all, had, through conventional circumstances, presented an unusually deformed appearance, while his grace, if he had any, had been greatly checked and

stifled in its development. To take John Bunyan's panorama of the race, we might regard even Golding as some sort of pilgrim to the New Jerusalem, — as a man terribly diseased indeed, yet striving to get away from the city of the plague, — stumbling when he cannot run, and crawling when he cannot walk, — making very poor work of it indeed, and yet better than the man who moves not at all, and who, while equally worldly, counts it as his great virtue that he makes no profession, that he is no hypocrite. We do not know that it is the emotion which the author designed to produce in his reader, but we must say that we feel sorry for Golding, without meaning to confess any sympathy with hypocrites. Perhaps, if he had had the failures and the discipline of Parkinson, he would have been nearly as good a man as he. We should like to have put in a supplementary chapter describing a meeting between the two, the hard professor and his non-professing debtor, — the one, through the teaching of adversity, brought to see his wrong and make confession, the other led to feel that there might be some spark of a better life even in the man of whom his judgment had been so severely just. But this would have required the author's powers of painting to make it effective, and even then it might have deformed the plot and marred the artistic proportion of the work.

There is clearly no irreligious intent in the picture drawn of these two characters. Quite the contrary is evident, both in the management and the result. Parkinson, the man who makes no profession, is not set in contrast with the hard professor, with an attempt, constantly manifested, to represent the honesty of the one as better than the religion of the other. That is the way Dickens would have treated the matter; but Mr. Kimball does no such thing. There is one very natural scene, where the hard-pressed bankrupt stands before his exacting creditor in the prayer-meeting, and disturbs the placidity of his petitions. Parkinson's motive in this is not at all of the pious kind, and some may say that it has a very irreligious look; but evidently there is no such purpose. The injured man acts thus in a fit of desperation. It is done, not to show his hostility to religion, or to a religious profession, but to confound Golding. He becomes conscious himself that the

indulgence of such feelings is greatly hurting his own moral constitution, and the scene that follows, where his Christ-like wife so gently, yet so piously, reproves him for his moody vindictiveness, is one of the finest in the book. We may say here, in passing, that this picture, and the one that soon follows, of the wife's decline and death, possess the highest order of moral and artistic excellence. It is a Christian scene such as Dickens never painted, when with her dying breath she commends to God her poor bankrupt husband, concerned as she is for his loss of property, and the hard destitution with which she leaves him to struggle, but still more for the peril that may thence result to his moral and religious life.

"'Charles, *it is coming;* we have little to say to each other, for our whole life has been rounded from day to day by love. I leave you to encounter misery and degradation, and what shall seem disgrace; but through all preserve your integrity, and at the last there will come a season of repose. God permits me to see this, and to tell you, O my husband!' . . . . . After a pause, she continued: 'I have one request to make';—her voice trembled. 'Keep them together. Keep them all around you. Promise me you will not separate.'

"'Never! while I have life, never!' I murmured. . . . . .

"'Kiss me: call the children!' . . . . .

"She died that evening."

Like a master artist, the author gives the most simple and touching outlines. He does not spoil it by overdoing. He says just enough to make us linger over the page which is so suggestive, until it becomes absolutely painful through the desire it creates to enjoy, again and again, the fascination of its exquisite finish.

Parkinson is a very imperfect man. He is far from answering, or being intended, as the type of the *moral* in distinction from the religious man. But, with all his imperfections, there is one thing that attaches the reader to him, although at first we hardly know how it is, or why it is. It is not merely his hardships and his brave endurance. It is not his honesty in his Wall-Street business, for that is conventional, and sometimes questionable; it is about as high as prevails in the sphere he has chosen; and the author evidently claims no merit, and no great sympathy for him, in that respect. We would call it

his spiritual honesty. The term needs defining. By spiritual honesty, then, we may understand, not honesty in the business or social relations of life, but that state of soul which is honest to itself, — which will not think of itself, nor seek to have others think of it, other than it really is, so far as it does and can know itself. It may be consistent with a very imperfect state in other respects. It may be a partner with many frailties, faults, and even sins, to which we would give a darker name. It may exist in the midst of much self-ignorance. Yet, if there is any one native trait in man pleasing to God, — in other words, if there be any native human virtue, it is this: perfect honesty of spirit, in that it seeks not to cover from God, or from itself, anything in itself, be its moral condition what it may. It would have its *being* and its *appearing* the same, however much it might be dissatisfied with itself, or feel that its *being* ought to be something different from what it *is*. It would not be what it is not. But here we must explain again; for this is a department of our moral psychology that requires great carefulness of language. We *ought* to be what we *are* not. Let us amend, then, by saying, that a soul may seek to *be* what it is not, without the process of *becoming* it; it may be greatly averse to such becoming. It would pass from evil to good by some other road than that conflict which is inseparable from the passage. It would fancy the transition made, and, since there is in all men an abstract admiration of righteousness, it would talk to itself, and to its Maker, as though it were made, when really there had not been the movement of a hair's breadth from the old *status*. It wants the soft, melting feeling of humility, and so would fain think itself humble, without any humiliation; it wants the luxury of penitence, of which it has read in books of religious romance, without the *pœnitentia*, the *penance*, the *pœna*, the inseparable pain that is in the idea itself, as well as in the etymology of the word. Such a feeling is the growth of religious sentimentalism; and the opposite of it, or the absence of it, whether the soul be conscious of its state or not, is what we mean by honesty of spirit, — dreading a false virtue more than a positive vice, — fearing not only to act or speak, but even to *think* a lie. Parkinson has this spiritual honesty, not as we

have laboriously analyzed it, but as belonging to the native simplicity of a very imperfect, yet unpretending, character. It is far, too, from being a something else which sometimes would ape its semblance. It is not the worse than Pharisaical spirit that loves to say:

> "I am a plain, blunt man,
> That only speak right on;

I am no hypocrite; I make no profession; I say no long prayers; I fast not twice a day; I am no church-member; I thank God I am not like some other men, sanctimonious, bigoted, hypocritical, or even as that Pharisee."

We do not know that the author had it distinctly in view, but the character of which we speak is there, — all the better drawn, perhaps, because he did not have it prominently in mind when he made the picture. It comes out of the other elements he has used in the composition all the more vividly, perhaps, than would have been the case had he said to himself, "Now I will paint such a man." Had he so designed expressly, he would doubtless have overdone, — the sketch would have been artificial and untrue. The writer has been drawn to make the picture, just as the reader has been led to see it, — from its admirable keeping, its perfect consistency with the disciplinary scenes through which his story derives its ever-sustained, harmonious interest.

A passage from the book furnishes the best possible illustration of what we mean by this spiritual honesty. Parkinson is moody, low-spirited, and inclined to be sentimental. In this state he says: —

"I was interrupted by happy sounds from the next room. They proceeded from little Charley and Anna, who were singing together one of their Sunday-school hymns to a charming air. . . . . I had never been what is called religious. I went regularly once on Sunday to church, but was not a member. I cannot say that I had any habit of prayer, although I was a conscientious believer in the truths of our sacred religion. . . . . A sweet solemnity took possession of me; and when they had finished, tears were in my eyes. . . . . I pressed my daughter to my heart, while now the tears flowed freely down my face. I rose and walked up and down the room. 'Miserable hypocrite,' I said to myself, 'you are claiming for yourself to-day an exalted religious

feeling; say rather it is a morbid sentimentality arising from disappointment in business. Hallo! stop that! Be a man. Do not insult your Maker with this cast-off performance. Wait awhile till things go smooth with you; then, if you want to be pious, and good, and all that sort of thing, you can have the opportunity.' Shocked by this sudden revulsion, the idea that feelings which I regarded as sacred were nothing but a phase of low spirits threw me back on myself again. Alice was still in the room, regarding me with painful solicitude. 'Then,' I said, 'in the society of your family, in the honest determination to bear what comes with courage and fortitude, in the sifting the chaff out of yourself, and preserving what wheat remains for the harvest, — that is a better work, just at present, than indulging in a sentimental whine over your sins.'" — p. 78.

It is the spiritual truthfulness rather than the false theology of this passage with which, critically, we have here to do. Mr. Kimball has a way of letting his characters talk after their own fashion, and, if they utter any sentiment at which good people might be shocked, he corrects it in a note which he inserts under the assumed title of "Editor of Memoirs." There is undoubtedly self-righteousness in what Parkinson says. There is a wrong view of God, and a mistake as to the speaker's power to recommend himself to his "Maker" by future good conduct, or in the thought that he must earn something before he can be pious. The author, or the editor, as we must call him, corrects this admirably, and most orthodoxly, in the subjoined marginal note.

"We think Mr. Parkinson unnecessarily severe with himself. That we neglect to turn to God for support until other sources fail, is no evidence that our feelings are not sincere. Although it seems ungracious to seek our Maker only after every earthly hope has perished, still this is just what He tells us we *may* do. Doubtless, with many, their feelings will not stand the test of returning prosperity. But we have always felt that, whether genuine or not, they forcibly illustrate man's recognition of a Higher Power. — *Editor of Memoirs.*"

The doctrine being thus happily corrected, we turn now to that other aspect, — its spiritual truthfulness. The speaker does not know himself, but he means to *be* and *appear*, both before God and to himself, no other than himself. What he says about a "sentimental whining over his sins" some would

regard as very irreligious, both in thought and language. "Nothing," they would say, "could be more gracious and hopeful than such a feeling of tenderness, and produced, too, by such a touching and beautiful cause, — those dear little children and their pious Sunday-school hymns." They feel utterly disappointed, shocked it may be, at the result. "Why, this was the very place to have had the man converted." It would have been then, we reply, most likely a false conversion, a sentimental cheating of himself, and an attempt to cheat his Maker. It would have made, perhaps, no better a Christian of him than Golding. He, too, might have been moved, and doubtless often was moved, by hearing children singing their Sunday-school hymns. Perhaps that was the very way in which he was converted. Even the hard Golding may have had his sentimental moods. He could be touched by the eloquent and the tender. He was fond of good preaching, doubtless, and may have been often melted into a placid Sunday-evening spirituality after listening to "the lovely song and the pleasant voice" of one who had described the beauty of the Christian life and the odiousness of Mammon. He might have had all this experience, and yet remained the hard, worldly man he was when "he took his fellow-servant by the throat, and said unto him, Pay me that thou owest." Such sentimentalities may have their value in certain aspects. They may aid religion when religion actually exists, just as the solemn music of the organ may aid worship if the worshipping spirit be previously there to receive it. But as a substitute for worship, or regarded as religion itself, they are worse than worthless. To have had Parkinson converted in this way would have made him no better a Christian, or it might have made him a very poor Christian; but, on the other hand, the seeming process, though far from being hypocritical in the gross sense of the word, might have done him a positive spiritual injury. It might have marred his native manliness, — which although fallen has still its *fair* proportions, — without imparting any heavenly grace. Whether he *ought* not to have had sterner convictions is not now the question; but he saw the shallowness, the deceptiveness, of these emotions, and he threw them away. Some may object to the author's lan-

guage, and find fault with the "sentimental whine"; but he has drawn a picture as true as it is valuable.

It is timely, moreover. These are the days of an æsthetic religionism. It is sought for its emotions. There is a truth in such a tendency which makes it all the more dangerous from its accompanying deceptiveness. We ought to be moved, we must be moved; but when emotion is sought for its own sake, it may become as selfish as the love of money, or the love of fame. We desire the spiritual luxury, and, if it comes not otherwise, it must be got up. The soul is not directly hypocritical in this; but unconsciously, almost, it seeks to be what it is not, as we have before defined the strange expression. It does not mean to present outwardly a false appearance of the spirit within,— that is the grosser and far less usual hypocrisy, — but it would make this world within look different to itself, look different to its Maker, without actually being, or becoming, what it can never be through any efforts of its own, or any self-moving spiritual life.

The cause of this strange deception is our mistaking the abstract admiration of goodness, our "assent" to it, yea, "our delight in it after the inward man," for goodness itself. All men have this admiration, and even love, of virtue, — at least in the redeemable state. Its utter loss may be the very thing which makes the great and final perdition. All men have good principles. The vilest wretch on earth is a lover of right, a sincere and hearty defender of right, when it is regarded as the antagonist, not to himself, or his selfish individuality, but to an abstract wrong. Let the worst man read a fictitious story, and he is wounded if it does not come out right. He even feels a kind of indignation, as though there had been some wrong done to him, if the good are not rewarded, and the evil punished. Such is this abstract love of truth, *per se*, that even thieves and murderers might be trusted to make a code of laws for a Utopian community. They would make good laws, — all the better, perhaps, from their larger experience of the evils most to be guarded against.

So is it, especially, in the placid contemplation of moral states. The picture is beautiful. We love it, we fancy we *are* it, when "still far wide," away off in that "region of dis-

similitude" to which Augustine compares this strange anomaly in our mysterious human nature. The celestial object is so bright, so magnified, so very near it seems, that we could almost touch it with our hands; but alas! millions of miles are but feeble measures of our real distance. Even though the enrapturing scene were near, we mistake our true position in relation to it. From the Mount of Worldliness, whereon we stand, we look over to the Mount of Holiness, as it rises before us with its vision of the Land of Beulah. We think to pass the narrow, intervening space on some gentle "bridge of sighs," or a step would take us from the one side to the other, and that step, we sometimes fancy, has been made. We think we are there, when in truth we must get down from our false height, — far down in the valley of humiliation, before we can begin to ascend the opposite hill; and then it is a steep and toilsome path,

"μακρος δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐπ' αὐτήν."

"Strait is the gate and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life." We cannot go from evil to good but through pain, — οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἄλλως ἀδικίας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, — "for it is impossible for us to be otherwise delivered from unrighteousness," — οὐχ οἷόν τε, — it is *morally* impossible. In saying this, the wisest of the Greeks knew nothing of that great mystery, the part borne in our salvation by the sufferings of another; but he taught, even as Christ and Paul teach, that each individual, too, has his struggle. "No cross, no crown," is still the Christian's motto. It is διὰ θλίψεως, "through hard rubbing," — through "*tribulation*," — that "we enter the kingdom of God." We do not say that all other experience is false, — it does seem, sometimes, as though some men stepped placidly over without cross or conflict, — but there is danger of delusion. Some theologians maintain that, unlike things without, the *desire* of moral good is the actual *possession* of it. But it would seem to be contrary to Scripture, as well as to a true experience. It may rather be as "when a thirsty man dreameth, and behold he drinketh; he awaketh, and lo, he is empty, his soul is faint, he *still hath appetite*."

This sentimental pietism is deeply infecting the age, and

giving a false coloring to everything about it. It pervades our religious literature; it is in our Sunday-school books; it is poisoning the minds of our children. It is bringing in an artificial virtue, which a right mind dreads more than a positive vice, seeing that the first, aside from its own deep evil, is ever the forerunner of the second. It does not merely substitute feeling for truth, but in time destroys all that awes and restrains in doctrine, all that is strongest and deepest in emotion itself.

There is another state of soul, less emotional, less religious, some would think, but, morally and spiritually, far better, — whether we regard it as belonging to the natural man, or as coming from a supernatural grace. It is that utterance of the spirit which says: "Let me be nothing but what I am. Spiritually deformed as I may be, as something within teaches me I must be, let me appear such before my Maker, rather than seek to veil that deformity by any unreal, self-roused, or self-cherished appearances of my emotional nature. There is a luxury in such emotion, there is a seeming virtue in it; but be my soul harder than the nether millstone, drier than the sands of the desert, more sapless than the withered root, rather than have it the seat of any false feeling, however fair in appearance, or soothing in effect; let my spirit be dark as Erebus rather than be cheered by any unreal light, — cold as the iceberg, rather than warmed by any artificial heat." Is it thus cold and hard, is it thus dark and worldly, so let it lie before the Divine eye, rather than even think of any false propitiation, or the screen of any inward state that can only conceal it from itself. Be honest. It is all that man can do. It will not cure the moral deformity, but it greatly aids the true discipline; it leaves open the way of the true healing. Such a "waiting," too, "upon the Lord," may be very far from the state of spiritual indifference; such a life may be the continual presentation of the prayer, — "Search me, O God, and know my heart, try me and know my thoughts, and see the evil way that may be in me, and lead me in the way everlasting."

But we are writing a homily instead of a criticism. There is another scene where Parkinson appears to better advantage, and with which we shall close our article. His painful years

of discipline have been bearing fruit, although he himself seems to be sinking lower and lower in the worldly scale. To the loss of property, and the loss of the commonest domestic comfort, there is, at last, added the loss of reputation. He hears whisperings of the street, the talk of men who doubt his honesty. It is the same injustice that had haunted the steps of his poor friend, Sol Downer. He thought he had given up all, and was truly submissive to the Divine will; but here is the revelation of an idol in his soul dearer than honesty itself, and he wails, like Micah of old, when that idol is taken from him. It is the crowning process of self-knowledge, and we cannot help greatly admiring the way in which Mr. Kimball presents it to us.

"The people were fast leaving the street while I stood idly looking on. My attention was at that moment excited by hearing my name pronounced in a conversation between two or three gentlemen who stood on the steps near where I was, — suspicious and sensitive, it seemed as if my hearing was doubly acute.

"'What an old scoundrel he 's got to be!' said one.

"'That 's a fact,' said another.

"'Dear me, dear me, I can't think it possible,' added a third; 'he was always considered such an honorable man.'

"'I can't help that,' said the first voice. 'Loomis says he 's been in the Tombs all the morning, — he and Devine, for swindling; and when he found he had to be put through, the old knave planked down the cash in less than no time.'*

"Two of the voices were familiar to me. I thought especially that I recognized that of the gentleman who ventured a word in my favor, but I had no desire to satisfy myself. I did not turn round, but started swiftly for my house.

"I saw nothing, heard nothing, noticed nothing. Arriving at home, I brushed past Alice, ran up stairs to my chamber, locked and bolted the door, threw myself on the bed, and cried, — cried piteously as children cry." — p. 392.

Thus ends abruptly Chapter XV. It prepares us for the scene that follows in Chapter XVI.

"The next day was Sunday. I rose, dressed myself mechanically,

* This transaction is detailed a few pages before. Parkinson was innocent, but had been made the victim of a swindler.

and went down to breakfast. I was suffering from no sharp sensations. A dull, heavy, muffled pain, at regular intervals, took the place of the usual nervous energetic action of the heart. Literally, it seemed to be broken.

"So much were Alice and Matilda impressed by the change in me, that neither ventured to ask for an explanation. The younger children shared magnetically in the feeling. What a silent table! How different from our usual cheerfulness!

"At the proper hour we all started for church. I thought the placid face of the old clergyman looked more benevolent and tranquil than ever. 'He is at rest, at rest,' I said to myself. 'Shall I ever be at rest?'

"The services did not attract my attention, until the text was announced. It was as follows: —

"'The spirit of a man will sustain his infirmity; but a wounded spirit who can bear?'

"'My friends,' said the old minister, 'the translation of this verse from the Hebrew is not felicitous. Let me improve it by another rendering. "The spirit of a man will sustain his infirmity; but a wounded spirit, — what shall sustain *it?*" That is the question I propose to answer this morning.

"'The spirit of a man will sustain his infirmity! What a statement of the power and might and pride of the human race! Ah! yes; the spirit will sustain against all infirmity; it will carry man resolute and undaunted through fire and sword; in perils by land and by water; through misfortunes and calamities; through contests, troubles, and dangers; amidst disease and pestilence; and it may even nerve him to meet death itself with composure.

"'But if a man's *spirit* falters, if the day comes when the *keepers* of the house shall tremble, if a wound is inflicted here,' (he laid his hand upon his heart,) 'what is to be done? The form of the question in the text implies that there can be no help from within. Physically, a man cannot support himself by his own weight. Neither can the spirit receive support through its own power.'

"The venerable man went on to show how only the 'FATHER of our spirits' can heal the wounds of the spirit. That it is not until a man is brought into direct communion with his MAKER, that he is armed at all points, and proof against whatever may happen.

"I have no design to give even an abstract of the discourse, but only to convey the leading, paramount idea. I listened entranced. Every word seemed prepared for me, directed towards me.

"By degrees, as he proceeded, I felt a sense of relief steal over me.

The action of the heart resumed its healthful pulsation. By a sort of instinctive effort, I ejaculated in a low tone, 'God help me!'" — pp. 393, 394.

It is best to leave such a passage to its own effect. We cannot, however, help remarking on the illustration it furnishes of much that has been given in the previous pages of this article, or moral lecture, as it might rather be called. Nothing can be more simple and touching than the narrative, but it is no sentimentalism. It stands in marked contrast with the other experience. That was but a shadow, — a surface thing; here all is real, solid, sound as Scripture and truth itself. The voice of children's hymns, "anthems of nature," the solemn swell of the organ, these are all very good, very profitable to the soul that has already "the fear of the Lord, which is the beginning of wisdom"; they have in them a certain religiousness, or religiosity, but they are not religion. Dependence, want, and helpless ill-desert, a great perdition and a great Deliverer, — these are inseparable elements of the idea. "*God help me!*" — here all is real; in this short prayer each word is emphatic, each word contains an infinitude, either absolutely or in relation. There is the infinite height of the Helper, the infinite lowliness of the object, the infinity of need that brings them both together, in the prayer of faith on the one side, and the immeasurable condescension of the other. This is *religio*, a *binding back*, a finding of the lost, a *reunion* of the wandering spirit to Him from whom it came, and from whom it had so far and so grievously departed. The author, the critic, the reader, may fear to assert such a state as belonging to his personal experience; but we may not doubt its reality. "There is nothing in the universe," says Archbishop Leighton, "stronger than a believing soul." Even as a thought of the mind, it has a sublimity which no words can express. It transcends all science, all philosophy, even as it soars above our most common worldly thinking.

ART. V.—*Sketches of the Natural History of Ceylon, with a Monograph of the Elephant.* By SIR J. EMERSON TENNENT, K. C. S., LL. D., etc. London. 1861.

IN 1859, Sir James Emerson Tennent published a large work on Ceylon, containing much valuable information on the physical, historical, and topographical peculiarities of this island, and also brief notices of its natural history. This last portion of his work Sir James has now published separately, with important additions and improvements. This change in its form, and indeed in its matter, has presented us with a book not only interesting to the general reader, but of value to the student of natural history. Two elements are thus combined, which are rarely united in any recent volumes of travels or of local descriptions.

The author does not pretend to be a naturalist; he expressly declares that he "possesses no greater knowledge of zoölogy and the other physical sciences than is ordinarily possessed by any educated gentleman"; but he has the wisdom to consult men who have made zoölogy a special study, and to be guided by them, rather than to submit any half-formed theories or imperfect observations entirely on his own authority. Perhaps the fact that he is not a professed naturalist contains the secret of the book's peculiar value. He selects precisely what would interest any educated gentleman, and, omitting the scientific minutiæ which no professed naturalist could have surrendered to public taste, he tells us of the plants and animals of Ceylon just what we all like to know, and assures us of the accuracy of his statements by the authority of the learned men to whom the book was submitted, and who must have discovered and corrected any mistakes.

We may safely read the strange stories Sir James tells us, without the lurking dread that within three years they will all be questioned or denied, as has been the case with the narrative of a late African explorer. To the student of natural history, the work supplies a want which has long been felt, of a general directory to the study of the zoölogy of Southern Asia. The elaborate reports published, many of them at the

instance of the East India Company, Dr. Wight's beautiful botanical plates, Mr. Gould's Birds of India, Westwood's Oriental Entomology, and several others, are so expensive that hardly a library in this country possesses them. The older and more general works on the countries surrounding the Indian Ocean, as Valentyn's Natural History of Amboyna, Knox's Account of Ceylon (published in 1681), nay, even Ælian, Pliny, and Aristotle, all contributed to excite the curiosity of those who read their tales of wonders Europe could not boast of. In Aristotle we find statements so impossible, that less than a century ago the wise modern laughed at the credulity of the "Father of Naturalists," and yet later observations have proved their accuracy. Of the other authors we cannot say so much. Valentyn's mermaids have not yet been rediscovered, nor have Ælian's assertions that the elephant had no joints in his legs, and therefore could not lie down, been verified. Nevertheless, such statements served the purpose of awakening an interest in all that belongs to that land of enchantment, from whose midst "the spicy breezes blow soft o'er Ceylon's isle."

Sir James E. Tennent's work commences with a chapter on Mammalia. The Ceylon monkeys are first described, but are not remarkable. Then follows a notice of the strange Loris, a member, indeed, of the monkey family, but very distinct in appearance, as well as in its sluggish movements and nocturnal habits. Its eyes are large and intensely brilliant, and the superstitious Cingalese use them as charms. Next, the bats are described; and we find several peculiar species which would render our modest little "flying mouse" quite an inconspicuous object. Bright yellow, deep orange, and rich red-brown, as well as tawny and gray bats, take possession of every old ruin, and even of trees, houses, and the roofs of the temples. In form as well as color the Ceylon bats are various, some having strange and repulsive horseshoe-shaped leaves or flaps on the nose, another species so closely resembling a fox that it has received the name of flying-fox, and another no larger than an humble-bee. So numerous are the bats of the second description, that Ceylon has been called "the land of the flying-foxes."

After bats, we have bears, leopards, dogs, jackals, and other animals of less note. The curious Pengolin (*Manis pentadactyla*), although not peculiar to Ceylon, has been seldom described, and is not popularly known. It is an ant-eater, and somewhat resembles in outline a young alligator. Instead of the alligator's hide, the upper and lateral portions of the body are covered with large white scales or plates; the tail is short and thick, and the fearful jaws of the reptile are replaced by a long and somewhat pointed head, with a quiet, gentle expression. The feet are armed with powerful claws, to enable the animal to tear through the tough walls of the ant-hills which contain his food. Our author had two while he was on the island, and found them very affectionate, and easily tamed.

A Monograph of the Elephant extends from the second to the eighth chapter, and of this we intend to give a brief abstract, after enumerating the most interesting birds, fishes, reptiles, and insects. We are induced thus to interrupt the order adopted by the author, because this monograph is really a separate work, — separate in style and execution, if not in subject-matter.

The eighth chapter resumes the interrupted thread of the first, and we are told, that of the birds of Ceylon three hundred and twenty species have already been described. "To the eye of a stranger, their prodigious numbers, and especially the myriads of water-fowl which, notwithstanding the presence of the crocodiles, people the lakes and marshes in the eastern provinces, form one of the marvels of Ceylon." There is the curious Hornbill, with a large horny excrescence on its beak, building its nest in holes in trees, like our common woodpecker; and in these holes the female lays her eggs, and the male covers up the entrance during incubation, leaving only a small aperture through which he feeds his mate. The Devil-bird utters its hideous yells in the night-time, and the Bird of Paradise and the blue Mountain Jay enliven the woodland by day. The Weaver-bird is said to fasten fire-flies to its nest with soft clay. There is a species of dove that soothes the spirit of the passer-by with its soft and melancholy notes; anger and passion at once subside

when the loving tones are heard, and the hearer feels at peace with all the world.

From the flying to the creeping things is never a pleasant change, and how disagreeable it would be, while listening to the song of the dove, to discover the approach of a gigantic lizard four or five feet long! This is a common sight in Ceylon, and although the lizard is perfectly harmless, and even useful as an article of food, its repulsive appearance must greatly diminish the pleasure of a walk in the woods. Chameleons, geckoes, and other small lizards, abound.

Of the crocodiles, Sir James mentions an interesting fact, which has, we believe, before escaped notice. Describing the manner in which he discovered a crocodile, about ten feet long, asleep, and the cunning way in which it feigned death when it awoke and found itself caught, he says: "We tried to rouse it, but without effect, pulled its tail, slapped its back, struck its hard scales, and teased it in every way, but all in vain; nothing could induce it to move until accidentally my son, then a boy of twelve years old, tickled it gently under the arm, and in an instant it drew the limb close to its side and turned to avoid a repetition of the experiment. Again it was touched under the other arm, and the same emotion was exhibited, the great monster twisting about like an infant to avoid being tickled." Knowing the reptile's weak points, it is recommended to the unfortunates who may chance to be seized by the monster, to use all exertions to tickle him, as he will surely let go his hold to escape so unpleasant an operation.

Of the poor turtles, we are told several shockingly cruel things. The edible turtle is sold alive in the market-place in pieces to suit purchasers; and thus the animal is cut away piecemeal, and by women too, until the head and heart alone remain, and even then the snapping of the jaws, and the opening and shutting of the eyes, seem to testify its agony. The Hawksbill Tortoise, which supplies the tortoise-shell of commerce, is seized as she comes to the shore to deposit her eggs, and suspended over fires until the horny plates start from the bone of the upper shell. It is true that such treatment of reptiles is defended on the ground of their low

degree of sensitiveness; but what they feel when tortured must none the less be pain, and, when needlessly tortured, useless pain.

Among the serpents, the Tic Palenga and the well-known Cobra de Capello, or Hooded Adder, are the most poisonous. In the bays of Ceylon are found the sea-serpents, not the fabled monsters so often seen and so seldom caught, but a smaller and less romantic kind. They sleep on the surface of the water, awaking now and then to dart their poisonous fangs into some unlucky fish, and they sink below the surface on the approach of danger.

In strange varieties of the finny tribe Ceylon yields to few other parts of the world. The Saw-fish and the Sword-fish are common. The Angler (*Cheironectes*) buries itself beneath the mud, and exhibits only a little worm-like appendage just above its mouth, which attracts the smaller fishes to destruction. Fishes of the deepest scarlet and flame color, purple, green, blue, and crimson, are found in the salt waters that wash the shores of Ceylon. Under the head of fresh-water fishes, our author describes at length the strange manner in which temporary ponds are found stocked with full-grown fish. Ponds and tanks are often completely drained during the dry season, so that grass and herbs cover the bottom; yet when the rains return, the fish are again abundant. Whence do they come? Evidently they are buried in the earth, and remain there unharmed until they can re-enter their chosen element. It is only within a few years that this story has been believed, although Knox related it two hundred years ago. Is it more wonderful than that fishes should be frozen in a solid cake of ice, and remain so during one of our longest winters, resuming all their activity when spring releases them from their prison?

Of all the Mollusca of Ceylon the pearl-oyster is the most important, though of late years the fisheries have hardly paid the government expenses. Sir James denies the statement often made, that the divers are able to remain under water for a fabulously long time, and declares that they seldom exceed fifty-nine seconds in nine-fathom water. One story of the shells, and we pass on to the insects. It was

told Sir James that musical sounds were often heard in the depths of a lake near Balticaloa. He says: —

"In the evening, when the moon rose, I took a boat and accompanied the fishermen to the spot; ..... there was not a breath of wind nor a ripple except those caused by the dip of our oars. On coming to the point mentioned, I distinctly heard the sounds in question. They came up from the water like the gentle thrills of a musical chord, or the faint vibrations of a wine-glass when its rim is rubbed by a moistened finger. It was not one sustained note, but a multitude of tiny sounds, each clear and distinct in itself; the sweetest treble mingling with the lowest bass. On applying the ear to the wood-work of the boat, the vibration was greatly increased in volume. The sounds varied considerably at different points, as we moved across the lake, as if the number of the animals from which they proceeded was greatest in particular spots; and occasionally we rowed out of hearing of them altogether, until on returning to the original locality the sounds were at once renewed."

To the entomologist Ceylon offers beetles rivalling those of Brazil in beauty of form and splendor of tint, some of them being said to resemble the rubies for which the island is so celebrated; curious leaf-insects, which are so much like leaves that even the birds are deceived; ants of many species, whose wonderful economy has always been an interesting study; butterflies which equal their Chinese neighbors in beauty, if not in number; mosquitos, which deem nothing human unworthy their regard; and, finally, what is perhaps of most interest to the Cingalese agriculturist, the coffee-bug (*Lecanium Coffeæ*).

We may now return to the Monograph of the Elephant, which occupies more than a third of the book. Many years ago, when the kings of Kandy ruled over Ceylon, elephants were so abundant as to be troublesome. All the plantations were infested by these enormous robbers, and it was impossible to pass any distance through the forest without meeting several herds. When foreign invaders obtained possession of the soil, their chief amusement was to slay these animals, so that now, where then there were ten, hardly three are to be found. It must not be supposed that they were objects of dread to the natives from any savageness of disposition. Indeed, such is

the timidity the animal displays, that, except at certain seasons of the year, he would rather retreat than pursue a man, and such dread of fences or artificial barriers does he exhibit, that a paling of rushes lightly bound together will keep a herd of elephants from the most tempting rice-fields. Another elephantine trait often exhibited in our menageries is sure-footedness; an elephant will go wherever man can pass, if the passage be wide enough for his body and the ground solid enough to bear his weight.

How are the elephants captured? One way is this. Moors who are trained for the purpose devote themselves entirely to the capture. Two of them go out together and find a herd of elephants. They select their intended victim, steal up close behind him while at rest, and endeavor to fix a noose around one of his hind legs with a rope of elk's-hide, which is their only implement. They watch their opportunity, and when the elephant raises his leg the noose is secured. Then ensues the struggle.

"Should the noosing be effected in open ground, and no tree of sufficient strength be at hand round which to wind the rope, one of the Moors, allowing himself to be pursued by the enraged elephant, entices him towards the nearest grove, where his companion, dexterously laying hold of the rope as it trails along the ground, suddenly coils it round a suitable stem, and brings the fugitive to a standstill. On finding himself thus arrested, the natural impulse of the captive is to turn on the man who is making fast the rope, a movement which it is the duty of his colleague to prevent, by running up close to the elephant's head, and provoking the animal to confront him by irritating gesticulations and taunting shouts of *Dah! dah!* a monosyllable the sound of which the elephant peculiarly dislikes. Meanwhile the first assailant, having secured one noose, comes up from behind with another, with which, amidst the vain rage and struggles of the victim, he entraps a fore-leg, the rope being as before secured to another tree in front, and the whole four feet having been thus entangled, the capture is completed."

Next comes the taming. A rude shelter is built for the captors, fires are kindled in the neighborhood, and the siege begins. Hunger, fire, smoke, and the ropes around his legs, and then kind treatment, food, and a bath, usually subdue the temper of the most obstinate in a few weeks, and his masters may venture to take him home.

"As he is still too morose to submit to be ridden, and as it would be equally impossible to lead or to drive him by force, the ingenuity of the captor is displayed in alternately irritating and eluding him, but always so attracting his attention as to allure him along in the direction in which they want him to go."

The capture of a whole herd or family is a state festival; thousands must assist, and months perhaps are consumed in its preparation; the object being to supply the government stud and the temples. The season chosen is that between seed-time and harvest, when all the agriculturists are comparatively at leisure.

"In selecting the scene for the hunt, a position is chosen which lies on some old and frequented route of the animals in their periodical migrations in search of forage and water; and the vicinity of a stream is indispensable, not only for the supply of the elephants during the time spent in inducing them to approach the enclosure, but to enable them to bathe and cool themselves throughout the process of training the captives."

In constructing this enclosure or corral, care is taken to avoid disturbing the trees or brushwood within the included space, and especially on the side by which the elephants are to approach. The corral our author describes was 500 feet by 250 in extent. The object is to get the elephant within this trap.

"For this purpose it is often necessary to fetch a circuit of many miles in order to surround a sufficient number, and the caution to be observed involves patience and delay; as it is essential to avoid alarming the elephants, which might otherwise escape. Their disposition being essentially peaceful, and their only impulse to browse in solitude and security, they withdraw instinctively before the slightest intrusion, and advantage is taken of this timidity and love of seclusion to cause only just such an amount of disturbance as will induce them to return slowly in the direction which it is desired they should take. Several herds are by this means concentrated within such an area as will admit of their being completely surrounded by the watchers; and day after day, by degrees they are moved gradually onward to the immediate confines of the corral. When their suspicions become awakened, and they exhibit restlessness and alarm, bolder measures are adopted for preventing their escape. Fires are kept burning at ten paces apart, night and day, along the circumference of the area in which they are

detained; a corps of from two to three thousand beaters is completed, and pathways are carefully cleared through the jungle so as to keep open a communication along the entire circuit. At last the elephants are forced onwards so close to the enclosure that the investing cordon is united at either end with the wings of the corral, the whole forming a circle of about two miles, within the area of which the herd is detained to await the signal for the final drive."

In such preparations as these, two months had been consumed, and now all was ready for the final drive of the three herds which had been entrapped.

"Suddenly the signal was made, and the stillness of the forest was broken by the shouts of the guards, the rolling of the drums and tom-toms, and the discharge of muskets; and, beginning at the most distant side of the area, the elephants were urged forward at a rapid rate towards the entrance into the corral. The watchers along the line kept silence only till the herd had passed them, and then, joining the cry in their rear, they drove them onward with redoubled shouts and noises. The tumult increased as the terrified rout drew near, swelling now on one side, now on the other, as the herd in their panic dashed from point to point in their endeavors to force the line; but they were instantly driven back by screams, muskets, and drums."

At last, after all this unceasing labor, the herds dash into the corral, and the capture is made. The process of tying the legs is precisely similar to that before described.

Taken as a separate work, the Monograph of the Elephant is more open to criticism than the other chapters. Too much importance is attached to such matters as the various derivations of the word *elephant*, and the childish opinions entertained by ancient authors. The narrative wants arrangement, and the author has paid the penalty of this deficiency by appearing to contradict himself several times.

The study of the fauna of Ceylon reveals to us two very curious facts, — that the animals and plants are quite distinct from those of India, and that they are very similar to, if not identical with, those of Sumatra and the neighboring islands. This carries us back to remote ages, when the Himalayas were islands, and India was beneath the sea. Ceylon may have formed part of a vast continent including Sumatra and Borneo. Whether this was the case or not, it is evident that

Ceylon was what naturalists call a centre of development, and must have been united, not with India, although but sixty miles distant and joined to it now for a portion of the way by a coral reef, but with Sumatra and Borneo.

This is but one of the many interesting topics which the work before us suggests; and although too little is yet known of Asiatic natural history to settle fairly such important questions as might be raised, we may hope that the favorable reception of this and similar works will stimulate naturalists to pursue investigations which must result in the proudest monuments of human intellect, when man learns to read aright the Book of Nature from the hand of God.

ART. VI. — 1. *Memoir, Letters, and Remains of* ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE. Translated from the French. With large Additions. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1862. 2 vols. 16mo.

2. *Democracy in America.* By ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE. Translated by HENRY REEVE, Esq. Edited, with Notes, by FRANCIS BOWEN, Alford Professor in Harvard University. Cambridge: John Bartlett. 1862. 2 vols. 12mo.

THE collection of letters which has been given to the world in the volumes before us, will be valuable to the public, no less for the entertainment they yield than for the instruction they impart. They are illustrative, not only of the fine genius of M. de Tocqueville, but also of his private habits and character. The affection which he evinces toward his family and friends, the zest with which he partook of the recreations of retirement, and the discreet attention which he bestowed on minor duties, acquaint us with his domestic virtues. The lofty views of politics and ethics which abound in all his letters enable us to comprehend the depth and purity of his mind. The grace and beauty of their style is surpassed only by their logical consistency, their energy, and the familiar gravity with which the subjects are treated. They seem to

have flowed spontaneously from the breast of the writer; and, nevertheless, to have been subjected to a strict mental process of discrimination and judgment. They are evidently the creations of a reflective, and yet sensitive intellect, refined by observation, modified by experience, firm in its convictions, and deeply absorbed in the great problem to which the author devoted the greater part of his life, — the future of governments and nations. They are published at a most opportune period.

Ancient political foundations are apparently undergoing great and continual changes; symptoms of momentous commotions already appear; and the question whether democracy can or cannot survive the excesses of its own elements, is put to the test with all the severity which a conflict between twenty millions and nine millions can produce. The rapid sale of these volumes encourages the hope that the wise and moderate precepts therein contained may be speedily disseminated through our community; and this new light may serve to lead us to more rational conceptions of our own system, teaching us to survey our dangers with calmness, and enlightening our judgment as to the means of averting them.

The most valuable portions of M. de Tocqueville's correspondence, indeed, are omitted in the present issue; but while we deeply regret that M. de Beaumont, the editor of the volumes, should be compelled to deprive us of the observations of such a mind concerning the most important epochs of modern French history, we may readily perceive why the suppression was necessary, when we consider that the French press of the present day is fettered by a stern and cautious censorship. So active was De Tocqueville in the occurrences of the Revolution of 1848, and subsequently, during the suspense which preceded, and was wickedly terminated by, the usurpation of the 2d of December, and so bitter was his opposition to the centralization of power in the person of the present Emperor, that his letters concerning these events cannot be flattering to the present government, or to the principles by which despotic authority now holds the French people enthralled. We are led to hope, however, that, when the future shall restore freedom of speech and action, this correspondence, doubtless

rich in thought and fervent in expression, will be made public, and will give us new revelations of a period now, thanks to the powers that be, by no means comprehended.

In the biography prefixed to the letters, we have a modest and ingenuous testimonial of a lifelong friend, displaying to us a comparatively uneventful, and yet an enviable career. It is undoubtedly open to the censure applicable to so many biographies, that it depicts in exaggerated colors the virtues, and is silent respecting the defects, of the subject. But we may well excuse this partiality in a lifelong friend; still less are we able to deprecate it, inasmuch as the testimony of all who knew him coincides in giving De Tocqueville a character nearly as exemplary as that ascribed to him by his biographer. M. de Beaumont merits approbation for the delicacy with which he has avoided anything tending to offend the sensitiveness of living persons, the good taste he has manifested in the selection of private letters, the accuracy with which he has detailed public and private events, and the earnest desire he evinces to make his work a fair memorial of a life which he considers as a noble example for the imitation of philosophers and statesmen.

Alexis de Tocqueville was descended from a house which traces its origin back for many centuries. The name of the family was Clerel; but, being of gentle blood, they took their present surname of Tocqueville, which is derived from the ancient manor on which they have dwelt for many generations. Up to the middle of the seventeenth century, they lived at Rampan, a small village near St. Lo, whence they were formerly known as the Clerels de Rampan. The ancestry of Alexis, under this name, occupied an honorable, and often an eminent, rank among their contemporaries. They appear to have been actively engaged in political and military events, and to have established a family reputation, which has been worthily sustained to the present day. They were a chivalric and spirited race, and were distinguished for that lofty sense of honor, which especially marked the higher orders of French society in former times. The courtesy, energy, and independence of the ancient noblesse are easily discernible in the character of the scion of the house of Clerel of whose life we are writing.

During the seventeenth century, the Clerels removed to a small settlement on the coast of Normandy, named Tocqueville, possibly from Toki, an ancient chief in those parts. Here the heirs of the family have resided down to the present time; spending their lives in the dignity and ease of landed gentlemen, indulging in rural sports, and assuming honorable responsibilities, looked up to with respect by their humbler neighbors, and occasionally emerging to take a distinguished part in political and military movements. The father of Alexis was heir of the manor, and early came into the possession of his patrimony. During the brief and delusive lull which, in 1793, intervened between the execution of Louis XIV. and the gloomy tyranny of the Jacobins, he married Mademoiselle de Rosambo, a grand-daughter of the celebrated Malesherbes. That heroic old loyalist, after defending, at the peril of his life, the king whom he loved, before the insurgent Convention, had retired in despair to mourn the death of his sovereign, and to deplore the ruin of his country. It was a sad time in which to celebrate a marriage, and the festivities were brief and unostentatious. The felicities of the honeymoon were soon dissipated by the horrors which attended the nation without a ruler; for within a year after the celebration of the nuptials, the violence of the Revolutionists, which everywhere sought the destruction of the ancient aristocracy, descended upon their family; and the venerable statesman, after witnessing the execution of his daughter, grand-daughter, and her husband, Châteaubriand, himself paid the penalty of his devotion to royalty upon the scaffold. Even the youthful Count and his bride were seized and imprisoned for the pretended crimes of her ancestors, and would have shared a like fate, had not the fall of Robespierre restored them to freedom. They hastened from the Conciergerie to Tocqueville, where they found that their villa had happily escaped anarchical fury; and here they resided in seclusion for many years.

Alexis was born at Paris, on the 29th of July, 1805. He was the third son, his two older brothers, Hippolyte and Edward, both of whom survived him, holding by courtesy the titles of Viscount and Baron de Tocqueville. They are frequently mentioned in his letters, and always with warm affec-

tion. Although they have held a respectable position in society, they have not become eminent, and are not remarkable for those high qualities of mind which distinguished Alexis. Although his father was an aristocrat, and in good circumstances, his early education does not appear to have been well cared for. But a love of books was natural to him; and so assiduously did he devote himself to study, when his mind was sufficiently ripe to appreciate the value of knowledge, that he succeeded in entering the college of Metz about 1820; and in 1822 he was awarded the first prize in rhetorical composition. All his tastes led him to desire active, and at the same time intellectual pursuits; and he chose the law for his profession. He was soon appointed Juge Auditeur of Versailles, where his father was Prefect. He had, in the year before his appointment, made a tour of Italy and Sicily in company with his brother Edward, a journal of which we find in the volumes before us. The great subjects which subsequently engrossed his thoughts appear to have agitated him thus early in his career. Instead of dwelling upon the stately palaces and renowned temples, the relics of ancient art and the marvels of modern skill, he investigated the manners of the people, their political, moral, and religious tendencies, their estimation of and capacity for government, and the comparative intelligence and virtue of ancient and modern Italy. He was already gathering that rich fund of experience, and attaining that high capacity for observation, which years afterward enabled him to step, with one effort, into the first rank of political philosophers. His early impressions, derived from a mother who had witnessed the tragical desolation of her family, and who was in the midst of the terrible scenes enacted by the Revolutionists, had made him an earnest and thoughtful student of the causes and influence of those stirring events. He was fired with the contemplation of the wrongs suffered by his kindred and his countrymen, which stimulated him to attempt the interpretation of the great enigma of the eighteenth century. He had learned from the lips of surviving witnesses the contempt of order, the desecration of religion, the fierce Vandalism, and the prostitution of the name of liberty, which composed the salient features of Jacobin ascendency. He had

himself experienced the degradation of the higher orders, and the subversion of the established *status* of society; he saw that the dangers of pure democracy counterbalanced, among a mercurial and restless race like the French, the evils of monarchy; and yet he was forced to admit that liberty and progress were incompatible with the bigoted government of Charles X. Hence we find him, at the early age of nineteen, considering the political condition of the countries through which he travelled, and deducing inferences applicable to France. Having entered upon his magisterial duties in 1827, he brought to their discharge vigilance and acuteness, and soon achieved eminence in his department. But the narrow drudgery of the bench failed to satisfy the craving of his restless and comprehensive mind. As a relief to the tedious routine of his office, he turned aside with De Beaumont, his colleague and friend, to the congenial study of history. The enthusiasm with which he pursued his favorite researches, the sagacity with which he unravelled causes and effects from the dry materials of facts and dates, and the discernment with which he deduced general principles from the habits and opinions of different ages, and by comparing different nations, predicted, when he had scarcely attained his majority, the certainty of future triumphs.

Meanwhile, the political events of 1827–8 portended convulsions of an extraordinary nature. The popular party began to manifest symptoms of resistance to the established order. The Legitimists, encouraged by a monarch who, to a weak and capricious intellect, added a stubborn indifference to the welfare of his people, and who did not hesitate to assert his belief in the divine right of the crown, resisted with firmness the appeals for reform which came up to Paris from every part of the nation. Literary controversy and theoretical speculation were fomenting discontent throughout the land. Charles, remembering that his prototype and namesake of England had fallen by yielding, vainly imagined that he could sustain himself by resisting. De Tocqueville, who had studied history differently, and, as subsequent events proved, far more sagaciously, looked upon the course of the king with misgiving, and predicted his inevitable downfall when Polignac became First Minister.

The young philosopher, nevertheless, viewed with dread the approach of another revolution. He saw, on one side, the intelligence, the religion, the moral and intellectual element of France; on the other, an irresponsible and anarchical power, composed of an ignorant and unreasoning mass. While the monarchy was sustained by the virtue, the revolution was sustained by the iniquity and vice of the nation. If the monarchy successfully resisted its antagonists, and built its permanence on the oppression of the people, he could see no hope of preserving the cause of constitutional liberty. If another revolution should prevail over the established order, demolishing with a sudden stroke the *status* which was scarcely recovered from the shock of 1789, followed by a usurpation of fanatics and atheists, with all the disastrous results of anarchy and bloodshed, there seemed but little better prospect of the restoration of tranquillity and freedom. If he had been a selfish man, his interest would have led him to support the crown. His father had been created a peer of France by Louis XVIII. He belonged to the old noblesse, which after the vicissitudes of 1789, and the Empire, had been restored with the Bourbon dynasty. Most of the influence he then possessed, was owing to his high birth and connections. His family had been prominent among the victims of Robespierre and Marat. He was just now entering a career which promised the richest rewards of genius. But with all these influences, he could not support a dynasty which prided itself on its opposition to the popular demand, which was gradually undermining the remnants of liberty bequeathed by the first Revolution, and which feared innovation as the instrument of its destruction. The revolution came: it was accomplished without blood; the king was driven from the capital, and the Duc d'Orleans, his cousin, was raised to the throne. De Tocqueville was neutral in the contest. He now with great reluctance and disinclination took the oath prescribed by the new government, in the faint hope that a change for the better had been made, and that the new king would be forced to govern constitutionally, as a means of safety. He taught himself to bear what could not be remedied, yet did not approve what his conscience condemned. He rather acquiesced

in than supported the Revolution of 1830; and he did so with a hesitation which indicated that, while principle remained unshaken, necessity compelled a course which his convictions reprobated.

In 1831, M. de Beaumont, his colleague in the magistracy, was removed from that position by the government; and De Tocqueville, deprived of his presence and counsel, immediately resigned his own office, and willingly retired from the annoyances of the forum. He was gratified to obtain a commission from the Interior Department, jointly with De Beaumont, to proceed to the United States for the purpose of viewing the penitentiary system. This was only the means, however, to a noble end which he had proposed to himself. He wished to see the only country in the world in which democracy had become reconciled to order and stability; in which popular education was the regulator of the political system; in which the highest degree of freedom had been made compatible with an effective police, a prompt administration of justice, and a competent form of government. It was his ambition to view our institutions as a Frenchman, yearning to find the great remedy which should cure what was beginning to be the chronic distemper of his country. It was necessary, in order to comprehend our national fabric, to come among us, to trace back every effect to its cause, to view, if possible, the operation of the system with American prejudices, and to consider with a philosophic eye "the march of ideas and feelings." While he devoted much labor to the official enterprise which he had undertaken, his main work was the study of American liberty; and he studied it not more as a philosopher, or as a theorist, than as a *patriot*. "America," he says, "was only the frame; my picture was Democracy."

He devoted two years, on his return, to the composition of the work which brought him, by a marvellous transition, from obscurity to renown. He had not reached his thirtieth year when "Democracy in America" appeared. It was at once hailed as the result of a great mind. No European had before comprehended American liberty. No philosopher had before penetrated so far into the problem of democracy. In that work were exhibited, with a strength worthy of Johnson,

and an accuracy which Parr might have envied, the virtues and the deficiencies of popular power. The picture was not more excellent for the brilliancy of its coloring and the beauty of its arrangement, than for the symmetry of its whole, and the vividness of every part. So profound, and yet so graceful, a treatise on government has not been produced in the present century, or perhaps in any century. Frenchmen were proud that their young countryman should distance, in one of the most difficult of sciences, the ancient authorities of other nations. Englishmen were glad to see a work appear which tended to confirm a constitution sustained by an equipoise between crown and people. Americans venerated the man who, alone of all foreigners that had crossed the Atlantic, fully understood a system so much reviled in the Old World, and who had impartially and accurately discerned the merits and faults of a republican government. The book was sold with wonderful rapidity, and was translated into many languages of civilized Europe. No library was considered as complete without it. Conservatives found in its pages arguments enforcing the danger of mob government. Reformers quoted it in derogation of regal authority, and in favor of extending popular suffrage. His aim was, however, to represent to the advocates of ideal democracy and the advocates of established precedent the errors in both views; — to show that democracy without intelligence, morality, and religion, is anarchy and despotism; that democracy reconciled to "respect for property, deference for rights, safety to freedom, and reverence to religion," is composed of great and noble elements; and that the choice is inevitable between anarchical democracy and intelligent democracy. "Many people," he says to Stoffels, "of opposite opinions, are pleased with it, not because they understand it, but because they find in my book, considered on one side only, certain arguments favorable to their own passion of the moment." Triumphant as was the early success of "Democracy in America," as years of experience and public disorder have passed, it has become more and more authoritative; and the prophetic wisdom, the profound logic, and the strict accuracy which dignify every page, have been tested and confirmed by subsequent events. Similar subjects

have been discussed by men of genius on both sides of the Atlantic; but the greater part are speculatists, deriving their materials from the study of other works and the observations of other persons. They have erected formidable theories, abounding indeed in erudition and acuteness, yet lacking the test of actual experience. But M. de Tocqueville lived in the events, and observed in person the facts, from which he produced the elements of his philosophy. Superadded to an extraordinary capacity for political speculation, he possessed a vivid experience with which to exemplify and enforce his doctrines.

After enjoying a triumph in his own country, which must not only have gratified his pride, but also stimulated his hopes of reform, he visited England in 1835. There he met with a reception, from the first noblemen and writers of the age, of which he was justly proud. The elegant and courteous Lansdowne (who yet lives to adorn society and Parliament, after being for sixty years a chief of the Reform party), the polished Holland, the vivacious Macaulay, and the learned Grote, welcomed to their country one who combined grace and dignity of manner, nobility of birth, and brilliant colloquial power with a strength of intellect such as few Frenchmen have exhibited in any age. His connections with the eminent English Liberals, which then commenced, were kept intimate, as they were delightful, by means of frequent correspondence and occasional visits, to the end of his life. In all his letters, the high respect which he entertained for English institutions, and the affection with which he regarded his English friends, are apparent.

In the same year, he married an English lady, Miss Mary Mottley, to whom he had been several years attached, and who, though she brought him no fortune, seems to have appreciated his temperament and sympathized with his tastes. He constantly spoke of her with steady affection, and never took a step without resorting to her advice. In 1836, the Academy of France, proud to acknowledge the justness of his eminence, awarded a prize of eight thousand francs to his work on America. The following year found him the possessor, by a family agreement, of the ancient manor of Tocqueville. The Revo-

lution of 1830 had substituted a representative government for a rigid monarchy. This change brought with it a corresponding change in the position of literary men. Little pains had been taken by the Bourbons to encourage this class; much less were they resorted to as counsellors of the crown. The sagacious Louis Philippe saw the importance with which they were regarded by intelligent men; and the result was, that poets and historians, editors and astronomers, became Ministers of Police and Ministers of Foreign Affairs. De Tocqueville, who had hitherto been known as a speculative politician, now aspired to be a practical politician. He saw the class in which he had ranked himself accepting seals of office, offering themselves for the Chamber, and representing France at foreign courts. He was now a feudal proprietor; and this advantage, combined with his literary eminence, encouraged him to enter the troubled arena. At the election of 1837, therefore, he presented himself to the Arrondissement of Valoques as a candidate for the Chamber. His kinsman, Count Molé, then at the head of the government, offered to support him with all the influence of the ministry, and without his knowledge took measures to carry the election in his favor. But De Tocqueville, with a lofty spirit seldom seen in candidates for office, manfully rejected the aid thus offered; and, the cry of "No nobles!" having been raised against him, he was defeated. Liberal as were his ideas on government, he could not induce the bigoted Norman peasantry to look beyond his birth, to his character and merit.

He now devoted himself to cultivating the esteem of his neighbors, to improving the surroundings of his villa, to the pleasing duties of hospitality, and to the continuation of the great work, the published portions of which had so abundantly rewarded him. In 1838 the Academy of Moral and Political Science did itself honor, and him justice, by enrolling his name as one of its members. The biennial election again approached in 1839, when, so successful had he been in disabusing the district of prejudices against him, and in endearing himself to its people by the simple courtesy of his manners, he was elected by a large majority to the highest legislative position in France. He continued to represent

Valoques in the Chamber of Deputies from 1839 to the breaking up of thrones and legislatures in 1848.

He found, upon taking his seat, that the Chamber was divided into three distinct parties, — the ministerial party, the dynastic opposition, and the republican opposition. At the head of the former were M. Guizot and M. Molé, and they supported the royal family then in power. The dynastic opposition were under the lead of Thiers and Odillon Barrot. They were the constitutional opposition, acquiescent in the present establishment, but opposed to the particular measures of the ministry then in place. The republicans were not only opposed to the present dynasty, but to all dynasties, and were willing and zealous disciples of the old Revolutionists. The freedom of the press had never been greater than it was at this time; consequently parties of all shades waged incessant warfare, and the fiercest fanatics did not hesitate to avow their extreme doctrines in the forum and through the press. De Tocqueville, having before his eyes the example of England, — that example to which he ever tried to induce France to approximate, — and from a fear that either the crown or the republicans might acquire too much power, determined to throw his influence into the balancing party, and enrolled himself under the leadership of Thiers and Barrot. While, on the whole, he considered it essential to the liberties of France to support the Orleanists at the Tuileries, he thought that a dynastic opposition would operate to restrain while it sustained, and, at the same time keeping the republicans in a hopeless minority, to force the king to a constitutional reign. While he continued Deputy, he was intrusted with various responsible duties, among others, with that of reporting, in 1839, on the abolition of colonial slavery; in 1840, on prison reform; and in 1846, on African colonization. In 1840, he issued the last two volumes of "Democracy in America," which were received with as great approbation as had greeted the former issue; and in the following year he had the gratifi cation of being elected a member of the Academy of France. As a relaxation from the severe duties of the Chamber, he travelled, in 1841, and again in 1845, through Algeria. His letters from that country are full of interest, and evince that

sagacious comprehension of politics which was so remarkable in him.

His friends had expected, when he was returned to the legislature, that he would rise at once to the front ranks of his party. But those expectations were, in a great measure, disappointed. He not only did not become a leader, he did not become even prominent in the debates of the Chamber. The eloquence which had flowed so easily from his pen now failed him, as he stood upon his feet and attempted to harangue the dignified Deputies of France. It was not surprising, however, that one who had been a great writer did not succeed as a speaker. He had memorable precedents, to which he might point, to excuse his failure. Such men as Addison, Johnson, Jefferson, and Scott, all political writers of the first ability, had entirely failed when called upon to speak in public. His temper, which was impetuous to a fault, his care to avoid commonplaces, his deliberate search after deep thought, the delicacy of his frame, and the entirely novel position in which he found himself, added to a weak voice, were adequate reasons for his deficiency as an orator. Notwithstanding, however, that his labors could not be of service to his cause in forensic discussion, the conservative and deliberative cast of his mind produced an influence on his colleagues far from contemptible. In private discussions with his political friends, he pointed out to them, with rare acuteness, the dangers which beset the monarchy and liberty. To him they resorted when an important vote was to be decided, or an important measure introduced; and although, unhappily for them and for France, they did not always follow his counsel, they listened to it with attention and respect.

The breach between the king's friends, headed by Guizot, on the one side, and the dynastic and the revolutionary opposition, now apparently united, on the other, was continually widening from 1840 to the time of the king's downfall. Odillon Barrot hoped that, by uniting with the radicals, and thereby outvoting the ministry, he might be able to limit, without destroying, the royal prerogative. He vainly thought that, after concessions had been forced by the aid of his allies, he might easily abandon them, and, supported by the nation,

accede to power without detriment to the monarchy. The issue which he made with the ministry was reform in the court and in elections. The revolutionists, under the leading of such men as Ledru-Rollin, Marrast, Arago, and Louis Blanc, now entered upon the rapid execution of the projects which had long busied their fevered brains, and caught at the first opportunity of their fulfilment. Carrying along with them in their impetuous career their unwilling allies, they began to incite the nation to a desperate resistance, and to preach the old doctrines of equality and liberty to the ignorant and disaffected. The government, looking with natural dread upon the disturbances thus created, forbade the holding of public meetings. Fertile in expedient and fearless in action, the agitators contrived that banquets should be held throughout France; and at these assemblages they harangued with redoubled violence and fury. Barrot and Thiers began to tremble at the excesses which their rashness had brought into existence. But it was too late. They could break down the barrier, but they could not again rear it to oppose the impetuous flood. The time had come when the weaker element of conservatism in the coalition was drowned in the desperate measures of the levellers.

De Tocqueville saw the approach of the tempest months before it burst upon the country. In January he addressed the Chamber in a prophetic warning, which amazed the deputies. After pointing to the disturbances which agitated the nation, and the causes of those disturbances, he said: "We are slumbering on a volcano: I am certain of it." Events soon occurred which stamped him as a true prophet. A grand national banquet was announced to take place in Paris. The insurrectionists were to erect their standards of rebellion under the very shadow of the Tuileries. Barrot attempted to compromise; Rollin and Blanc were inexorable. Guizot offered to resign, and Barrot was intrusted with a brief interval of power. But the outbreak was ripe, and revolution again triumphed over monarch, ministers, and legislators. The king, with the royal family, fled through his garden, as the mob were thundering at the portals of the palace. France was once more without a ruler. And now came in all that

race of hypocrites who exercised power under the visor of liberty, — exalting the populace of Paris over the citizens of France, — bent on abolishing royalty, debasing the nobility, equalizing all ranks, and levelling property and power to a common grade. Ledru-Rollin, at the head of a band of rioters, overawed and expelled the Deputies, and read a list of the Provisional Government, including with himself the wildest zealots of his faction, from the poetical Lamartine to Albert the laborer. This administration, self-created, and sustained only by the dregs of Paris, repaired to the head-quarters of the government, and began to shape their policy by the promulgation of the Utopian systems, the advocacy of which had attached to them the ignorant and deluded laboring classes of the capital.

De Tocqueville clearly discerned the dangers of the nation, and instantly declared that its only safety was in the prompt erection of a constitutional republic. He considered the evils of political frenzy less dangerous than the ignorance of the people "as to the real conditions of production and social prosperity." A continuation of the social despotism which now held possession of the sinews of government must, he saw, eventually lead the nation again to imperial rule, as it had done before in 1789. An election for a Constituent Assembly was ordered; and on the 4th of May De Tocqueville was returned to it by his neighborhood of La Manche. To the surprise and chagrin of the Provisional Government, this body contained a large majority of conservative and moderate men. The revolutionists found themselves in a hopeless minority. De Tocqueville, with other leaders of the advocates of order and system, now earnestly strove to establish a republic. The Constituent Assembly, completely united, and determined to resist Parisian tyranny, promptly appointed a committee to frame a constitution with a republican form. Upon this committee De Tocqueville was placed, and became a leading member. But the chaotic elements into which society had been broken were not yet reduced to harmony; and the Republic, unsupported by the steady, zealous, and energetic approval of the nation, only prepared the way for a catastrophe which De Tocqueville had been anxious to avert by its means. The

election of President resulted in the choice of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, a man who, as De Tocqueville himself said, "believes in his own hereditary right in the crown as firmly as Charles X. himself." De Tocqueville had voted for General Cavaignac, the opposing candidate, because he dreaded the accession of a Bonaparte, and looked with especial distrust upon the character of the prince who now solicited popular support.

Soon after his instalment into office, Napoleon requested an interview with De Tocqueville, and endeavored, by treating him with marked civility, to persuade him into the adoption of his own views. But the shrewd statesman penetrated the design of the President, and refused to become a passive tool for the erection of despotism over the heads of the people. The conservatives, although disheartened at the evident tendencies of the new powers, resolved to make one more effort for a constitutional establishment. They hoped that, by persuading the President to adopt the principle of free parliaments and responsible ministries, he might be induced to forego the effort to obtain the uncertain authority of absolute power. With this laudable view, Odillon Barrot, in June, 1849, undertook the functions of prime minister. Eminent conservatives were intrusted with the ministerial seals. De Tocqueville, much to Barrot's honor, received and accepted the portfolio of the Foreign Office. The people began to imagine symptoms of permanent peace and order. Every one now took heart at the encouraging signs of restored tranquillity.

The Foreign Secretary found that he had assumed, with his new office, duties of unusual magnitude. Besides the deliberations which devolved upon him as a member of the cabinet council, which, at this early stage of affairs, were of the utmost importance, he was obliged to turn his attention to the settlement of the Roman question, and also of the controversy regarding the Hungarian refugees who were claimed from Turkey by Russia and Austria. To reconcile other nations to the occupation of the Eternal City by French troops, to disabuse foreign courts of the idea that this occupation was for conquest and not for protection, and to interfere between

three powerful courts in a question of the greatest delicacy and difficulty, required a clear and vigorous intellect, and a determined purpose. Of these tasks he acquitted himself with high credit. His despatches are perspicuous and energetic, sagacious and far-sighted. In the retirement of his study he could easily wield a power which had been denied him in the Chamber. His knowledge of passing political events, and the deep attention with which he had contemplated the history of nations, made him a complete master of his subject. The candor and ingenuousness with which he negotiated with foreign powers commanded their respect and elicited their confidence. The moderation of his views, and the remarkable foresight which had distinguished him throughout his career, called forth a reliance on his efficiency in the execution of his trust, both from his colleagues and from the people. His experience in office, however, though creditable, was brief; for it soon became apparent that Napoleon was determined to govern without the restraint of a responsible ministry. Finding that every attempt to legitimize his projected measures was vain, the Barrot ministry retired from power in October, 1849,— the technical issue being in regard to the Roman expedition. By their downfall the last hopes of preserving constitutional stability were crushed.

De Tocqueville, desponding, and shattered in health, now left France for Italy, and spent the winter at Sorrento, where he employed himself in recovering physical strength, observing from a distance the course of events, and writing the early portions of a work which he had long contemplated, on the causes of the first Revolution. On his return to France, he found the Assembly and the press agitated by discussions relative to a revision of the Constitution of 1848. The period designated for the election of President approached. The incumbent was bent on retaining his power; and whether it should be retained by a desperate *coup d'état*, or by abolishing the restriction in the Constitution which prohibited his re-election, it was for the Assembly to determine. Resistance by that body to the proposed revision was precipitating the nation into immediate and certain despotism. Compliance with it made such a result a question of time. De Tocqueville saw

that the choice was between faint hope and no hope. Without hesitation, when his mind was clear, he advocated a revision, and he was himself intrusted in committee with framing a report favorable to that measure. Feeble as the chance was of preserving the Republic, he saw that to make the acts of the President constitutional was the only chance. His description of the Constitution of 1848, in his report, is drawn with so masterly a hand, that we cannot refrain from presenting it to our readers: —

"A single Chamber exclusively entitled to make laws, a single man exclusively entitled to preside over the application of all laws, and the direction of all public affairs, each of them elected directly by universal suffrage; the Assembly omnipotent within the limits of the Constitution; the President required, within those limits, to obey the Assembly, but wielding, from the nature of his election, a moral force which makes his submission uneasy, and must suggest to him resistance, and possessed of all the prerogatives which belong to an executive in a country in which the central administration, everywhere active and everywhere powerful, has been created by monarchs and for the purposes of monarchy; — these two great powers, equal as to their origin, unequal as to their rights, condemned by law to coerce one another, invited by law to mutual suspicion, mutual jealousy, and mutual contest, yet forced to live in close embrace, in an eternal *tête-à-tête*, without a third power, or even an umpire to mediate and restrain them, — these are not conditions under which a government can be regular or strong."

The efforts of the constitutionalists proved of no avail. The inordinate ambition of Napoleon now only sought an opportunity to seize the absolute control over the nation. De Tocqueville, who had before predicted both of the Revolutions, foresaw the impending blow to the Assembly. He was seated among his colleagues in deliberation when the *coup d'état* took place. On the morning of the 2d of December, the President took possession, by military force, of all the government offices. An armed troop of soldiery came to the Assembly, and De Tocqueville, in company with two hundred of the *élite* of France, was marched to the Quai d'Orsay, and thence conveyed to Vincennes. Napoleon now rapidly consolidated the Empire. A constrained ballot afforded a pretence for his

measures. The Assembly was abolished, the press fettered, Lamartine and Hugo exiled, a standing army established, and every precaution taken to secure a permanent despotism. When the plans of the Emperor had been reduced to system, the imprisoned legislators were released.

This tyrannical seizure and confinement was the last scene in the political life of M. de Tocqueville. The result to which he had looked forward with dismay had now followed from the Revolution of 1848. The people of France, wearied with the continual turmoil of anarchy, and grown apathetic in the license which had long prevailed, had at last quietly and slavishly submitted their necks to the yoke of the oppressor. The day in which patriots could exert themselves was passed. All that remained for him now was to retire to his country-seat, to banish politics from his thoughts, to devote his time to the quiet walks of literature and agriculture, and to alleviate the condition and augment the happiness of those humble neighbors who had been so long faithful to him. He continued the execution of his work on the Revolution of 1789 as rapidly as his frail health would permit, and published the first part of it in 1856. The rest was never finished. For purposes of research and study he visited St. Cyr in 1854, and Germany in 1855. He also in 1857 visited England for the last time, where he was received with distinguished consideration, and whence a government vessel was specially commissioned to reconvey him to Normandy. He devoted himself with zest to agricultural improvements, for which, in the restlessness of his early days, he had acquired a dislike. Now, after an active and stormy life, his mind had become calm, and his love of nature contributed to give a relish to rural occupations. Although he had retired from public service, he never ceased to practise the maxim which we find in his letters, — "There is only one great object in this world which deserves our efforts, and that is the good of mankind." He considered life as of but little worth, except as it is made valuable by being employed in doing one's duty, and serving men, and in "taking one's fit place among them." His charity was free and liberal, his advice never refused, when solicited; his kindness and affability were constant and uni-

versal; his interest in the prosperity of others genuine and enthusiastic. Thus usefully and happily were his last years passed; and as he had spent a laborious life in improving public sentiment, exalting religious and educational influences, and striving to secure to his countrymen an equipoise of liberty and stability, the evening of his sojourn upon earth was devoted to the alleviation of individual distress, and the exercise of an active and incessant benevolence.

The delicate body, which had sustained so many inroads upon its strength, now began to yield to disease. In June, 1858, he broke a blood-vessel, — an event which, although at the time it was not regarded as fatal, accelerated the final catastrophe. The bleak shores of Normandy were ill suited to an invalid afflicted with pulmonary weakness, and he repaired to Cannes in the South of France, buoyed up with the hope that the softer air and more equable climate of that region might restore him to vigor. There, although confined most of the time to his villa, he continued those studies which had mainly contributed to his happiness through life, and remained in delightful communion with the eminent persons who resided near him. Lord Brougham and Chevalier Bunsen contributed to while away many weary hours by their considerate attentions to the dying statesman. After weeks of protracted suffering, aggravated by the illness of his wife, but sustained with patience by a meek and cheerful spirit, he passed away, with tranquillity and in the complete exercise of his faculties, surrounded by his best-beloved friends, on the 16th of April, 1859. Although till within a few days of his departure he had never ceased to look forward to a resumption of his labors, the humility with which he acquiesced in the solemn disappointment, and the fervent piety with which he confided in his Saviour, made a lasting impression upon those who witnessed that peaceful death-scene. At his own request, his mortal remains were laid in the rural churchyard, near the ancient manor on which he had dwelt so long, and among the people he loved so well. The burial service was performed in the humble parish church, and the mourning peasantry attended with one accord the last sad tribute to their illustrious

friend. A plain wooden cross marks the place of his interment. He died childless.

We have thus briefly reviewed the life of one whose name, known wherever civilization has given a zest to political philosophy, is held in peculiar respect on this side of the Atlantic. Before his day, little comparatively was known on the Continent with regard to the structure of our government, and its application of republican principles. To him we owe lasting gratitude for having led his age to an intelligent contemplation of our system, and for setting in a just light before the world the benefits and evils of democratic policy. It is not, however, to be inferred, because he devoted so much time and labor to the study of the principles of democracy, that he was an advocate of that form of government. He always regarded the constitutional monarchy of England as the polity which combined in the greatest perfection a just freedom for the subject with due power in the executive. He believed the tendencies of the age in which he lived to be toward the unlimited supremacy of the popular element; but he was persuaded of what events repeatedly verified, that the character of the French was not harmonious with the idea of unrestrained popular power. He aptly perceived that the causes which tended to strengthen republicanism in America could never so operate in his own country. For that reason he concluded that, while democracy in America was freedom, democracy in France was despotism. He wished to see in France a strong central government, not distracted by the independent influence of a landed aristocracy, and not interfering beyond its proper sphere; a just control over municipal matters given to municipal authorities; a generous extension of political rights, and a broad tolerance of individual action. But such an establishment, he readily perceived, must be the work of time; revolution could not effect it; a sudden change of administration or policy could not produce it; it must be ingrafted by gradual and cautious innovations, the more potent because the less perceptible. In the revolutions of which he had been a witness, he saw that all the elements of intelligence, morality, religion, and learning had been conservative; while the depravity of the nation, the wild, atheistic, visionary

fanatics, composed the elements of which the reforming spirit was made up. He knew that the former class of men were indispensable auxiliaries to the gradual change he was desirous of producing, and hence looked with great sorrow upon the violent convulsions which shook France from time to time. From these opinions we are enabled to arrive at the reason why he was never a strong party man. Looking beyond the ephemeral principles which controlled the policy of different factions, he could not bring himself to sympathize heartily with either extreme. Perceiving the salutary influence of a systematic opposition in England, he ranged himself with Barrot and Thiers, rather to maintain an equipoise than because his opinions sympathized with those of the statesmen with whom he acted. With his views, as we now understand them, for a test, his whole political course becomes consistent and highly virtuous.

If we consider his social character, we find that the gravity of the philosopher did not intrude upon his private relations; for in the companionship of those he loved, he both conversed freely and listened with respectful attention to others. He was cheerful and unassuming, readily pleased, and always anxious to please. The dignity of his vocations did not preclude him from the good-will of the humble. His candor rather elicited esteem than provoked irritation, and his piety, always constant and sometimes glowing, was yet not austere, but was indulgent of those pleasures which morality permits. The same substantial vigor and brilliancy which mark his writings shone forth in his conversation, which instructed while it entertained, and engaged both mind and heart by its lofty and yet sympathetic tone. Few men have been so remarkable as he for colloquial power; and, although he did not exhibit the rich fund of thought and fancy in which his mind abounded except to his friends, the renown of his conversational gifts almost equals that of his published works. His complaisance disarmed the surliest rival, yet his pride scorned a slavish submission to any. Possessing faculties of understanding naturally quick, he made them pre-eminent by study, and still more by observation and reflection. His imagination was active and exuberant, while it co-operated with,

but seldom predominated over, his judgment. So vigorous was his spirit, that it rose in rebellion against the sedentary and monotonous labors of his younger days. He continually longed for bodily or mental excitement, and on one occasion he wrote to a near friend, "The desire for strong emotions becomes irresistible, and my mind preys upon itself if it is not satisfied." Throughout his early correspondence the same restless disposition is discernible. He was continually complaining of want of excitement, and yearning for a life of intense activity. He thought that "life has no period of rest; man is a traveller toward a colder and colder region, and the higher his latitude, the faster ought to be his walk!" Although lapse of years and a large harvest of experience cooled his fervid temper, he continued through life to labor with energy and intensity. Graceful in his manners, firm in opinion, susceptible in feeling, quick and true in judgment, versatile in accomplishments, he was a delightful companion, a wise counsellor, a faithful friend, and an affectionate son, brother, and husband.

He fulfilled his moral and religious duties with promptness and zeal. Appreciating the inestimable value of order, he preserved complete method in all his transactions. While he has instructed the world by the depth and accuracy of his researches in political science, he has also left an enviable reputation for many exalted virtues, which appear to have adorned his career from his first entrance upon the duties of life.

It is a noticeable feature of his works, that his mind was continually directed to a specific object; and that he never indulges in that theoretical speculation which either rejects facts or is incapable of practical application. He always looked forward to a direct result. Rejecting all assistance from the perusal of other writers, and disdaining to lay the basis of his own productions on materials derived from libraries, he endeavored to strike out on untrodden paths, which, being discovered by actual observation and experience, might lead directly to the consequences sought. He did not regard with favor the intricate disputes of mental science, in which he took no pains to be well versed. His mind being morbidly

restless, he was absorbed in harassing thought, mingled with doubt, despondency, and gloom. But in none of his dark moods did a doubt arise as to the truth of religion and the sacredness of moral obligation. It was the great political themes on which he so constantly meditated that led him to those painful reveries.

His oratory toward the close of his parliamentary career was serious, and often brilliant. He spoke with composure, and yet with feeling, when he attempted to address the Chamber, which was seldom. Careless about arranging his thoughts and expressions so that they might be comprehended, he used few words, and avoided repetition and expansion. He never could have made a popular orator, for he had not the faculty of so combining commonplace with solid thought that his audience could sympathize with what he was saying. At the same time, his weak voice and feeble constitution were perpetual restraints upon his oratory.

He seems to have far transcended the French standard of character in the soberness and depth of his speculations, and in his insight into the mysteries of political science. But his restlessness, his warm temper, his impetuous vehemence, and his affability, mark him as a true Frenchman. When we look upon him as the philosopher, witnessing, not without emotion, indeed, but calmly and thoughtfully, the great convulsions through which his age was passing, noticing the operation of every cause and the influence of every result, treasuring up the painful experience thus acquired for the future service of the nation, and searching, while the facts were new, for some remedy for the disorder, it must be confessed that few Frenchmen have exhibited to the world such rare proofs of judgment, profound reflection, and substantial good sense.

In his personal appearance he was small and thin, with a remarkably pale countenance, which was lighted up with a pair of highly intelligent and fiery black eyes. His face was intellectual, and its expression betokened the restless mind within.

Besides "Democracy in America," by which his fame as a writer will mainly live, he undertook several other works, which, as far as he carried them, evince the same vigorous intellect. "L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution," which has

already been noticed, was a philosophical survey of the old dynasty, and the events which placed the first Napoleon on the imperial throne. The success of the first volume, which was all that he completed, was equalled only by that of "Democracy in America." It was at once translated into many languages. Congratulatory letters reached him from the most eminent men of the age, and the appreciation of its merits doubtless procured for him a more cordial reception in England.

The first volume of De Beaumont's Memoir contains two articles from De Tocqueville's unfinished works, which are especially worthy of perusal. The first is "France before the Revolution," in which the author reverts to the position and influence of the *noblesse*, in the early part of the eighteenth century; their gradual decline, caused by the subdivisions of property, the growing importance of the middle classes, and the jealousy of every other rank of society; the gradual union of crown and people, and thence the centralizing tendency of democratic ideas; and the final extinction of the nobles as a power in the state, followed by a direct antagonism between regal and popular power. The other is "France before the Consulate," in which are set forth the wretched administration of the Directory that succeeded the "Reign of Terror"; the relapse of the people into a cowardly apathy, their indifference to republicanism, their hatred of the ancient *régime*, and equally of Jacobin anarchy; and their final acquiescence in the orderly and stringent government of the Consulate and Empire.

De Tocqueville had formerly undertaken a work, which was never matured, concerning the establishment of England in India, a subject which deeply interested him. In 1836, he wrote an article for the Westminster Review, which was translated by the able editor, Mr. J. S. Mill. In 1847 he furnished an historical account of Cherbourg, for Guilbert's "Histoire des Villes de France." Still later, he sent to the London Times his impressions of the *coup d'état* of the 2d of December, which may be found in the second volume of the translation of De Beaumont's Memoir. Other labors he commenced, but never submitted to the public. Many of his letters (none

of which were written for publication) have not been printed; some of them, because of the restrictions on the French press; but the greater part, because those to whom they were addressed were unwilling to expose the confidential testimonies of private friendship.

In closing, we are glad to announce that the American edition — we might almost say translation — of the "Democracy in America," will shortly appear. Mr. Reeve's version is, indeed, the basis for this issue; but it needed so many corrections and improvements as to have made Professor Bowen's task hardly less arduous than a first-hand translation would have been. His fidelity and accuracy leave nothing to be desired. His notes, too, form an important and valuable feature of this edition, which bears, withal, in typography and mechanical execution, ample testimony to the liberal enterprise of the publisher.

ART. VII. — *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History.* By CHRISTIAN CHARLES JOSIAS BUNSEN, D. C. L. London. 1854. 2 vols.

THE philosophy which thinks of history in relation to *all* humanity is a modern conception. We propose to sketch some of the most prominent theories to which this conception has given birth. They can, we think, be reduced to three, — the Theistic, the Idealistic, and the Realistic.

The Theistic theory has for its special principle belief in a living, supreme, personal, perfect, one, infinite, eternal God, by whose power the universe exists, by whose providence its events are ordered or overruled. This is the idea which comes nearest to our religious nature, — the idea which, as the most spontaneous and the most lasting, enlivens our childhood and comforts our age. This was the idea which Bossuet had for his inspiration, when in lofty argument he reasoned on what is transient in its relation to what is immortal. He was one of the first to look comprehensively at the historic life of humanity; and he grandly expounds the Theistic system in

his immortal "Discourse on Universal History." Like many other immortal works, that of Bossuet was incidental. A simple priest, he was called from his provincial retirement to preach the Lent sermons for 1662 before Louis XIV. The preacher, then about thirty-four years old, was in the prime of his life and the prime of his power. He excited in the King the highest admiration. He was made preceptor to the Dauphin, and for the instruction of the Dauphin he wrote his magnificent "Discourse." The method is synthetic, and the spirit ecclesiastical. The essay consists of three parts. In the first part, the author resolves historic time into certain great divisions, marked by great events, as epochs. He begins with Adam, or the creation; goes on thence to Noah, or the deluge; thence to the calling of Abraham; thence to Moses, or the written law; thence to the capture of Troy; thence to Solomon, or the completion of the temple; thence to Romulus, or the foundation of Rome; thence to Cyrus, or the re-establishment of the Jews; thence to Scipio, or the conquest of Carthage; thence to the birth of Jesus Christ; thence to Constantine and the "Peace of the Church"; thence to Charlemagne, or the establishment of the new empire. These time-marks are twelve in number, and introduce the historic development of humanity into its course of modern expansion. With pregnant brevity and felicitous distinctness, the author, as he advances, brings out the leading points and personages in the course of ages, as they can be determined by records sacred and profane; and, though he abides by the accepted learning of his own day, he occasionally anticipates the results of later criticism. It is to be regretted that he did not carry out his idea, as he intended, into a review of Mohammedanism and of the French nationality.

The course of events, as narrated in the first part, is only a chronological guide to a view of the course of religion in the second. The author connects the course of religion with the course of events, and subordinates wide reading and research to the unity of his subject. Master of all the erudition known to the scholars of his age, he brought it fully to bear in the unfolding of his theme, with the comprehensive grasp of an imperial imagination, and with the grand expression of a com-

manding eloquence. His reasoning in defence of revelation is equally subtile and suggestive; and his reflections on the revolutions of empires, which constitute the third part of his "Discourse," are throughout marked by a deeply thoughtful philosophy. His section, particularly, on the growth and decay of the Roman power is full of import; and if Gibbon had not expressly stated that he conceived the design of writing "The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" amidst the ruins of the Colosseum, one might suppose that he derived the hint of it from Bossuet. Bossuet's views of the Roman character and people evince profound historical sagacity. The Roman character and the Roman people were, as he conceives, essentially military; and the course of Roman history, as designated by changes in the spirit of the army, may be divided into three stages: the first, when the army was a power for the *state;* the second, when the army was a power for its *leaders;* the third, when the army was a power for *itself*, and at its pleasure or caprice made or unmade Emperors. The author, with characteristic succinctness, thus traces the history of the Roman army. The period when it contended with equals. This period lasted a little more than five hundred years, closing with the ruin of the Gauls in Italy, and with the empire of the Carthaginians. This was a period of frequent peril. The next period involved no peril; and however mighty the wars, victory was always sure. This period ended in the establishment of the Cæsars, and had continued for two hundred years. The third period was that in which the army steadily maintained its own courage and the glory of the Empire, and which, after four centuries, closed with the reign of Theodosius the Great. The last period is that in which the army met on all sides disaster and defeat, and when the Empire fell to pieces. This period also extended through four centuries. It began with the children of Theodosius, and terminated in the dominancy of Charlemagne. We find one essential error in the closing portion of Bossuet's remarks on the decline of the Roman power. He writes as if the disorders in the state and the disloyalty in the army were really *Roman.* He gives no due importance to the fact that, even before the close of the Republic, neither citizens nor soldiers

were of the *old* genuine Roman race. The *native* Roman people had ceased to exist, or had been swallowed up in deluges of foreigners. This may have been the result of the original lust of conquest which was inherent in the Roman character; but long before the decline of the Empire, all that was *Roman* in breed and blood had become extinct. The Roman spirit survived, amidst the wrecks of Roman institutions, only in Roman law, and in *that* it is immortal.

The whole "Discourse" is pervaded by a grave and reflective spirit; it fully deserves the admiration with which it has always been regarded, and does not merit the scornful sneer with which Mr. Buckle alludes to it. The tone is lofty and well sustained. Often it rises to the sublime of melancholy, with the grandeur of sadness.

"Thus," he writes, "when you see pass in an instant before your eyes, I do not say kings and emperors, but the great empires which held the whole world in awe; when you behold the Assyrians, the Medes, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, fall, so to speak, one upon the other, — the terrific crash causes you to feel that among men there is nothing solid, and that instability and agitation are the proper lot of human things."

One idea runs through the "Discourse," — is its life, its soul, its spiritual energy; and that is, that true religion is everlasting and divine in its unity and its perpetuity, — true religion in the unbroken succession of faith as continued and preserved from age to age in the unity and perpetuity of an infallible Church. For the sake of this Church are all ages and all dispensations. That Church began with time, as time began with human transgression and Divine promise, and only with time will it end. It had its faith in promise under the old law, it has its faith in fulfilment under the new law; and as under the old law it had its consecrated priesthood and sacred institutions, it has them equally under the new law, not in type and shadow, but in spirit and in essence. The "Discourse" seems at first extremely simple; but when the reader advances, and perceives how glowingly the idea is unfolded, with what harmony it rules the subject, and how the whole scope of history has from it import and interpretation, the mind opens to the surpassing grandeur of the design, and

feels amazed at the majesty of intellect and genius exhibited in both the conception and the execution. Yet nothing is forced or carried out of nature.

"The same God," says the author, "who has bound the universe together, and who, all-powerful in himself, has willed, for the purpose of order, that all the parts of the great whole should depend one on another, — this same God has also willed that the course of human affairs should have its succession and proportions. I would say that men and nations have had qualities accordant with the elevation to which they were destined; and that, leaving out certain exceptional events, in which God would have his own hand alone apparent, no great change comes to pass which has not had its causes in preceding ages. And as in all concerns there is that which prepares for them, that which determines their occurrence, and that which causes them to succeed, the true science of history is to observe the latent tendencies which have prepared great changes, and the important conjunctures which brought them into fact."

The whole philosophy of Bossuet in relation to history may, we think, be thus concisely summed up: — God is in the universe by his power; God is with humanity by his providence; he is in the Church by his spirit, in the special relation of his eternal and invisible perfection, as the infinitely wise and true, as the source of all holy inspiration.

The "Discourse on Universal History" consists simply of narration and reflection. Vico was the first who carried into the philosophy of history the severity of abstract thought. Vico, the son of a bookseller, was born at Naples in 1668, and had his early education among the Jesuits. After a life of domestic retirement and devoted study, he died in 1744. As in the case of Swift, who died more than a year later, the closing period of his earthly existence was passed in a state of mental imbecility. His special attainments were in classical literature, in philology, and in jurisprudence; in all these he was profoundly learned. His great work, "The Principles of a New Science," was first published in 1725, in Naples, and, though it afterward fell into obscurity, three editions of it were called for while the author lived.

This work has the same object with that of Bossuet, — to trace the *mind* of God in the historic life of man. But whereas

Bossuet seeks to do this in the order of events, Vico seeks to do it by means of science. Bossuet discerns the action of God's intelligence in the course and changes of time; Vico, in certain essential and universal principles. Bossuet's method, as we have said, is synthetic, and its spirit ecclesiastical; Vico's method is analytic, and its spirit scientific. Bossuet deals with facts in an onward succession, and looks forward to their issue; Vico deals with facts as to their inward import, and looks backward to their origin. Bossuet assumes or accepts what Vico attempts to explain and demonstrate. Bossuet uses a more expansive course of reading, considered as to space and time; Vico's reading, though in these respects more limited than Bossuet's, is yet deeper, more multifarious, more recondite, more subtile, more speculative, and gives more incentives to inquiry. Bossuet's idea completes itself in a Catholic Church; Vico's, in a common humanity. No connected exposition of Vico is, of course, here expected, and we pretend to offer only a few detached suggestions. A people, according to Vico, has three stages in its course, and this course has the necessity and the uniformity of law. The first stage is the Divine, or the rule of the gods; the second is the Heroic, or the rule of the heroes; the third is the Human, or the rule of men. The first is theocracy, wherein the priest dominates; the second, aristocracy, wherein the noble holds power; the third begins with democracy and closes in monarchy.

There is law in the material world; there is law also in the spiritual world; in each sphere the law is divine. This divine law is equally opposed to the Fate of the Stoics and to the Chance of the Epicureans; and the aim of "The New Science" is to demonstrate such divine law. The humanizing element is religion. All peoples have ascribed the attribute of Providence to Divinity. The ancients sought to know the mind of Providence; the Hebrews spiritually in the Prophets, the Heathens fantastically in their oracles and signs. The deluge was not local, but universal, and after such saturation it required two centuries to dry the earth. While this process continued, men became wilder and wilder. Exhalations from the earth produced awful thunderings and lightnings; and so

each Pagan nation had its Jupiter. Each also had its Hercules, — a subduer of this savage earth, which is figured in the Nemean lion. Corn was the first gold of the world, and the time of its early culture was the golden age. Saturn, the god of seed, ruled it. Chronos came, and men began to mark the passage of time. The heavens were then not higher than the mountains, and the gods walked upon the earth. With Homer, the gods dwelt upon Olympus; but when astronomy had enlarged the heavens, Olympus was exalted above the stars. Poetry is the earliest wisdom; and the Homeric is the earliest poetry. By poetry alone the ante-historic life of nations is preserved. By this the old Pagan nations were cultivated, and this gives profound importance to myths and to philosophy.

The children of Noah sank into utter brutality. Striking indications of God, or divine power in the world, aroused many of them to a sense of reverence. Those who were so affected made for themselves dwellings in caves, each being the husband of one wife. Such were the founders of families and of the family institution. Thus the family is founded in religion, and laws originate with the family. This institution becomes associated with the cultivation of the soil. Here the first altar is raised; thus the altar is connected with the hearth; and both are united with the plough. In time such families constitute strong and orderly communities. Other classes of men continue rude; but at last seek, in the more settled districts, refuge either from want or from oppression. They occupy a subordinate or servile position. Thence come cities, with their dominion and decrees; thence come likewise peace and war, with all that they imply. Civil order follows the relation of the body to the soul; those who use the soul command; those who use the body serve. According to this doctrine, the latter must be the many, the former must be the few. Hence it arises, that the ruling class are led to suppose that they are of a *different nature* from the subject class, and even of a higher nature. But the subject class at length becomes too numerous for contented servitude; and then begin internal strifes, external emigrations, diffusion of

races, and diversity of languages. Thence were developed forms of government, and the laws of peace and war.

In like order, the modes of legislation followed the successive stages of development. First it was mystic theology. The sages of it were theological poets, and their wisdom was wrapped up in myths. Secondly, it was heroic jurisprudence, which consisted in bald rules, strictly literal. This was of use. Men were yet incapable of understanding principles and the universal, and for such principles it served to prepare them. The law was sacred; the nobles obeyed it with unquestioning devotion, and spared no sacrifice to maintain its supremacy; but as none but the nobles were its enactors, it was the will of the nobles alone that it contained. Often in this stage the citizen-noble displayed austere grandeur of character, but along with his heroism was to be found monstrous arrogance, avarice, and cruelty, as may be seen in the conduct of the early Roman Patricians. Yet this period has been celebrated by historians as that of the purest Roman patriotism, and of the boldest Roman independence. It would seem, the author suggests, as if these shining public virtues were intended by Providence for the preservation of early states against the ruinous influence of dark private vices; for in such times men are so universally exclusive that they cannot even conceive of a common weal. The last method of jurisprudence is that of social rights, founded upon a common humanity, and expressed in equal laws. The idea of force then gives place to the idea of justice.

Frederic Schlegel is another eminent name in this division of our subject, and "The Philosophy of History" is but one of the many departments of elevated literature in which he has attained a permanent celebrity. His course of lectures was first delivered in Vienna, in 1828, when the author was about fifty-six years of age. He had already distinguished himself as a scholar in the classical, the Oriental, and the modern languages, and as a profound critic of all their greatest national and imaginative writings. Thus prepared, he came to discourse on the spirit of universal history. When spoken, the lectures excited admiration in one of the most brilliant audiences of Europe; and when printed, became at once the

property of cultivated Christendom. We know not how we can better define the method of Schlegel's book, than by the term *exhaustive*. The writer seems to have drawn its materials from all sources of historic knowledge. The spirit of it is, as to faith, dogmatic; as to feeling, æsthetic; with a special enthusiasm for the arts and letters, the life and institutions, which prevailed in Western Europe during the Middle Age, particularly during that portion of it which genius and greatness have made for all time memorable. Because of the influence which the spirit of this period had on Schlegel, he is by critics reckoned among writers of the romantic school, — that is, writers whose culture in its inspiration is Gothic rather than Grecian, Christian rather than classic. Schlegel, when thirty-three years of age, became a Roman Catholic.

In faith and zeal he was as earnest a religionist as even Bossuet, but difference of character and circumstances would naturally produce a corresponding difference in their respective treatment of the same subject. Bossuet scarcely touches modern history, and contemplates antiquity only within the limits of classics and the Scriptures; but Schlegel does in truth discourse on *Universal* History. Bossuet intended to carry out the idea of his book, and to take a survey of later times; but had he done so, he could not, with all his magnificence of talent, have attained the comprehensiveness of Schlegel. In the first place, Schlegel lived in an age distinguished for historical inquiry and historical discoveries; in the second place, he was a German, and even among laborious and learned Germans he was noticeable for his labors and his learning. He accordingly contemplates the field of history over entire humanity, with the aid of vast knowledge in literatures and languages. In Oriental research and speculation particularly, he is a great explorer; he not only traversed all the spaces of human story previously known to Western scholarship, but in China and India he opened new and wide domains for historic thought. His lectures on India, China, and the East generally, are of great value, both for speculative thought and for historical generalization; they are so independently of his own special object, or of any special theory.

On Schlegel's theory we can say but few words; — exposi-

tion or criticism of it will not within our limits be possible. If we consider the "Philosophy of History" in relation to man's origin and destiny, we can conceive only of two theories; — one, that of human development; the other, that of human degeneracy. On the theory of development, there is a constant and onward tendency toward human perfection, prevented, however, from reaching its last result in absolute excellence by man's lower propensities and wants. On the theory of human degeneracy, there is a constant and onward tendency toward human corruption, prevented by Divine interference from reaching its last result in absolute destruction. This latter is the theory which Schlegel maintains, with exhaustless opulence of erudition and rhetoric. Man, when created, was innocent and holy, but in original sin lost his original goodness. He was still, however, far from his worst estate. Primitive and divine truth shed some of its pure light into the human mind, and especially among the descendants of Seth. The nearer man was to the source of this truth, the more distinct and clear were his perceptions of it; this primitive revelation was sacredly preserved in the traditions of the holy Patriarchs, — it was corrupted and distorted in the idolatries of the Heathen world: yet, though corrupted and distorted, it was the hidden spark of truth that still burned amidst the anarchy and darkness of Pagan superstitions. Pagan nations, as they receded from their primitive condition, sank into grosser and grosser debasement, and the race was preserved from utter moral and material ruin only by God's miraculous dispensations, perfected in Christianity, which is itself to be perfected in the universal blessedness of mankind.

"The most important subject," Schlegel writes, "and the first problem of philosophy, is the restoration in man of the lost image of God, so far as this relates to science. Should this restoration in the internal consciousness be fully understood, and really brought about, the object of pure philosophy is attained. To point out historically, in reference to the whole human race, and in the outward conduct and experience of life, the progress of this restoration in the various periods of the world, constitutes the object of the 'Philosophy of History.' In this way we shall clearly see how, in the first ages of the world, the original word of

Divine revelation formed the firm and central point of faith for the future reunion of the dispersed race of man; how later, amid the various power, intellectual as well as political, which, in the middle period of the world, all ruling nations exerted on their times according to the measure allotted to them, it was alone the power of eternal love in the Christian religion which truly emancipated and redeemed mankind; and how, lastly, the pure light of this divine truth, universally diffused through the world, and through all science, — the term of all Christian hope, and divine promise, whose fulfilment is reserved for the last period of consummation, — crowns, in conclusion, this restoration."

Among those who have, within the Theistic system, philosophized on history, we must not omit to mention Herder. He was a native of East Prussia, and the son of a poor school master. He was born in 1744. In the family of a clergyman, who taught him with his own sons, he obtained the rudiments of classical learning. He afterward devoted himself to theology. He was elected to the Divinity Professorship in the University of Göttingen, but the King of England, who was also Elector of Hanover, refused to confirm the appointment, and his veto made it void. Herder was then chosen Preacher to the Court of Weimar, where he enjoyed the companionship of the Goethe circle, and passed the remainder of his life. He was at once poetic and scholastic. Poetic feeling lived in the spirit of his works, but the scholastic tendency prevailed in their form. He was eloquent as a preacher; and not only of his sermons, but of all his writings, eloquence is a characteristic. He was widely learned, and his writings are very numerous. Theology, philosophy, imaginative literature, criticism, history, all had contributions from his genius; but it is as the author of "Ideas upon the Philosophy of the History of Mankind" that he comes under our notice in this essay. Schlosser, in reviewing the literature of the eighteenth century, expresses no very exalted opinion of this work; indeed, he rather leaves an impression on the mind of the reader, that it is more pretentious than profound. He thinks meanly of Herder as a metaphysician, as a theologian, but most meanly of all in his speculations upon science. "Trusting," he says, "to inspiration in the real and exact sciences, Herder, without having any pretensions to be an investigator of nature, or

even to be well acquainted with her works, attempts to establish a progression or gradation of creatures, — an attempt which would presuppose an amazing knowledge of the departments of the natural kingdom, if every one who was desirous of treating the subject prosaically should undertake the task." In spite of this unfavorable decision, the work is a noble one. It is indeed discursive and diffuse; but it glows throughout with the spirit of beauty, and with the soul of Christian humanity.

Coming now to speak of the Idealistic theory in the Philosophy of History, we feel how unsatisfactory must be what we have to offer. One remark it is necessary to begin with: the idealists treat of history metaphysically. Each has his theory of being; — the theory is in itself complete and one; it comprehends all that is actual or possible; it accounts for all that is actual or possible. The idealist does not, therefore, separate history from his general theory; it is included *in* his theory, as a recorded portion of phenomenal humanity. The psychologist deals with the laws of mind, as they are evolved from individual consciousness; but the idealist deals with "The Absolute." The idealist regards the mere psychologist much in the same way in which Michael Angelo, when architect of St. Peter's, would probably have regarded a carrier of hods or a maker of mortar, — as a useful, but extremely subordinate menial. Yet, vain and fantastic as the idealists may seem to our practical and prosaic temperament, the man who disdains them scorns some of the greatest minds which our species can boast, and the man who refuses to study them, even on history, will often lose the advantage of profound suggestion, and the joy of noble eloquence. Pardon us, however, if, in this division of our paper, our language may not be entirely in the idiom of our mother English. We must, in some degree, speak the dialect of our topic; and, as its most marked representatives, we refer to Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel. Each of these connected his view of history with his philosophy; but to explain the philosophy of these wonderful thinkers would here be a vain attempt; and only with the utmost condensation can we state their views of history.

A few words, however imperfectly said, must be premised

on their respective metaphysical theories. All these theories progressively arose out of the teaching of Emanuel Kant. We can refer to this teaching only in its elementary idea. In the simplest fact of consciousness, the individual is conscious of himself and of something which is *not* himself; or, in the German formula, the fact includes the ME and the NOT-ME. The real existence of the ME is given in the fact as a necessary certainty; but, though Kant attributes a complete philosophic value to the NOT-ME, he does not decide that it has any independent actual existence; in other words, he does not assume as indubitable the existence of an outward universe. His dualism is therefore merely formal; for only one term of it — the ME — has any positive validity. Fichte saw this; he laid hold on the ME, and made it the basis of all his wide-reaching and astonishing speculations. Schelling considered this basis as too narrow, and as only the smallest point short of Nihilism. He therefore merged both the ME and the NOT-ME into the totality of all being, or the Absolute. Hegel transcends the transcendentalism of his predecessors, and explains thought and being by the relation of extremes.

"Every thing or notion, says Hegel, has existence to the mind, because it has, or it seems to have, a *contradictory;* in other words, there is some other thing or notion standing outright against it, and by opposition marking it off or *defining* it. A notion and its opposite, or *contradictory*, are two elements essential to every act of thinking; and as soon as these are realized, a third act or movement supervenes, namely, the effort to *reconcile the two contradictories*, and to find some third, and of course higher notion, in which they unite or blend. Three elements, therefore, — a notion, its contradictory, and the solution of the contradiction, — a *thesis*, an *antithesis*, and the synthesis of the two, — represent a complete act of logic, or one movement of dialectic; and on the type of this movement Hegel undertook to explain the entire course and action of thought in its efforts to comprehend the universe. . . . . Thought is presented to the astonished reader, rising up from its barest expression through a gigantic scheme of ascending *triplets*, until, having comprehended every form and sphere of possible knowledge, it reaches the Infinite."

We must accept this exposition, if not for its clearness, at least for its brevity. The views which these philosophers hold of the individual and of existence correspond with these

respective theories. With Fichte, the individual is a free, self-sufficing power; with Schelling, he is dependent and phenomenal; with Hegel, he is thought realized in consciousness. Existence with Fichte is the manifestation of the Ego; with Schelling it is the manifestation of the Absolute; and with Hegel it is knowledge, or rather it is a sort of concrete and progressive logic. Fichte lays most stress on the will, and is therefore earnest and ethical; Schelling on imagination, and on feeling,—he is, therefore, poetic, mystical, and pantheistic; Hegel has his greatest force in the intellect, is dialectical, and finds all being and all truth in the evolution of syllogisms. Each of these thinkers is an idealist; Fichte a subjective idealist, Schelling an objective idealist, and Hegel an absolute idealist. Each has his philosophy of history, in the spirit of his theory.

Fichte gives us the application of his philosophy to history in his Lectures on "The Characteristics of the Present Age." He presents the essence of his doctrine in his opening lecture on "The Idea of a Universal History," and applies it through the remaining sixteen to the tendencies of the age as he found it. He intends his method to be strictly *a priori*. "The philosopher," he says, "must deduce from the unity of his presupposed principle all the possible phenomena of experience." The philosopher as such must be able *a priori* to describe time as a whole, and all its possible epochs. Every particular epoch of time contains the idea of a particular age, and the ideas and epochs which precede contain those which follow. This position is expressed, in a subsequent lecture, with great fulness and eloquence.

"Worlds produce worlds. Ages produce new ages, which stand in meditation over those which have gone before, and reveal the secret bond of connection which unites within them causes and consequences. Then the grave opens,—not that which men heap together in the earth, but the grave of impenetrable darkness, wherewith the first life has surrounded us,—and from out of it arises the mighty power of ideas, which sees, in the new light, the end in the beginning, the perfect in the partial; every wonderful work which springs from faith in the Eternal appears, and secret aspirations, which are here imprisoned and bound down to earth, soar upwards on unfettered pinions into new and brighter ether."

To understand this progress the philosopher must have a world-plan, from which may be deduced all the great epochs of human life on earth. The world-plan is the fundamental idea of human life on earth; the epochs are the fundamental ideas of particular ages, from which all their phenomena are to be deduced. "The life of mankind on this earth," the author observes, "stands here in place of the *one universal life*, and earthly time in place of universal time." "The end of the life of mankind on earth," he says, "is this, — that in this life they may order all their relations with freedom according to reason." This life of humanity has, accordingly, within earthly time, two general conditions; — the first, that in which it has not yet attained to freedom according to reason; the second, that in which voluntary and reasonable freedom has been reached, and is carried onward. Humanity has, according to Fichte, five principal epochs. First, the unlimited dominion of reason as instinct, — *the state of innocence.* Second, the epoch in which reason as instinct is changed into external ruling authority: the age of positive systems which demand blind faith and unconditional obedience, — *the state of progressive sin.* Third, the epoch of liberation, — directly from the external ruling authority, indirectly from the power of reason as instinct, and generally from reason in any form, — *the state of completed sinfulness.* This is the age the characteristics of which Fichte undertakes in his Lectures to describe and to define; the one in which, he maintained, men were then living. "Fourth, the epoch of reason and science: the age in which truth is looked upon as the *highest*, and loved before all other things, — *the state of progressive justification.*" Fifth, the epoch of reason as art: the age in which humanity with sure and unerring hand builds itself up into a fitting image and representative of reason, — "*the state of completed justification and sanctification.*"

Baseless as these data may seem, and imaginary these divisions, yet in the course of the argument based on them Fichte shows himself not only a master of the grandest eloquence, but a man of the noblest convictions. Abstract as his thinking may appear, he weds it to resistless passion, but to a passion that scorns all selfishness, all sensualism, and is fiery

with spiritual zeal for truth and duty; and this united mightiness of passion and of thinking was poured forth in torrents of impetuous and heroic oratory. Nor was this merely philosophic or scholastic. In his "Addresses to the German Nation in the War of Independence," it went forth in words of flame, making the coldest hearts hot with the love of liberty and the hatred of bondage. NATIONALITY became the consciousness of every man who had any consciousness of manhood; thinkers became soldiers, and Fichte panted to be in the field; but wisely he was not allowed to waste himself in camp or battle, since every word of his was worth a sword. In action, as in teaching, uncompromising right was the spirit and the substance of his life; and of virtue, in all its demands of sacrifice, and all its worth, he was not only a splendid preacher, but a practical example. Abstruse and remote as were the principles of his metaphysics, he was yet no cold anatomist of speculation, but a living, sympathetic man; and though his philosophical system must be designated as "egotistic idealism," no man had warmer interest in the cause of humanity, in even its simplest and humblest realities. Its faith, its hopes, its struggles, its sufferings, its triumphs, and its joys came all near to him, and because the thoughts of his heart were generous, the words of his mouth were powerful. He did not withdraw his sympathy from the common life; but neither was he unmindful of his own peculiar order, and some of the most magnificent passages in his Lectures are those in which he dwells on the labors, the trials, the obligations, the dignities, and the pleasures which are in a life of scholarship and thought. We close these remarks on him with an illustrative quotation.

"Who are they who have discovered and extended sciences? Have they accomplished this without labor and sacrifice? What has been their reward? While the age in which they lived spent its days in gay enjoyment, they sat lost in solitary thought, in order that they might discover a law or a relation which had called forth their admiration, and with respect to which they had absolutely no other desire than simply to discover it, — sacrificing pleasure and fortune, neglecting their outward concerns, and lavishing their finest genius in these researches, — laughed at by the multitude as fools and dreamers. *Now*

their discoveries have proved of manifold advantage to human life. . . . . But have they themselves partaken of these fruits of their labors? Have they foreseen or even conjectured these results? Have they not, rather, when their spiritual aspirations have been interrupted by such views of their occupation, when entertained by others, uttered truly sublime lamentations over the desecration of the holy to the profane uses of life, it being concealed from them that life itself must in like manner be thereby sanctified? Only when, through their labors, they had been made so comprehensible, and a knowledge of them been so widely diffused as to be carried out in practice by less inspired minds, — only then have these discoveries been applied to the wants of life, and so become the means of arming the human race with superior power over the forces of nature. If thus no vision, not even a presentiment of the usefulness of their discoveries, could indemnify them for their sacrifices, what was their reward? And what at the present day is the reward of those — if at the present day there are such — who, with the same devotion, the same sacrifices, and with the same disinterested zeal, amidst the scorn and mockery of the vulgar, raise their eyes toward the ever-flowing fountain of truth? This it is: they have entered into a new life-element of spiritual clearness and purity, whereby life in any form becomes absolutely distasteful to them. A higher world, which is first and most intimately made known to us by the light which is native within it, has arisen upon them; this light has filled their eyes with its beneficent and inspiring radiance, so that they can henceforth and forever direct their view to nothing else than that illuminated height shining in deep and surrounding darkness. This heavenly vision so rivets their gaze upon it, that their whole being is enchained, and in it every other sense is silently absorbed. They need no recompense; they have made an incalculable gain."

In showing the relation which Schelling bears to history, we use the words of Schwegler: —

"History as a whole is, according to him, a gradual and self-disclosing revelation of the Absolute, a progressing demonstration of the existence of a God. The history of this revelation may be divided into three periods. The first is that in which the overruling power was apprehended only as destiny; that is, as a blind power, cold and consciousless, which brings the greatest and most glorious things of earth to ruin; it is marked by the decay of the magnificence and wonders of the ancient world, and the fall of the noblest manhood that ever bloomed. The second period of history is that in which this destiny manifests itself as nature, and the hidden law seems changed into a manifest law

of nature, which compels freedom and every choice to submit to and serve a plan of nature. This period seems to begin with the spread of the great Roman Republic. The third period will be that wherein what has previously been regarded as Destiny and Nature will develop itself as Providence."

In speaking of Hegel, and the application of his philosophy to history, two circumstances deserve attention. One is the logical consistency and force with which he carries his law of contradiction into all his explanations of historical phenomena. Every human condition and change is evolved out of the conflict of opposite principles. The other circumstance is, that, notwithstanding the apparent abstruseness and barrenness of this formula, starting originally, as it does, from the astounding unrealism that pure being and nothing are identical, it would be hard to find an intellectual work of more pregnant suggestiveness, or of eloquence more vital and masculine, than Hegel's on the Philosophy of History. Its comprehensive grasp of knowledge, its uncommon vigor and compression, its rich and concrete style, its sagacious insight, and its clear estimate of actual existence, are qualities strikingly manifested in the work, however little to be expected from its theory.

Thought, according to Hegel, is the activity which unfolds itself in the life of the world. Humanity is little at first but an unconscious animalism. Thus we see it in the savage condition. Africa has hardly raised itself above this condition, but has remained in inward and outward slavery. It is as the spiritual elements of life take form in organic order, that human existence attains a determinate reality. But if this organic order becomes fixed and rigid, it destroys inward liberty, and renders progress impossible. On the other hand, if the spiritual elements of life have no definite external organism, life becomes dreamy, mystical, and inactive. The first is the life of China, the second is that of India. Advancement belongs to neither; for that can result only when the outward and the inward act and react livingly on each other, and so issue in new and successive changes. Subjective freedom belongs to the individual, objective freedom to the state; when these two harmonize, there is true and complete freedom. The objective is found in China, the subjective

in India. The Chinese state presents only the externalism of the most prosaic understanding, and its literature is all history. In contrast with this, the internalism of humanity in India has given over the Hindoo mind to fantasy and sensibility, and its literature is all poetry; but Hindoo character is devoid of purity and morality. Two great systems of religious ideas originated with the Hindoo mind, — Brahminism and Buddhism. Brahminism turned monstrous dreams of the imagination into fixed superstitions, founded on these superstitions the most dreadful spiritual tyranny, made them perpetual in cruel social distinctions, and connected them with religious observances which were both terrible and licentious. Buddhism was at once a modification of Brahminism and a reaction against it. According to Brahminism, the divine element was incarnate only in special and miraculous personages, and at rare intervals; according to Buddhism, it was immanent in all humanity, and perpetual. This idea necessarily subverted the claims of caste; it annihilated among men all essential distinctions of nature; it involved the doctrine of equality and brotherhood; it authenticated the sacredness and worth of the gentle and charitable virtues. The transcendental aim to which the soul is directed as the highest consummation of existence is alike in both systems, — absorption into the Infinite, — and this, so far as ordinary speech can express it, seems to mean absorption into nothingness.

Egypt had never been so utterly stationary as China and India have remained; and these have so remained, in a great measure, because of their isolation. Still, the spirit in Egypt was immersed in matter and in forms, in colossal structures and images, in rituals and priesthoods. From this subjection the spirit in Egypt was never able to emancipate itself. Other influences were, in this respect, needful to help humanity. One of these was the Phœnician mind, with its tendencies to commerce and its invention of an alphabet. But this, also, was not sufficient. The divine element in life needed to be unfolded. This was done only by the Hebrew religion. In all the western countries of the Oriental world religions were but different forms of nature-worship, more or less pure or gross, according as the spirit tended toward the

purer or grosser elements of nature. So the symbols and observances are more or less pure or gross, according to the phases or modes of nature which they typify and consecrate. Among the Jews alone did the spirit absolutely transcend nature. But man was in bondage to the spirit. While the Hebrews had the sense of divine inspiration, and the conception of God in that of a spiritual unity, the free development of cultivated humanity was first realized among the Greeks. Among them first began to breathe the spirit of human liberty. This was equally the spirit of their mythology and of their politics. Naturalism, by the force of spiritual individuality, was broken up in the mythology of the Greeks, and took the diversity of human character and of human inspiration. The Greek religion, as derived objectively from observation of nature, and subjectively from action of mind, had an æsthetic side and an introspective side. It had accordingly a symbolic outwardness and a philosophic inwardness. In its outwardness it included idolatry and art; in its inwardness it implied materialism and pantheism; and it gave birth alike to mysticism and to science. The Greeks gloried in freedom; but their idea of duty was merely political. They had no subjective morality; they had not, in *our* sense, a conscience. Their morality was not of conscience, but of custom. Devotion to their country or state was their highest life; and when it ceased to be so, their institutions went to ruin. When individual opinion entered into society, when the state was subjected to criticisms, and when every one had a view of his own, great men failed of the public confidence; and so failing, they lost their influence and power. On the whole, then, this civilization was mainly æsthetic, — that is, the effort to carry the ideal of the human into the actual of the human.

But this poetic concrete life had to give way to a deeper and more thoughtful life. The Greeks bodied forth life into beauty, the Romans organized it into law. The Romans had their origin in the outcasts of various tribes; they founded their state, and even their homes, in force. The spirit of their origin ran through the whole course of their history. Their internal struggles and external wars led humanity at the same time to a sense of personality and to a sense of right.

Christianity came in order to give completeness to the individual, and to carry on the race toward universality and perfection, — that is, to make actual the idea of universal truth, right, and liberty. But Christianity became itself a sort of institutional materialism. Then arose against it the simple and abstract theology of Mohammed. Out of this contradiction and antagonism issued the Crusades; from these, discontent and doubt; then, mental excitement and bold adventure; afterward, the Protestant Reformation; finally, modern philosophy and the French Revolution. Hegel's disquisition on Christianity, if regarded from his point of view, is able. The Church, with Hegel, is an issue from progressive time; with Bossuet, it begins with time, for it begins with man. Hegel explains the Church by time; Bossuet explains time by the Church. Hegel is brief, pregnant, and eloquent on the Middle Age; while on the German spirit — to which the last portion of his book is devoted — he enlarges with overflowing energy and zeal. The leading ideas which he endeavors to establish and illustrate by the whole work are these: "The Oriental world knows only that ONE is free; the Greeks and Romans recognize SOME as free; the German nations, under the influence of Christianity, have attained to the knowledge that ALL are free." In the universal realization of this knowledge the author sees the consummation of human history, — asserting as he closes, that "what has happened, and is happening every day, is not only not 'without God,' but is essentially his work."

It must have been observed that, in this sketch, most of the writers we have mentioned belong to Germany. There are yet other Germans of whom, if space did not fail, we would wish to speak, especially of Lessing and of his thoughts on "The Education of the Human Race." We have not hunted laboriously after these writers, they came easily to memory, — and the more easily, since the Germans are almost alone in the domain of abstract generalization. The German mind has been the *thinking* mind of the modern world. It has been peculiarly the mind of spiritual ideas, and it did not wait for Kant before taking on its supersensual tendency. Kant did not make that tendency; that tendency made him. But, some may say, it was better to create facts for actual history, than

to dream about ideal history. Then, it may be said in reply, that the Germans *have*, in the modern world, created the greatest facts of its actual history; and among its greatest facts are these very ideal dreams and dreamers. The dreams — if dreams they be — are the visions of wondrous brains, and the dreamers themselves are Titans of the human intellect. They have had one nobly useful influence: they have silenced forever all puny talkers upon thought; they have shown that no one has authority to speculate on the possible, until he has mastered the actual; and, transcendentalists though they were, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, had traversed all the regions of positive human knowledge. Such minds exemplify the vast capacities of man, they elevate the standard of average attainment, and, by the aspiration which they stimulate, they expose to scorn the mediocrity of the self-contented and the self-conceited. It is very extraordinary to call the German mind a mind of only dreams and speculations, when from *that* mind we have had the grandest of our practical discoveries, and the most ennobling of our social institutions and inspirations.

Lastly, there is the Realistic theory in the Philosophy of History. We distinguish this system from the Theistic, because it does not attempt to trace the order of Providence in human affairs, but only to trace the order of facts in their relations, influences, and results. We distinguish it from the Idealistic, because it does not, like that, pretend to have a principle of absolute science, from which it can by necessary inference deduce the sequence of events, or to demonstrate that events could not possibly be but as they are; it presumes to no loftier sphere of evidence than that of observation and experience. One or other of three aspects of humanity may prevail in the application of the Realistic system to history, — the Political, the Social, the Physical; and as respectively illustrative of each, we mention Montesquieu, Guizot, and Buckle.

Montesquieu was one of the writers who prepared the way for the French Revolution. It is a curious circumstance, that most of these writers were aristocratic, — some of them by birth, all of them by taste, character, and culture. They were

in their day the leaders of literature; in every form of it they used to insinuate revolutionary ideas, but particularly in satire and philosophy. To this end they endeavored to make satire amusing and philosophy agreeable; and as they brought to their task wit, learning, eloquence, and every charm of brilliant style, they were successful, and Montesquieu was one of the most successful. In his "Persian Letters," under the guise of an interesting fiction, he conceals the most unsparing ridicule of French society and of French institutions, religious and political. His "Considerations upon Roman History" was ostensibly designed to point out the evils which proved fatal to the Roman state; but virtually it was a grave and covert attack on the despotism of the French monarchy. But his most important work is "The Spirit of Laws." In this he undertakes to explain the origin and formation of states, the sources and reasons of their laws, and the nature of their ruling principles. The ruling principle in a republic, he maintains, is virtue; in a constitutional monarchy, honor; in a despotism, fear. His reading was wide and various, but it was desultory, and if he did not trust entirely to imagination for his facts, he is accused of trusting a good deal to it in the application of them. Critics say now of him, that he first made his theory, and then looked about for proofs. Yet Montesquieu stood high with the highest minds of his day; D'Alembert almost exhausts the resources of eulogy in praising him; but, in our time, Macaulay as strenuously taxes those of disparagement in *dis*praising him. He was, says this critic, "specious, but shallow, — studious of effect, and indifferent to truth, — eager to build a system, but careless of collecting those materials out of which alone a sound and durable system can be built; he constructed theories as rapidly and as slightly as card-houses, — no sooner projected than completed, no sooner completed than blown away, no sooner blown away than forgotten." Notwithstanding these scornful strictures, the writings of Montesquieu are still useful, both for study and for amusement.

We need merely name the venerable Guizot. We are all familiar with his fame and with his virtue. We have no occasion to enlarge on his massive learning, his extensive and ex-

act research, his scholarly calmness and moderation, his tolerance and humanity of spirit, his grave and noble eloquence, — all this is known by his numerous writings, but particularly by his "Discourses on the History of Civilization in Modern Europe," which have been read as widely as the most popular novel, and which brought into such clear and open light for us all the successive social and spiritual phenomena of Western Christendom, with the agencies which they manifest and the tendencies which they indicate. Civilization, according to Guizot, does not consist in mere intellectual attainment, nor in mere physical well-being, nor even in social order added to both of these; but in all combined in a certain onward vitality, of which the result is the progress of society and the progress of the individual, each being reciprocally influential on the other. But this progress is here always limited, imperfect, and cannot be satisfactorily explained within the bounds of earth and time. Even within these bounds, the data for generalization are still few. Civilization, as he considers, "is still in its infancy." "How distant," he says, "is the human mind from the perfection to which it may attain, from the perfection for which it was created! How incapable are we of grasping the whole destiny of man! Let any one even descend into his own mind; let him picture there the highest point of perfection to which he can conceive, to which he can hope, that man, that society, may attain; let him contrast this picture with the present state of the world; — and he will feel assured that society and civilization are still in their childhood; that, however great the distance they have advanced, *that* which they have before them is incomparably, is infinitely greater." Guizot treats his subject with as much force as knowledge, with as much caution as completeness. Balmes — a Spanish priest, earnestly eloquent, and largely learned — controverts, in a very able work, Guizot's ideas of European civilization; and those will read both writers who desire to know the philosophy of European civilization from the Romish point of view as well as from the Protestant.

The Political aspect of humanity prevails in the historical philosophy of Montesquieu, the Social aspect in that of Guizot; and now we come to that of Buckle, in which the Physical aspect prevails. Mr. Buckle intended, at first, to

write a history of civilization, which he was to illustrate from universal history. He decided, however, to write only the "History of Civilization in England." His principles are, in brief, — 1. Human history is governed by certain necessary laws. 2. One of these laws is, that man modifies nature, and that nature modifies man. 3. When nature overpowers man, it deadens his faculties, and impedes progress, or renders it impossible, while, when man overpowers nature, stimulus is gained for culture and advancement. The result of this struggle between man and nature determines the destiny of nations. 4. Another law is, that human actions accord with this result. 5. Statistics prove the regularity of human actions. 6. The historian must ascertain, in all given circumstances, whether mind, or nature, most influences human actions; therefore the knowledge of physical science is essential to the writing of history. 7. Man, as to his average condition, is mainly influenced by climate, food, soil, and the general aspect of nature. 8. The moral sentiments and passions are ever the same. The results of intellect alone accumulate into knowledge, and progress is the result of knowledge. In every direction the critics impeach Mr. Buckle's philosophy. They discredit his data by impeaching his statements of facts, or his use of them; they discredit his logic by impeaching it in its evidence, method, and conclusions. "What have statistics to do," a critic asks, "with the appearance of an Alexander the Great, a Mohammed, a Newton, or a Shakespeare?" The individual counts for little in the theory of Mr. Buckle; yet the critic objects that he attributes much power to ruling minds, such as those of Richelieu, of Descartes, of Louis XIV., and of George III. Mr. Buckle, critics allege, overlooks the profoundest movements of society and their agents in the ancient and modern world, while he not only misrepresents, but also misunderstands, both the men and institutions of the Middle Age. In answer to the credulity and ignorance attributed to the "Middle Age," one critic retorts: "A generation that has seen the extravagances of Mesmerism, of table-turning, and of spirit-rapping, with the still more revolting phenomena of Mormonism, might abstain from adopting an insolent tone toward its predecessors, and from forming an arrogant estimate of itself." Another critic

denies the value which Mr. Buckle attributes to the influence of intellect, and regards it as a fundamental error that he has not made more account of passion, moral sentiment, and faith. But, in spite of all these objections, — most of them sound and unanswerable, — Mr. Buckle has come into the field of history with a large and weighty influence on numerous classes of intelligent and thoughtful readers.

These several theories, diverse as they are, have one motive in common, — they all seek for a *law* in history. The Theists find that law in faith, the Idealists find it in thought, and the Realists find it in facts. But why should these be disconnected? The true philosophy of history embraces them all, harmonizes them all, and to all, as so united, gives a living soul. Such a philosophy must bring into accordant unity fact, thought, and faith. Such a philosophy must note events, must by thought trace their order and relation, and must by faith discern in all the intelligence of God's spirit, and the benign wisdom of God's providence. And let it not be considered that studying history in this large way is to no purpose. It is to the best purpose. It is one of the greatest mental utilities. We need not go over traditional truisms on the uses of history. History gives the data for all the science of humanity, and it contains the inspiration of all its greater poetry. This is sufficiently understood. But the advantage to be gained from the effort to conceive an idea of history as a whole is not so well understood. The conception of an idea of history has, for instance, an intellectual advantage. It accustoms the mind to expansive habits of reflection, and thereby trains it to an ample thoughtfulness. It accustoms it to ideas of great measures of duration, of space, and the mind is accordingly enlarged. It tends to train the mind to habits of order and arrangement. It enables the mind to bring all that it learns of humanity, whether by record or observation, into connection with a central principle. This result alone is one of vast utility. History, entirely, in its exactness of detail and in its completeness of comprehension, no human intellect could grasp; but when the mind has once a conception of history as a totality, it has a living organism with which it can vitally incorporate every fragment of knowledge it can gather of man's experience and destiny in time.

ART. VIII. — 1. *Voyage au Pays des Mormons. Relation — Géographie — Histoire Naturelle — Histoire — Théologie — Mœurs et Coutumes.* Par JULES REMY. Paris: E. Dentu. 1860. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. lxxxviii., 432, 544.

2. *The City of the Saints, and across the Rocky Mountains to California.* By RICHARD F. BURTON. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1861. 8vo. pp. x., 707.

3. *Journal of Discourses.* By BRIGHAM YOUNG, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, his Two Counsellors, the Twelve Apostles, and others. Reported by G. D. WATT, and humbly dedicated to the Latter-Day Saints in all the World. Liverpool and London. 1854–56. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 376, 376, 375.

4. *Catechism for Children. Exhibiting the Prominent Doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.* By ELDER JOHN JAQUES. Tenth Thousand. Liverpool and London. 1855. 16mo. pp. 84.

IN the more intricate embarrassment of the question of Slavery, which now so oppresses the mind of the American nation, the question of Mormonism, which had begun to be troublesome, has been thrust into the background. Every one is asking, "What shall we do with four millions of negroes?" and, in despair before this huge practical problem, few notice the dilemma into which the Latter-Day Saints are likely to bring us. Yet, very soon, if we may trust the recent reports from Utah, the high court of the land will be called to say what they will do with the harems and the hierarchy of the followers of the American prophet. Already the New Jerusalem is knocking at the door, and claims the right allowed to all who have established their power on the public soil. With numbers sufficient, the Territory asks to be confirmed as a State, and to add its brace of delegates to those who sit in the Senate-house of equals. On what pretext the claim will be denied, it is not easy to see. Slave States have been admitted, and why should not a State be welcomed which can bring another of the "patriarchal institutions"? The religion as a vow cannot be urged as an objection, since this is no

stronger than the vow which binds every faithful member of the Church of Rome to its ecclesiastical head. All precedents are certainly in favor of the Mormon demand. Yet a compliance with it will be evidently awkward, mortifying, and ridiculous, and will seem to commit an enlightened people to the toleration and the patronage of the customs of barbarism. If Utah is admitted with its polygamy, why may not some island of the sea, which America may come to possess, claim, with its Pagan rites and its feasts of human flesh, to be received as a sovereign State into the Union?

The importance of this question should lead us to accept gladly all trustworthy information concerning a phenomenon which, in spite of its disgusting features, is one of the most remarkable of the nineteenth century. It is a significant fact, that in the new *Biographie Générale*, which gathers in the lives of the great of all ages, but one American, Jefferson, has so large a place as the present High-Priest of the Mormon Church; other statesmen, generals, discoverers, and preachers — Edwards and Franklin and Fulton — are all subordinate to this illiterate leader of a sect; and there can be little doubt that, if the sect should have proportionate growth in the rest of this century to its growth in the thirty years since its foundation, Joe Smith will be classed in history with Mohammed rather than with Simon Magus. The vulgarity of its beginning will be forgotten in the great success of the imposture. Indeed, there are already philosophic vindications of the Mormon movement; and we can observe a disposition to class this new creed and church among the established religions of the world.

A great deal has been written about the Mormons in these latter years. Emigrants to California, stopping at Salt Lake City, in their way across the plains, have been moved to tell of the beauty and the prosperity of this oasis in the desert. Government officials, vexed by the exile and the suspicion to which they have condemned themselves in accepting a sojourn in that unfriendly land, have sent home to the journals their reports of its dreariness and its wickedness. Our own Review is almost the only one which has not favored the new Israel with elaborate notice. The apostles of the sect, sent to all

quarters of the world, have not been idle; and Mormon literature is respectable in quantity, if not in quality. Side by side with the Bible and the Lives of the Saints, in the book-shops of Paris, is exposed for sale a French translation of the Book of Mormon, more readable than the original. In the chief cities of England, there are establishments specially devoted to the publication and distribution of Mormon works; and the "Latter-Day Saints' Book Depot, in London," at "35 Jewin Street, City," radiates light to all parts of the Mormon universe. This candle is not hidden under a bushel; but the candlestick is carried over land and sea. The reports of the Mormon evangelists, of their zeal for the faith, of their "labors, dangers, and sufferings," remind us in many particulars of the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses* of the Jesuit missionaries; and the archives of Deseret are fast coming to rival those of the Roman Propaganda. Ample materials exist for a criticism and judgment of the Mormon pulpit, and the three volumes of sermons named at the head of this paper are only the first three of an indefinite annual series. In all the walks of literary effort, Mormon genius is represented. It has produced histories and philosophies, as well as catechisms and expositions. The poems of Eliza R. Snow, "Religious, Historical, and Political," from the specimens we have seen, we should judge to be at least equal to Tupper's verse. Mrs. Belinda Pratt's "Defence of Polygamy" is certainly an extraordinary ethical treatise, both in the subtilty of the argument, and the vigor of the diction; and Parley Pratt's "Key" is more complete and intelligible than many metaphysical treatises by learned professors. Mormonism, moreover, has no favored speech, and receives and spreads its inspirations in any language that it can command. Elder Dan Jones and Elder John Davies have enriched Welsh literature by the visions and truths of the new salvation, and our eyes are blinded by the horrid array of consonants in the titles of their pamphlets, which no prudent tongue will venture to articulate. The French, the Germans, the Danes, and the Italians read the Book of Mormon in their own speech, and in a few years it will doubtless be inscribed in Chinese and Tamil for the benefit of the converted worshippers of Fo and Buddha. It is a

remarkable fact, that a sect so ignorant should in so short a time have produced such a multitude of printed works; especially when we consider that the spirit of the leader is hostile to literary development. The Mormon Pope is as suspicious of free publication as the Roman Pope, and does not desire for his people the fame of culture. He would have them shrewd, industrious, obedient, and virtuous, but does not care to have them learned in the lore of schools or libraries.

Mormon books, or, to speak more accurately, books concerning the Mormons, may be divided into three classes, — those issued by members of the Church, those issued by enemies of the Church, and Gentile works belonging to neither of these classes. This last class is much smaller than the other two, since very few Gentiles who have written about the Mormons have written impartially or in their favor. The Anti-Mormon works, not including articles in reviews, are very numerous, and Mr. Burton, in his singular catalogue, gives the titles of more than forty. Some of these are by travellers, some by apostates, some by hostile politicians, and some by hostile preachers. These works are unequal both in temper and in truth; some are kind and mild, but inaccurate; others are accurate in facts, but false in conclusions; while a considerable number are both untrue and malignant. The falsehoods of Joe Smith are fairly matched by the falsehoods of his enemies, who have not been restrained in their warfare by ordinary scruples of decency. Many of our readers are familiar with the ponderous lucubrations of Rev. Henry Caswall upon the Church of America and its future; but to appreciate the self-sufficient ignorance and bigotry of this demonstrator of religions, one must study his judgment of Joe Smith and the Mormons. It is necessary to say, nevertheless, that the most unscrupulous calumniators of the Latter-Day Saints have been women. Mrs. Maria Ward, Mrs. Mary Ettie V. Smith, and Mrs. Ferris have shown in their delineations of Mormon life an unrivalled fertility of invention and mastery in vituperation.

Of the Gentile works which the Mormons accept as giving on the whole a correct view of their condition and character, the principal are those of the military engineers who have

been sent to explore the Salt-Lake Basin, Stansbury and Gunnison, and of the English travellers Kelly and Chandless. But two quite recent works of this class in magnitude and thoroughness have cast all the rest into the shade. One of these is by a well-known Englishman, whose name has become the synonyme for all that is daring, persistent, sagacious, and successful in hazardous travel; the other by a Frenchman, less known as a writer, but eminent as a naturalist, and experienced in journeyings both on land and sea. The English writer has the advantage of a five years' later date in his visit to the new Zion, — a long period in a community so rapidly growing. But the Frenchman has the advantage of a more protracted stay, a calmer observation, and a better-digested use of material. Captain Burton's work is certainly the livelier and more entertaining of the two, but M. Remy's inspires more confidence and supplies more original information. Indeed, the solid worth of the Englishman's book is largely borrowed from the patient investigations of the Frenchman; and the slighting tone in which Captain Burton speaks of Remy's "generalisms" upon the "new faith" is hardly fair, when we consider how much he is indebted to Remy for his own conclusions. It is characteristic, however, and reminds us of the style in which Captain Burton treated his companion, Captain Speke, in his last narrative of African discovery. Burton's work by no means supersedes the work of his French predecessor. Remy visited Utah in 1855, it is true, but his book was not published until 1860, and the information which it contains is brought up nearly to that date. It is simply ridiculous for Mr. Burton to say that "an account of Great Salt Lake City in 1855 is archæological as a study of London life in A. D. 1800." So far as the scenery of the country, the appearance of the streets, and the social, economical, political, and religious condition of the people, are to be described, scarcely any change has come in these five years. The population is greater, the wealth has increased; but the order of the state and the order of the church were the same in 1860 as in 1855; and the additional features which Mr. Burton is enabled to mention consist in the erection of a few buildings and the construction of a few public conveniences. His per-

sonal observation of the Mormons adds very little to those of the French traveller. His volume is more full only as it has borrowed from more numerous and various sources, and it may be called a skilful compilation, enlivened by anecdote and personal narrative. One serious defect this volume has, — as all the volumes which we have seen bearing Captain Burton's name, — a scoffing and reckless tone, which mocks at moral scruples and hearty faith. There is not only no condemnation of false morality, but a certain contempt for all who are shocked by immoral customs. Captain Burton, indeed, does not profess to admire polygamy, or to prefer it to the common custom of the Christian world; but he seems to have no moral and religious objection to it, and to regard it as a mistake rather than a sin. He sees only "fanatics" in those who oppose it as contrary to the Divine law and degrading to the human soul.

In this regard, the work of Remy is much to be preferred. He gives to the argument for polygamy its full weight, and avoids imputing bad motives to those who defend the custom, yet does not conceal his disgust for it as a perversion of the Divine purpose. Nor does his philosophic scrutiny of the Mormon faith ever lapse into sympathy with its eccentricities and follies, or convey a sneer at the established forms of Christianity. He is as little of a "fanatic" as Mr. Burton, but much more of a Christian; and toleration of the false creed does not make him forget that he belongs to the ancient Church. His book is a remarkable instance of the fairness with which a Catholic may examine an alien superstition without compromising the sincerity of his own religious faith. M. Remy constantly speaks of the "Mormon Church," the "Mormon Pope," and recognizes the system as having in it many elements of truth; yet we have not learned that he has lost caste at home by this candor, or that his book has been put in the Roman Index. If Mr. Burton, on the contrary, has faith in anything sacred, we cannot discover it in his book. One religion seems to be to him as good as another, and a Mormon apostle to have as much truth as a Christian apostle.

A considerable part of both these works is occupied by a description of the journeys to and from the Great Salt Lake.

M. Remy, with his companion, Mr. Brenchley (a *fidus Achates*, whose dear attachment he can never sufficiently praise), came to the Mormon country from California, over the Sierra Nevada and by Carson Valley, returning on the southern route, by Fillmore, Las Vegas, and Los Angeles. Mr. Burton crossed the continent from the East, and has given a graphic narrative of his toils and experiences in traversing the prairies, the Rocky Mountains, the desert, and the Western Snowy Range. Both travellers had their full share of dangers, hardships, and surprises, — fights with the Indians, disabling of their beasts, petty annoyances, and ludicrous adventures. It is needless to say that Captain Burton makes the most of these, and that his descriptions are very stimulating to the imagination of an excitable reader. M. Remy is less gifted in picturesque description. His botanical enthusiasm sprinkles over the page the scientific names of plants to a fatiguing degree, and the record of his march has a certain even monotony, which reminds one of the "stathmoi" and the "parasangs" of the great retreat of the Grecian leader. In dissertation and in history his style is good, and even spirited; but in description he fails, — certainly in comparison with his brilliant successor. In the one book, the descriptions are the most interesting portion; in the other, the least interesting. Remy's book is a treatise, while Burton's is a book of travel, if we judge them by their characteristic tone.

We shall not in this article dwell upon the details of these journeys, which in either work cover more than three hundred octavo pages. Captain Burton's chapter on the Indians of the West would in itself furnish substance for a separate article, and Remy's minute record supplies material for an exposition of the natural history of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada. We shall confine our view to their statements concerning the Mormons and the Mormon religion, corrected or justified, as the case may be, by the words of the Saints themselves, as they are given in authorized publications. Into the history of the sect, so often told, it will be unnecessary to enter; nor shall we touch the question whether the prophet Smith died "as the fool dieth," or died a blessed martyr, as his followers believe. It is likely

that the works before us will add the question, "Was Joe Smith a fanatic, or an impostor?" to the similar questions concerning Mohammed and Cromwell, so long the stock questions of all debating societies. We shall forego all sentimental allusion to that marvellous exodus, the heroic endurance of which wins the sympathy even of those who hate the superstition. We shall tell merely the condition of the Saints, and the truth about them, as seen by these clear and open Gentile eyes. There are some things, certainly, in both works, to which the zealous believers will object. Neither writer has discovered in the existing prophet those godlike qualities that stamp a man as "heaven-sent," or has presented the social condition of the New Jerusalem as the perfection of holiness. Neither writer predicts for it such a future as the seers promise in their confident discourse. The vulgar and prosaic side of Mormon life is set in both volumes in bold relief. Yet, in all substantial respects, these volumes are a vindication of the Mormons from the charges brought against them, and are a candid statement of the facts as they appear. Either would be allowed a place in the homes of the happy city, and doubtless copies of both are already in circulation there; since the work of Remy has been translated into English, and allusions to it have been made in the discourses of the brethren.

The first thing which arrests attention in a notice of the Mormon people is their singular name. What does it mean, and whence did it come? Aristophanes uses the word to signify a female phantom, a "hideous mask"; and the enemies of the sect commend a title which so well describes the distortion and ugliness which the system brings upon the nature and condition of woman. But it is not probable that Joe Smith borrowed from the Greek satirist, or that he would have fastened upon his religion a designation so unfortunate, had he known its primitive meaning. The name is doubtless an original invention, and symbolizes in its incongruous etymology the peculiar eclecticism of the sect. It is half Saxon, and half Coptic. In the ancient Egyptian tongue, according to the erudite Smith, "Mon" was the expression of "goodness," of "excellence." It was the equiva-

lent of the Greek *kalon*, and the Hebrew *tob*, with the advantage of being more recondite. The easy prefix of the syllable "more" at once gives a cabalistic sound and a grand idea to a word simple and smooth upon the tongue. "Mormon" means *more good*, more than the good, something better than anything which has come yet; and this is what the new church is intended and destined to be. Its sound and its signification are not unlike that of the name of a superior class of schools in New England, and the genesis of the word "Mormon" is perhaps as correct as the genesis of the word "Normal." We know a musical amateur, more familiar with Bellini than with Cicero, who persists in deriving this educational epithet from the name of the Druid priestess.

Yet the name Mormon, it is sad to say, is not that which the sect delights in. Its large meaning is not appreciated. Sidney Rigdon's title of "Latter-Day Saints" is generally preferred; and we find in Utah the same repudiation of what was once honorable, that we find in the case of the Druses of Syria, and of some Christian sects. The second title describes the prophetic spirit and the future glory of the new church, and, though more difficult to pronounce, is certainly more religious and Scriptural in its tone than the first. The Gentiles, nevertheless, will persist in using the name which the Founder gave to his creation, and which is fastened to the sacred book. There is no insult intended in their use of the word, more than in calling the Friends *Quakers*, or the Catholics *Romanists*, or the Unitarians *Socinians*. As a man may claim to be Friend, Unitarian, or Catholic, without belonging to the churches of Penn, Socinus, or Rome, so a man may claim to be a millennial believer without being a Mormon. The preacher of Crown Court in London is a "Latter-Day Saint," though he hates the American imposture which has assumed this name. In the published discourses, and in the Catechism of the sect, the word Mormon very rarely occurs. Indeed, the appeal is to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, rather than to the new revelation, and the sacred plates dug up from the hill Cumorah are quite subordinate to the tables of stone which Moses

received on Sinai. The word brought to light by the angel Moroni is almost as unknown to the faithful in Deseret as the Sibylline oracles were to the citizens of Rome. It is joined to their history, rather than to their politics and ethics.

It is a shorter process to analyze the name than to compute the numbers of the Mormon people. Their own estimates are not to be taken as strictly exact, and their hopeful visions inflate their statistics. The gross estimate of 400,000 in all parts of the world will come nearer to the truth if it is diminished one half. The number is probably from 200,000 to 250,000. Of these, undoubtedly less than half dwell within the limits of the sacred land. The list of M. Remy, drawn up in 1859, reckons the numbers in England and Scotland to be 32,000; in Ireland, 1,000; in Denmark and the Scandinavian peninsula, 5,000; in Germany and Russia, 3,000; in Switzerland and Sardinia, 1,500; in France, 500; in Africa, 350; in Asia, 1,200; in Australia and the islands of Oceanica and the Pacific, 10,000; making about 55,000 not on the American continent. To these he adds 2,000 for the West Indies and South America; 8,000 for the English colonies in North America; 10,000 for California, New Mexico, Oregon, and Arkansas; 10,000 for the State of New York; and 20,000 for the other Eastern States; which will swell the whole number to 105,000, leaving a balance of 80,000 for the Territory of Utah. To this estimate ten per cent should be added, to meet the rate of increase in the three years which have since passed. We cannot, however, accept this reckoning as just in its proportions, or believe that there are twenty times as many Mormons in the State of New York as in the whole French empire. On the contrary, the reports of the apostles warrant the belief that there are more Mormons in Paris than in New York, not reckoning those who are passing on as emigrants to Zion. The numbers which M. Remy gives may be accurate in their aggregate, but not in their distribution. And he has omitted to mention Holland and Belgium, which have furnished to this, as to every variety of religious sect, a full supply of adherents. The missionaries of the new faith would not surely neglect

the land of John of Leyden from their travels. The United States census of 1860 does not, indeed, return 80,000 as the Mormon population of Utah, but gives only the moderate number of 49,295; while the Mormon census of four years earlier had given 76,335. But this census of 1860, like most of the political works of Gentiles in the Territory, was cared for in the most loose and unsatisfactory manner. The table of immigration alone from 1851 to 1861, by vessels from Liverpool, shows sufficiently the inaccuracy of the census. From this table it appears that not less than 21,195 Mormon emigrants left that port for America within the ten years specified. These, added to the official census of 1850, of 11,380, with the immigration from other quarters, and with the natural increase, would carry the number at least as high as 60,000. It is safer to believe that the present Mormon population of Utah is above 70,000, than that it is below 60,000. This estimate by no means covers the whole population of the Territory. The saints claim to possess the goodly land, but they have not yet driven out all the native tribes. Besides the white Gentiles, who are numbered by hundreds, there are "Lamanites," which is the Saints' name for Indians, who are still numbered by thousands. They are becoming fewer year by year, but they are still numerous enough to prevent enterprise and to endanger travel in all parts of the Territory. Not many have been won to the saving faith; yet, as a rule, they are far better affected to their Mormon neighbors than to the white men of a different creed. Captain Burton reckons the number in the two races of the Yutas and the Snakes, who divide the land with their hunting-grounds, to be, within the Territory of Utah, about 19,000 souls.

Substantially, nevertheless, Utah is the habitation of the Saints; and unless they are driven out by persecution or force, they will undoubtedly come to be more and more the owners of the soil, as they are already possessors by "eminent domain." As yet they have colonized but a small part of it, and the few spots which they have reclaimed are but specks in the vast desert. They have established one large city and several small towns in a territory nearly as large as France, more than

600 miles in length and more than 300 in breadth. They have reclaimed a few thousand acres from the 200,000 square miles of land, more or less. There is the plan, indeed, of a future great state, and a score of "counties" are already marked off, with their capitals. But most of the settlements in these counties are so small, that one might pass near them without seeing them, and half a dozen houses are sufficient to secure the name of "city." This municipal title is perhaps prophetic, and may save trouble for the future. In the naming of these cities there is no exclusiveness; profane history is allowed to share with sacred history, — the names of saints with those of sinners. In Utah County, the chief town of which is Provo, there are David City, Lake City, Lehi City, Love City, Spanish Fork City, Payson City, and Palmyra, as many cities as contended for the birth of Homer. In Box Elder County is Brigham's City, of which we are uncertain whether it records a compliment to the prophet, or one of his numerous speculations. New sites, however, are every year laid out, and it is quite likely that the number of settlements is already a third greater than in 1860, when Mr. Burton sought information concerning them. All these outlying towns and counties can be regarded only as suburbs of the central Zion, — as the source of supply to the happy seat by the Great Lake, where the ark of the Lord rests. For all purposes of judgment concerning the Mormons in Utah, Great Salt Lake City is Deseret as truly as Jerusalem is Palestine or Paris is France. The life of the capital here is the life of the province, and one who has seen the capital has seen the people.

Yet a word or two should be said upon the natural features and conditions of that land in which the Mormons have chosen their lot. It is not in all respects a goodly land, nor will it without long toil be made to flow with milk and honey. It is high enough to be cold in winter, and dry enough to be hot in summer. The lowest valley is 4,000 feet above the sea, while there are snowy peaks that rival in altitude Mont Blanc and the Jungfrau. Of navigable rivers there are none, and half the streams lose themselves in the sand and mire. Lakes abound, some of large size; but of the largest the only productions are salt and sulphur, and none will ever be of much

use for commerce. Rain falls heavily in its season; yet for long months the thirsty ground waits in vain for relief. The air is usually clear and dry, but too often saturated with dust, and vexed in mid-winter with storms of snow, and in mid-summer with storms of lightning. The climate is rather healthy than agreeable, good for the lungs and muscles, but not for the nerves. Few die of consumption, but not many escape the toothache. The glaring sun in the hot season is dangerous to the head and to the eyes, and the Mormon's handkerchief, straggling from under his hat, reminds one of the Bedouin *kefiyeh*.

The natural wealth of the land is not great. It has rock enough in various kind, — granite, slate, marble, serpentine, and sandstone; iron enough and coal enough, when machinery shall be applied to work them; but hardly one fiftieth of the soil is fit for culture. The "bench-lands" can be made productive only by artificial irrigation, and the "bottom-lands" are rendered half-barren by the lime which they hold in solution. Crickets and grasshoppers in some years darken the air by their incredible swarms, and destroy every green thing before them. Fortunately, however, Providence, watchful of the Saints, has relieved them in a measure of this plague by the aid of an army of little white gulls, which come after the locusts like protecting angels. The gull is to the Mormons what the owl was to the Athenians, and is as sacred in their regard as the eagle to Columbian patriots. These nuisances, drought, salt, frost, and locusts, tend to make the crops uncertain, and the Mormon farmer sows in hope rather than in faith. His grains are wheat, oats, corn, and Chinese sugar-cane. His vegetables, which are of large growth and coarse fibre, are carrots, turnips, beets, cucumbers, beans, and potatoes. In the southern part of the territory cotton is successfully cultivated. Wood is comparatively scarce, and it is difficult to find enough for building purposes. The most common kinds are the soft willows and alders in the lowlands, and scrub-oaks and cedars on the highlands. The new temple cannot be ceiled with such precious beams as came to the house on Moriah from the hills of Lebanon. In the sweet liquids of the forests the Saints are more favored. There is balm in their Gilead; and

from the leaves of poplars by the brooks a dew is collected which serves as a healing balsam.

In that part of Utah which the Mormons have peopled, wild beasts are not abundant. There are some wolves, and foxes enough for a Mormon Samson to repeat, near Lehi City, the former experiment at Lehi of the Philistines. Of the vermin which swim and the vermin which burrow there are only too many, and the jaws of the *callotis*, or "jackass rabbit," may make as much havoc with the crops, as the ass's jaw in the hands of the Hebrew champion with the hostile armies. That "feeble folk," the conies, hide here in the clefts; and the elements of King Solomon's daily provision may also furnish the house of his Mormon successor, — "ten fat oxen, and twenty oxen out of the pastures, and a hundred sheep, besides harts and roe-bucks and fallow-deer and fatted fowl." The fatted fowl are in inexhaustible quantity and delicious variety. Of the Levitical list of birds unclean, the vulture and the kite, the stork and the cormorant, the hawk after her kind, the swan and the pelican, all remind the Saints of the land of ancient Israel, while of birds fit for sport and food the numbers are far greater. In autumn the dish of the Roman epicurean is served up in Salt Lake City, and they catch larks without the falling of the sky. The "horned frog" is the chameleon of Utah; lizards run upon the walls; and there are poisonous serpents like those which the Psalmist describes, which might commend to the people that prayer of Israel in the wilderness. The sweet waters are full of fish, large and small, but bivalves of the nicer kind are denied. Plentiful pasturage guarantees an unlimited raising of sheep and cattle; and when camels are fairly introduced, they will thrive and multiply as largely as in the Arabian desert. The Canaan of the Western mountains is destined to become a great grazing country, and before its valleys are covered over with corn, its pastures will be clothed with flocks. The winters are too severe to allow much culture of the vine, and the abstemious habits of the Saints would discourage the culture if it were practicable. Yet among the fruits for which premiums were offered at the annual exhibition of the Deseret Agricultural Society, in 1860, were grapes, as well as the other common native fruits.

At the beginning, the position of the Mormons in this distant land seemed to be one of almost complete isolation. Remote by six weeks' journey from civilization on either side, secluded by ranges of mountains difficult to scale, protected by their surrounding deserts, they might confidently expect to be undisturbed in their home. No railway and no telegraph would pursue them so far; and their Paradise was as truly separate from the heathen world, as was the fabled garden of Atlantis. But the California excitement broke that dream of isolation. The trail which the exodus had marked became the road for the hunters of gold, and the city by the lake was a house of refreshment to myriads weary with the heat and burden of the way. It is yet a disputed point whether the Mormon colony gained or lost by the commerce of this western emigration. Its revenues were increased, but its morals were not improved; and if the bad population was to some extent drained off, the love of gold was unduly stimulated. The more religious Mormons still dread the coming of that great line of railway which shall bind them to the Gentile world, and would forego the advantages of news and intercourse, and the resources which it will open, for the sake of the sacred retreat which this communication will destroy. Some already long for a less accessible Zion.

A new exodus, however, is not likely soon to occur. Only by compulsion will the Saints desert the city which their hands have so broadly, if not strongly and beautifully, builded. The sensation which the wayfarer experiences at the sight of the New Jerusalem from the Wasatch Mountains is the sensation which all travellers remember at the first view of Damascus from the hill which overhangs it; — and here the first impression is not, as at Damascus, destroyed by the nearer interior view. Cleanliness, that close adjunct of godliness, is in excess rather than in defect. Every street has its Abana and Pharpar, and a more unfailing stream than the Judæan Siloa flows softly by the house of the oracle. The plan of the city (not yet fully carried out, it is true) is substantially that which John the Divine saw in the city upon the mountains. "It lieth four-square." Within this greater square are lesser squares, forty rods on

each side, each enclosing an area of ten acres. The dividing streets, which run perfectly true to the cardinal points of the compass, are eight rods in width, including sidewalks of twenty feet on either side. Every house, too, must stand twenty feet from the front line of the lot, thus leaving an open space of forty feet between it and the highway. In each square there are eight house-lots of an acre and a quarter each, though the owners are not compelled, in the erection of houses, to limit themselves to a single lot, but may put two together. At intervals, squares are reserved for public use. The city of the Mormons avoids the common mistake of our Western cities, of covering all the land with buildings, and will leave breathing-places for the people. Its plan may be monotonous and tiresome to the eye, but is at least convenient, neat, and orderly. The distances are magnificent, certainly; but ought they not to be so, to correspond with the hopes and pretensions of the people? Ought not the New Jerusalem to be as unlike as possible to the old Gentile cities of narrow streets, dry, dark, leafless, and crooked? Abundance of light, water, air, foliage, and movement so unobstructed as to seem partial rest, is the end to be gained. And it has been gained thus far. If the Broadway of the Mormon capital is not grand in its edifices, it is at least far superior in its proportions to the Broadway of any Atlantic city. It is protected by a grateful shade, and it hardly deserves the mean name which Captain Burton's coarse wit, as we believe, rather than the custom of the people, has attached to it, of "Whiskey Street." He testifies that running water rather than bad whiskey gives character to all the streets of this city.

This main street is the centre of business and traffic for the capital. It extends from north to south, midway between the eastern and western limit already laid out. On this street are the principal shops, both of large and small wares, the most important offices, the hotels, the saloons, and some of the best private residences. The special attraction of this street is the two squares, opposite to each other, which are set apart to contain the buildings of the Temple and the residences of the prophet. The grand monarch of Israel, it

is recorded, built the house of the Lord before he built his own house of the forest of Lebanon. The new monarch has reversed that order; and while stately, and in some sense palatial edifices, adorn the Prophet's Block, Captain Burton could see only a hole in the ground in the place where the Temple is destined to stand. Seven years had already passed since the first solemn breaking of soil in the pious work, and only the foundations had yet been laid. Since that time, as we learn, the work has proceeded, and part of the singular plan has been revealed to the eye in the walls and buttresses. M. Remy is able to show a picture of the sacred building, as it will look when its roof is complete and its pinnacles are all raised. Its architecture is less grotesque than the architecture of that monstrous absurdity which was set upon the hill of Nauvoo, and, apart from some specially Mormon improvements, is not much baser "Gothic" than the average of churches in the Atlantic cities which claim that designation. Its dimensions are not enormous; indeed, not too large to allow a speaker to be heard with ease. They are given by M. Remy as 46¼ metres in length, by 36$\frac{3}{10}$ in breadth, with walls of 3 metres in thickness, which would give, in English measure, an audience-room of about 130 feet in length by 100 in breadth, — smaller than many of the new Catholic churches. For the first Temple, Joseph Smith had received the plans directly from the Lord; but the design of this second house, bearing angelic signs on the apex of its pinnacles, has been accepted from the appropriate hand of one T. O. Angell, a brother beloved. Its height from the basement to the apex of the roof will be upward of a hundred feet, and each front will be adorned with three projecting towers, tapering to spires. The whole structure will be of granite, and it is to become, by its solidity and its beauty, its originality and its fitness, the most remarkable edifice of the earth. We cannot learn that in this Temple those colossal oxen with their basins, which puzzled visitors to the Temple at Nauvoo, are to be set again, in their lumpish solemnity.

Only a fraction of the four hundred feet square of the Temple Block will be occupied by this edifice. The re-

mainder is not left unoccupied, but, beside the workshops and the storehouses for the construction of the Temple, there are three other structures at present contained within it. One of these, at the southwest corner, is the Tabernacle, a long, barn-like building, where the faithful assemble to hear the word dispensed, waiting for the completion of the greater house. Here, as over the ancient altars, the swallow has found a nest, and leads out her young in noisy flocks. Just north of the Tabernacle is the Bowery, a meeting-house of more airy and rustic construction, which holds the surplus of hearers that the Tabernacle will not contain. In the northwest corner of the block is the Endowment House, which, from the engraving in Mr. Burton's volume, does not seem sufficiently imposing for the high mysteries which pass within it. Here the initiated assume the sacred shirt, and receive the gifts of the Spirit. No profane foot may cross the threshold, and what is done there is known only through the questionable revelations of the apostates. If these may be trusted, the scenes enacted in that holy place are a repetition in part of the mysteries of Eleusis, and in part of the religious plays of the Middle Age.

Opposite to the Temple Block is the Prophet's Block. We shall not attempt to describe the congeries of buildings which cover this enclosure of the seraglio of the Mormon Sultan. The "Lion's House," where the chief sultana dwells, a stuccoed structure, built in a year at a cost of $65,000; the Public Office, where business of church and state is transacted, and the prophet receives his visitors; the "Bee House," a long pile of buildings yellow in color, and garnished with a score of dove-cote windows in its attic story, the *harem* of the enclosure; the Tithing-House, where the contributions of the faithful are heaped together, awaiting to be converted into money; — these, and other smaller buildings, attest the grandeur of the prophet's state. The finest works of Mormon art are found here. The lion over the portico of Mrs. Young's house may remind a spectator of Wellington's statue at Hyde Park corner; and the bee-hive on the house of the other wives has a pleasant Attic suggestion. The Saints rejoice in the dignity of their leader's abode, and grudge him none of his good things.

In this connection, some notice is proper of the master of this property, the man who, in the somewhat extravagant phrase of M. Remy, "unites in his hands more power than any potentate in the world." Brigham Young (or "Brigham the Young," as he is called in the biographical sketch of M. Isambert) is a native of Vermont. By his mother's side he is descended from one of the numerous races of Central Massachusetts, and has gained by his connection with this race the name by which he is most endeared to his followers. Their style of address is not "Brother Young," but "Brother Brigham." He was born in June, 1801, though the freshness of his features would indicate a much younger man. His frame is strong and well knit, somewhat tending to obesity, and his stature is fully of middle height; yet there is nothing in his look or his manner which shows a man born to command. Captain Burton's minute description of his eyes, cheeks, jaws, beard, shoulders, and hands gives the picture of a shrewd and cunning rather than of a large-minded man. This impression is confirmed by the excellent engraving, taken from a daguerrotype, which appears as the frontispiece to M. Remy's first volume. This face gives the idea of a "smart" man of business, but not of an organizing genius or a spiritual seer. There is no divine speculation in those narrow eyes, and no reverential faith in that rounded and commonplace skull. It is difficult to understand the magnetism of such a countenance.

Yet it is evident, not only from the impressions which the prophet produces upon his visitors, but from the discourses of the published volumes, that this head of the Mormon Church is in intellect and in ability no common man. He has strong sense, great practical sagacity, a keen insight into character, a fertility of invention, and a simplicity of manner, which make him fit to rule. He is at once affable and reserved, courteous and dignified, assuming nothing for his office, yet tenacious of his right and his place. There is in his address and his conversation no mark of an impostor, and he speaks calmly, in a natural tone of voice, and with no striving for effect. He does not pretend to be a saint further than his office gives him this privilege, and he brings

to his brethren the conclusions of his own reason, and the dictates of his own will, rather than any special messages from the Lord. Between his life and his professions there is consistency, and the stories of his intemperance both M. Remy and Captain Burton pronounce to be patent falsehoods. He is, in eating and drinking, an ascetic rather than a sensualist. Tobacco, in any form, the prophet never uses; and by example as well as precept he is the advocate of abstinence from intoxicating liquors. We cannot be much in error in deciding that he is an honest, sincere, wise, and determined enthusiast, fully convinced of the truth of his faith and the justice of his position, and ready to maintain his claim at any sacrifice. His education was only that of a New England common school, and his early trade was that of a painter. But he has shown himself ready for any duty, a master in diplomacy, and fit to be a ruler. He has secured his full share of the goods of this earth, and has houses, lands, mines, utensils, and money in fabulous abundance, as compared with his associates. His private property is estimated at from half a million to a million of dollars.

In the next block north of the President's Block is the residence of Heber C. Kimball, the Second President. The appearance of this favorite Mormon orator seems to have affected both M. Remy and Captain Burton unpleasantly. His manners could be characterized only as vulgar. His age is the same as that of "Brother Brigham"; his stature is tall and portly, his face is smooth-shaven, and his style of address is colloquial and irreverent. There is hardly one of his published discourses that is not a flagrant offence to decency. He gesticulates in the most extravagant way, and perpetually strives to be witty. Like most conceited preachers, he loves to dwell upon the virtue of "humility," and the duty which he most strongly enforces is that of absolute submission. He denounces the wickedness of the brethren with a hearty good-will, and is ready to call them fools, rascals, and liars in the same breath in which he addresses them as "gentlemen and ladies." In one discourse he tells them that they "are all in hell." There is an air of jaunty

indifference to the reception which his discourses meet, which betrays real sensitiveness. "What do I care for what the world says? I care no more about it than I do for the squalking of a goose." He is a true worshipper of his superior, and he distinctly inculcates the lesson, that, for the sake of "Brother Brigham," father and mother and brothers and sisters must all be forsaken. Kimball is the heir apparent to the holy seat, and, if he should outlive the prophet, will doubtless expect to succeed to his dignity. His wives are numerous.

In the neighborhood of the Temple Block are also the residences of other high Mormon dignitaries; — of General D. H. Wells, the Third President, a large-boned, red-haired, and grim-looking personage, who rules the battalions of the saints, the Abner of this Israel; of John Taylor, the Paul of the new dispensation, who has travelled far more widely than the first "Apostle to the Gentiles," and encountered nearly as many perils, — an amiable companion, and a careful observer; of Elder Wilford Woodruff, gifted in the exposition of Scripture, and serious in his views of life and duty; of George A. Smith, "the Historian of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints," constant to magnify his office, and ready on all occasions with panegyric of the departed and recollections of the heroic times; and of other eminent men, whose names we are reluctantly forced to pass by. These dwellings, with the adjoining Council-House, History Office, Social Hall, and Hotel, give honor to the centre of the Mormon city, and diversify its attractions. As a rule, the buildings on these surrounding squares are somewhat mean in their appearance, low, plain, and built of adobe bricks, or of rubble. They are clean rather than elegant. But to the eyes of the faithful they have a singular charm, and the life of the city tends to cluster in this neighborhood.

The surroundings of the city are at once appropriate and picturesque. On the east tower the Wasatch Mountains, and a ride of a few hours brings one into the wildest gorges and glens. On the west runs the river Jordan, northward from the sweet waters of the Lake Utah, the Galilean lake of Mor-

mondom, to the bitter waters of the Great Salt Sea; and, by a singular coincidence, this western Jordan has about the same length, the same breadth, and the same winding way with the Jordan of Syria. The "swelling of Jordan" here, however, is less regular, and the want of forests has been provided for by the judicious contract for a million of trees, at a cent each, to be planted along the banks. North of the city are hot springs, where the baths of Tiberias are recalled by the sight of the naked Indians who warm their limbs in the refreshing flood. Twelve miles from the city is the Great Dead Sea, which has points of resemblance as striking as its points of contrast with the Sea of Sodom. That is 1,300 feet below the ocean level, while this is 4,200 feet above. That is a single, unbroken sheet of water, while this is studded with islands, on some of which are mountains. In neither of the seas is there any organic life, and the waters of both are buoyant to an extraordinary degree. In mineral elements the waters of the two are nearly alike, and the surrounding scenery is not very unlike.

In the short time which has elapsed since the beginning of the colony, not much change, of course, could be effected in the landscape by culture. The internal improvements make as yet very little show. The Jordan is crossed by a "rickety" wooden bridge, and the roads are mostly primitive paths upon the plain or the hill-sides. Only a few of the remarkable water facilities have yet been put to use. But the spirit of Mormon civilization is favorable to all material conquests, and they are commanded to subdue as well as to possess the earth. The prophet would encourage all schemes which may increase the resources of his nation,—would have them plant orchards, smooth the fields, and build mills, wherever a site shall invite or allow. One of the "lions" of the region is the establishment of Mr. Little, in a cañon about thirteen miles east of the city, where the rocks rise perpendicularly on each side two thousand feet above the narrow pass. Here are a tannery, a grist-mill, and a factory for adobe bricks. Beyond, in the Great Cottonwood Cañon, are a series of saw-mills, where a million feet of lumber are prepared for market in the season. The

labor and expense of keeping the roadway open through this ravine is very great, and the scene can be compared only to that in the wilder defiles of Switzerland.

Whoever has occasion to describe the land of the Mormons twenty years hence, will doubtless tell of model farms, of thriving factories, and of immense improvement in the practical arts. But all these are at present in embryo. The Saints have no foreign commerce, and they desire none. They wish only to be self-supporting and to establish themselves as a peculiar people. Among their converts are mechanics of all kinds, sufficient to meet their own wants. If they are allowed to labor in peace, their persevering industry will be sure to give them strength. Yet they do not trust wholly to this. From the beginning, they have been a military people; and a review of the Mormon Battalion is a spectacle which visitors ought not to lose. The "Nauvoo Legion," which is the nucleus and basis of the present military force, was organized in 1840, and was made to include all the males between the ages of sixteen and fifty. Its present number in the whole territory of Utah is estimated by Captain Burton to be from six to eight thousand men. The officers of the Battalion are a lieutenant-general, elected by the commissioned officers, a major-general, who is only his deputy, and a full staff, according to the military system of the United States. The territory is divided into military districts, corresponding mainly to the different counties. This militia is well armed, regularly and thoroughly drilled, and ready to be called into service at short notice. Beside this, there are in many parts of the territory companies of mounted "minute-men," who are to be at all times prepared for the official summons, — a precaution absolutely necessary in a country liable to sudden and stealthy Indians attacks. If the enemies of the Mormons are to be trusted, they have also a secret battalion of "Danites," serpents in the path, destroying angels, who are banded for any deed of daring; and assassination, and the frequent violent deaths of travellers and emigrants, are attributed to the treacherous stroke of some brother of this fraternity. How far this account of the Danites is to be believed, it is impossible to say. The

Mormons declare that it is a base and ridiculous calumny, and that no such society exists among them. The fame of it, nevertheless, is a terror even to many not over-credulous, and it saves the Mormons from many insults from their enemies. They ask no protection from abroad. They are competent to their own defence, and the United States troops which have been quartered from time to time in their territory are regarded as intruders, if not as foes. At present, we believe, all these troops are withdrawn, and the Gentile officers are virtually at the mercy of those who acknowledge only the sway of the prophet.

In civil affairs, the Mormons are not yet free from the interference of Gentile governors, judges, and sheriffs. During the administrations of Presidents Fillmore and Pierce the head of the Church was also, by appointment from Washington, the head of the state. It was of no consequence to Brother Brigham in what way his authority came, so long as he held it. For a few years past he has been constrained to recognize a co-ordinate ruler in the able Georgian who conducts officially the affairs of the Territory. Governor Cumming was possessed of rare sagacity, and his skilful management of his embarrassing part showed him to be the right man in the right place. He is on excellent terms with the people, and has done much to reconcile them to a dependence upon the general government, which is not much more than nominal, and interferes little with their practical freedom. The obnoxious judges of the Federal courts, some of whom disgraced their office by scandalous, if not actually criminal practices, have gradually been displaced, and a better class of men substituted. The office of judge in Utah is not, however, sufficiently lucrative to invite the highest talent, and the dangers and discomforts of the position make it to a sensitive mind but little better than penance. The Federal judges have not much work to do.

The local system of administration in Utah is very simple. There is a Territorial Legislature in two chambers, of thirteen and of twenty-six members; a Supreme Court, of a chief and two associate judges; three District Courts, in each of which one of the supreme judges presides; a Probate Court; and

minor justices of the peace. Most of the law business of the Territory is transacted before these inferior functionaries, who are Mormons. The lawyer's profession is not favored; but there is a class of cases arising from the "peculiar institution" which gives employment to the courts. The jurisdiction of the Probate Court seems to be very elastic. Mr. Burton was privileged to "assist" in this court at the trial of Mr. Peter Dotson, the United States Marshal, for purloining some copper plates from the house of Brigham Young, Senior, on a civil suit for damages, in which the defendant, as might have been expected, was cast and mulcted in the sum of $2,300. The scene in the court-room was odd and characteristic, — the judge with tobacco in his mouth and heels as high as his head, and the lawyers and witnesses distributed in that pleasing confusion which marks a Western tribunal; yet all things were done decently and in order; the forms of law were observed, and the verdict was strictly according to the evidence. The Mormons pride themselves upon their regard for even justice, and are ready to give to the men that they hate all that is mentioned in the bond. The chief subjects of dispute among themselves are marriage and divorce. It is not always easy to tell to whom a wife belongs, when she has been sealed to several husbands.

Some of the statutes of Utah are worth noticing. Assassination in the first degree is punished by death, and in the second, by imprisonment for not less than ten years. To kill a man in a duel is a capital crime; and if the duel be not fatal, the parties suffer from one to three years' imprisonment, and pay a fine of from $100 to $1,000. The keeper of a house of ill-fame is liable to ten years of imprisonment and a fine of $500. The keeper of a gambling-house must pay $800, and spend a year in confinement, if convicted of the crime, and those who take part in gambling are punished by a fine of $300 and six months' imprisonment. The laws concerning "inheritance" are generally just. No man's property can be divided until his debts are paid; a posthumous child, though unprovided for by will, shares equally with the rest; when no will is made, all the wives have an equal portion; *natural* children have the same rights as legiti-

mate children, when their identity is proved; and the husband and wife inherit alike from each other. Though the law of Utah allows negro slavery, it puts restrictions upon this custom which go far to nullify it. A master having carnal connection with his African slave forfeits his right, and the slave becomes free. Any individual, man or woman, who has carnal connection with a negro or negress who is not his own property, is condemned to an imprisonment which may reach three years, and to a fine of from $500 to $1,000. Such laws in the Southern States would work emancipation faster than escape or purchase. Captain Burton would have us believe that the object of legalizing slavery in Utah is purely humane, to induce the Saints "to buy children, who otherwise would be destroyed or abandoned by their starving parents." This humane purpose seems, however, hardly consistent with the fatal exclusion of the descendants of Canaan from the blessings of the promise. "Lamanites" may become heirs of salvation, but into the Mormon paradise no soul of a negro shall enter. The black population of the Territory is hardly large enough to be reckoned. In the census of 1860, the whole number of slaves is set down at twenty-nine. It is probable that no free negro would remain in a land where he is under a social curse.

Concerning taxation in the Mormon land, opinions are widely divided. Gentiles declare that the burdens are as great as those which Israel bore under the yoke of Pharaoh, while the Saints pretend to rejoice in their freedon from onerous imposts. In 1860, the value of property assessed in the Territory (excepting Green River and Carson Counties) was $4,673,900. On this the Territorial tax of ½ per cent would yield only $23,369.50, — a sum not very great for the expenses of so vast a region and so large a population, — exceeded by many towns in New England of five miles square and five thousand inhabitants. In addition to these there are the *octroi* and the water tax, which are local and municipal, and meet the special expenses of the city governments. Every hundred pounds of merchandise which come from the East pay $20, and every hundred pounds from the West, $25. The city governments of Utah, chosen by popular suffrage,

consist of a mayor, four aldermen, and one councillor for each ward. They hold office for two years, and have charge of all municipal regulations. The mayor and aldermen are also judges of the city courts, but from their decision an appeal may be taken to the Court of Probate. The *tithes* are an ecclesiastical tax, and are not to be reckoned in the estimate of civil expenses.

If the burden of taxation in Mormondom is less than we might suppose, the expenses of living are so great that the acquisition of wealth must be difficult, and require strict economy and constant industry. Captain Burton thinks that one dollar in London would buy as much as four dollars in Utah. The wages of servants are from thirty to forty dollars per month, which is nearly equivalent to a prohibition of all menial labor. Hand labor is worth two dollars a day. Provisions raised at home are cheap enough, but all luxuries are expensive; and he who would drink tea, coffee, or wine must pay for his indulgence fivefold the cost of these articles upon the seaboard. In one characteristic feature of a city the capital of the Saints is lacking; — there is no market, — no central place where provisions are exposed, and the people congregate to find supplies. Articles of wood and metal, too, are costly; and every nail which the carpenter in Utah drives is worth almost its weight in silver. Bulky articles of domestic use, such as blankets, are mostly made within the Territory; and until factories shall be established, the wives and daughters of the Saints will ply the busy loom. Fortunately, most of the foreign converts, especially those from Wales and Cornwall, were previously skilled in this domestic toil.

The Mormons, as a people, are not enthusiastic in the cause of *education*. Their leader has no special regard for book-knowledge, and the duty impressed upon the people is rather to increase and multiply and subdue the soil than to seek for wisdom. Yet a certain amount of intelligence is required, — enough to keep the people from vice and to secure their obedience. The children of the Saints have a bad name for precocious depravity; even M. Remy speaks of them as "*grossiers*, *menteurs*, *libertins avant l'âge*"; and in the accounts of the apostates they are impudent, profane, dirty, and

disgusting. Captain Burton gives a different statement; and while he admits that they are smart and pert, finds them clean, good-looking, and intelligent. The discipline of the Mormon home is not indeed of the Puritan kind; no corporal punishment is practised, and the early Christian training is rather "muscular" than sentimental. A Mormon boy is taught to handle the axe, to use the revolver, and to ride without stirrups, as virtues which secure the blessings. In the district schools, which as yet are supported by each district within itself, the boys may learn to read and write during the winter months. In the Salt Lake City there are schools in each ward. Most of the teachers are women.

The plan of Mormon education is not, nevertheless, confined to these district schools, with their limited range of studies. A larger field is traced out. We read of the "Chancellor and Board of Regents of the University of the State of Deseret"; of the "Deseret Universal Scientific Society"; the "Polysophical" Society; the "Seventies Variety Club"; the "Deseret Theological Institution"; the "Academy," at present affording to boys only instruction of the higher kind, but expected by and by to give the same facilities to the other sex. The superintendent of this last institution is Orson Pratt, whom all accounts agree in representing as a man of extraordinary talent and attainments, versed in languages and sciences, and eloquent in discourse. His published sermons are far superior to those of most of his brethren, and are at once acute in their reasoning and correct in their rhetoric. He amazed M. Remy by the extent of his information. His murdered brother, Mr. Parley Pratt, is said to have been his equal in ability and culture.

In the schools of Utah the English language is used, though the confusion of national tongues is as great as in Babel, and the English alphabet is commonly employed. The fine phonetic invention of Judge W. W. Phelps, the astronomer and astrologist of Utah, has not yet been generally adopted, and the forty signs of the "Deseret Alphabet" have still a cabalistic show to the uninitiated masses. Those who have studied this new alphabet pronounce it to be a great improvement for exactness and for convenience upon the common alphabet. The

characters are graceful and easily written, and each represents a separate sound. Judge Phelps, the inventor, is a notable person, ingenious, indefatigable, and eccentric. In the mystic ceremony of the "Endowment," he personates the Devil, and performs the part to perfect acceptance. On the weathercock of his house is the Hebrew legend חִנֵּנוּ, *Hinnenu*, — *Adsumus*, — "Here we are," — which the careless typography of Captain Burton's book alters to חכבז, "Hakbaz," a word not found in the Hebrew. He is the almanac-maker of the Saints, and has put forth some as remarkable predictions and computations of time as any in the works of Dr. Cumming. His fame for astrology is shared by Mr. Albert Carrington, a graduate of Dartmouth College, and editor, according to M. Remy, of the "Deseret News," the official weekly newspaper, which contains the reports of the sermons. Captain Burton, however, mentions as the editors of this paper Messrs. Smith and McKnight. The "Mountaineer," owned by two lawyers, is the rival weekly paper of the great Salt Lake City. These journals have the usual columns of extracts, news from the East and West, court reports, agricultural and business statistics, sermons, and occasionally original stories and poems. In the leading editorials questions of general politics and of social and religious science are discussed. The "Deseret News" has already reached its twelfth volume. It is a folio of eight pages, each with four columns, and the subscription price is six dollars. "Brother Brigham" has of course a censorship, which, happily, he is not often called to exercise.

No interest of the Mormons is so important to them as their faith. The foundations of the state were laid in a religious idea. Secular as it seems, and mingled with very gross and material elements, Mormonism is yet a very positive religion. Its dogmas are distinct, and its hierarchy is very complete. Every Mormon is taught to know what he believes, and to give a reason for it, and if sedulous inculcation can give sound and saving knowledge, none of the Saints need be lacking.

In his philosophical "Introduction," M. Remy is pleased to mention Mormonism as one of the three remarkable religious movements of America. Emerson, Channing, and Joseph Smith represent the three principal "phases of faith" on

this side of the Atlantic. The religion which Emerson teaches is pure *individualism*, which renounces all external form and dogma, and makes the man his own god; the religion which Channing gave is a reform of existing faiths, according to the principles of reason, retaining only what can be harmonized with the enlightened sense of man; while the religion of Joseph Smith is an eclectic agglomeration of the available peculiarities, or perhaps we may say of the proved truths of all other systems,—Pagan, Moslem, Jew, and Christian. The first system is a system of rejection; the second, of elimination; the third, of fusion. M. Remy apologizes for placing such honorable names as Emerson and Channing in so degrading a society, and would by no means liken the invention of an impostor to the work of those for whom he declares his profound admiration. In ranking Joe Smith with religious reformers, he by no means makes himself the defender of this charlatan.

In the multitude of interpretations, it is not easy to decide the exact average of the Mormon belief. The Catechism is clear enough, and does not vex us with many metaphysical subtilties or distinctions; but so large is the liberty of prophesying, that the effulgence of commentary confuses with its cross lights the central sun of faith. Orson Pratt and his brethren have done for the elements of their religion what the Rabbins have done for the Mishna. The "Pearl of Great Price," perpetually quoted in the Catechism, is an abridged targum of the Biblical account, containing the substance of holy doctrine, with the addition of the Book of Abraham, "translated from some records that have fallen into our hands from the catacombs of Egypt, purporting to be the writings of Abraham whilst he was in Egypt, written with his own hand on papyrus. With a fac-simile of three papyri." In the deciphering of these Egyptian "papyri," it is only just to say that the *Spiritualists* of New England have been more fortunate and successful even than the Mormons. Documents have been brought to light the existence of which had never even been hinted, and the last novelty that we have seen advertised is a new version of the four Gospels, revised, corrected, and adapted to the wants and opinions of the present age, *by the spirits of the four Evangelists.*

In addition to the "Pearl of Great Price," the standard authorities of the Mormon Church are the "Book of Doctrine and Covenants," being a selection from the Revelations of Mr. Joseph Smith, — a duodecimo of 336 pages; the Book of Mormon; and, above all, the Bible. The seers and preachers may press their opinions upon the Saints in their assemblies, but these four volumes constitute the substance of law and testimony. To them new revelations may be added, but from them nothing shall be subtracted. The Mormons complain that they have been judged too much by the opinions of their preachers. They appeal to the inspired sources; and in our statement of their faith, we shall take rather what we find in the Catechism than what Messrs. Remy and Burton report of the speculations of their doctors. Even the word of the prophet, where it declares no new positive vision, is to be judged as a human word, and to be set aside if it conflicts with the infallible record of truth. Such a conflict, indeed, is not probable; and if the brethren seem to see their prophet in an error, it is the part of modesty rather to suspect their own impression, and to believe themselves mistaken. Brother Kimball labors to persuade them that the voice of Brother Brigham is always the voice of God.

In the Catechism of the Saints, as compiled by Elder John Jaques, there are *eighteen* chapters. The first chapter is of personal facts and preliminary personal duties, — ethics before theology. What is your name? When and where were you born? In what branch of the Church were you "blessed" and baptized? These are the first questions asked of the neophyte. Love to God, to parents, and to all mankind are then stated as the three prime duties, and the reward specially promised to filial obedience is the Jewish reward of many days upon the earth. A "short life" the Mormons regard as a calamity and a punishment. The second chapter of the Catechism lays down tradition, reason, and, best of all, revelation, as the three ways of "knowing God." Of "Revelations" we have a "great number" specified, — to Abraham, to Moses, to Isaiah, to the father of John, to Stephen, to John the Divine, to the brother of

Jared, to Lehi, to "a great multitude of Nephites," to Joseph Smith, to Oliver Cowdery, and to Sidney Rigdon. The question of number in the Godhead is decisively answered. There are "many Gods," but only one who should be worshipped. Jesus is God, the Holy Ghost is God; the three persons are "one in character and attributes, but *not in substance*." John saw 144,000 gods, and all faithful souls will at last become gods. God is in the form of a man, and has a man's body. He is omnipresent by his spirit, but *his person is only in one place at a time*. There are three states of existence for the souls of men,—the pre-earthly state, the earthly state, and the post-earthly state, when souls go back to God from whom they came. The affairs of earth were primarily decreed in a grand council of "the gods," in which the rebel Lucifer presumed to dissent and was cast out for his contumacy. The gods organized the earth, but did not create its elements, which always existed, since it is impossible that something should be formed out of nothing.

The Mormon doctrine of the origin of sin adheres in detail to the Scriptural narrative, but modifies it only by maintaining that the fall of man was a great blessing and a most fortunate circumstance, since it secured salvation to so large a number, and made it possible for men to get to heaven. If Adam and his spouse had partaken of the "tree of life" rather than of the other tree, they would have had no mortal children, and would have been always subject to the Devil. Of Christ's redemption, the Catechism teaches that it extends absolutely to all children under eight years of age, and to others through faith and repentance, which, with baptism, are the three things essential to salvation. Baptism must be performed by immersion, and all persons who have arrived at years of discretion ought to be baptized. After baptism come the gifts of the Holy Spirit, which all true believers can enjoy, and which are communicated by the laying on of hands of the apostles and elders. The Lord's Supper, a memorial sacrament, may be observed on every Sunday, and if wine cannot be procured for it, water may be used. It was one of the revelations to Joseph Smith, servant of the Lord, that water more truly represented the Saviour's blood than wine purchased of enemies.

There can be no schism in the Mormon body. The Saints are exclusive, and they affirm the anger of God against all other churches, large and small, which they include under the head of "sects." The signs of the Latter-Day Saints, it is stated, can be readily recognized; — a perfect organization; continued revelations; the Holy Ghost present; unity; the conversion of the wicked; the building of temples instead of churches and chapels, and dedicating them to God instead of to men and women; persecutions without number; and exemplary virtue; — all these proving that the seal of God is visibly set to the union of the anointed. A slight abatement, however, must be made from the pretence of unbroken unity. The plague of heresy and schism has invaded this band of brethren. Leaders of sects have been cast out with terrible anathemas; and in the catalogue of Mormon members, M. Remy reckons two thousand "schismatics" and "independents" in Texas, Pennsylvania, and Michigan. The early days of the Church, before its hierarchy had become fully organized, were greatly disturbed by the revolts of self-willed zealots. Of the later apostates, many have returned penitent into the bosom of the Church.

To the ten commandments of Moses and the two commandments of Jesus the Mormon Catechism adds a special "Word of Wisdom," given to Joe Smith on the 27th of February, 1833. This word of wisdom denounces the use of wine, except it is home-made; of animal food, except in winter, cold, and famine; of tobacco, because it is filthy; and of "hot drinks," because they relax the stomach. The third paragraph of this word teaches "that wheat is good for man, corn for oxen, oats for horses, rye for fowls and beasts, barley for useful animals and for mild drinks for man." Very much of the Mormon preaching is upon the subject of dietetics and hygiene. The care of the body is closely joined to that of the soul.

The longest chapter in the Catechism is the seventh, that which describes the hierarchy, — unquestionably the great strength of the religion. In its elaborate priesthood, rather than in any system of dogma, does the power of Mormonism rest. The people are awed and charmed by this vast and

orderly organization, complete before their eyes, and embracing the world in its sweep; and all the more because it has no paraphernalia of robes, or badges, or tonsures. In dress, demeanor, conversation, and occupation the priesthood are like the people, having the same trades, and claiming by their religious rank no exemption from ordinary duties. This priesthood is twofold, — of Melchisedek first, and then of Aaron. To the Melchisedek priesthood belong the Presidency, the revelations, and the keys of spiritual blessings. It is to the Saints what the monasteries are to the Oriental churches. To the Aaronic priesthood belong the keys of ministration and the care of outward ordinances. This priesthood, Levitical and confined to the seed of Aaron (though we cannot discover any Jews in Mormondom), is an "appendage" to the other. The various officers of the Melchisedek priesthood are included in the general name of "elders." The special names of these elders are Apostle, Seventy, Patriarch or Evangelist, and High-Priest. An apostle *organizes*, a patriarch *blesses*, a seventy travels and preaches (the word "seventy" means a single person, — there may be a hundred seventies), and a high-priest *presides* and administers the ordinances. The duty of elders in general is to preach and baptize, to ordain other elders and the lower orders, to lay on hands, to bless children, and to lead in the meetings. To the Aaronic priesthood belong Bishops, Priests, Teachers, and Deacons. The bishop takes charge of the temporal business of the Church, and sits as judge upon transgressors. The priest administers ordinances and visits the Saints. The teacher and deacon watch over and comfort the Church. All these officers must be specially ordained, and all of them must be in the right line of descent, and have received a special call from heaven. There are no irregular admissions into this hierarchy; and every man must stand in his own lot and do his own work.

From these two orders of priesthood are made up the nine "quorums" of the Church. Of these quorums, the chief is the "First Presidency," which consists of the President and two councillors. The President is to be seer, revelator, translator, and prophet. Next to this is the quorum of the "Twelve Apostles," a travelling council, who go where the President

bids, were it to the ends of the earth, to preach the Gospel and build up churches. They also have a president, who is chosen by seniority of age. The next quorum, of the "High Council," consists of twelve high-priests, with a president, whose business it is to settle difficulties in the Church. The "Seventies" are separated into quorums of seventy members in each, of which there were, in 1855, *thirty-nine*. Each quorum has seven presidents, and the seventh presides over the other six. The seven presidents of the first quorum of seventies preside over all the quorums. We need not specify the quorums of the lower ranks of the priesthood, which are arranged with equal precision. The "Presiding Bishop," who is chief officer, must be, if it be possible to find such a person, a "literal descendant" of Aaron. If such a person cannot be found, then the Order of Melchisedek supplies the officer. This contingency is not probable, since the same revelation which imparts the knowledge of the Lord's will may confirm the lineage of any whom the choice of the Church prefers. Angels can always testify to purity of blood, as well as to purity of doctrine; and doubtless Brother Edward Hunter has celestial authority for his Levitical pedigree. It is distinctly allowed, in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants, that claimants may ascertain their right by "revelation from the Lord."

Mormon theology reckons, not two, but many "dispensations." The Catechism mentions *ten*,— the dispensations in Adam, Enoch, Noah, Jared's brother, Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Lehi, Jesus, and Joseph Smith. Of these, the last, which bears the name of the "Dispensation of the Fulness of Times," is the greatest and the final, confirmed by manifold testimonies, by gifts of miracle and prophecy, by prodigies in the heavens, and by the delivery of hieroglyphic plates. The end of all things will be the destruction of the wicked; the prosperity of the righteous; the evangelization of the world by the new Gospel; the establishment of a New Jerusalem in Jackson County, Missouri; the descent of Christ upon the Mount of Olives, "which will cleave in two"; the defeat of the Jews; the resurrection of the Saints; a peaceful millennial reign of Christ; and at last the change to a new

heavens and a new earth, "on which the glorified immortal Saints will live and reign as kings and priests throughout eternity." One item of this eschatology seems to be questioned. Not all the Saints consent that the New Jerusalem is to be in Jackson County, Missouri; and it is probable that, after the completion of the Temple in Salt Lake City, a new revelation will substitute that place as the abode of supreme bliss.

This statement of the faith of the Mormons is taken from Elder Jaques's Catechism. But the more abstruse symbols of the Church add some refinements. Orson Pratt, in his commentary on the fourteen articles of the Mormon creed, develops the materialism of the system, the efficacy of baptism for the dead, the humanity of the Deity, the physical resurrection of the body, the rejection of "lazy" men from the Christian salvation, and the reserve of the Lord in communicating important religious truth. That reserve was signally manifested in holding back the revelation of what has become the characteristic feature of the religion. Three eras are already reckoned in Mormon history, which Captain Burton styles the Monogamic, the Polygamic, and the Materialistic. The first authentic communication of celestial marriage, or plurality of wives, was made to Joe Smith in Nauvoo on the 12th of July, 1843. It was accompanied by an explanation. Privately imparted by the prophet to a few friends, it gradually became a rule of conduct. But not until nine years afterward was it openly promulgated by Brother Brigham as the order of the Divine Life. Now it is professed, defended, and gloried in. No man in Mormondom is entitled to the praise of piety unless he can boast of more than one woman "sealed" as his wife. The greater the number of wives, the greater the honor.

The length to which this article has already extended spares us the duty of reviewing the Mormon argument for the practice of polygamy, and exposing its sophistry and its folly. With all its ingenious use of Scripture analogies, with all its pretence of preventing licentiousness and promoting chastity, with all its physiological pleas and statistics, it cannot be freed from its disgusting and revolting character. It may be true,

as the Saints allege, that the morality of their community is better than that of the average of Christian cities, that there is scarcely any gross vice, and that their women are contented and happy. The strongest vindications of polygamy, indeed, have been from the pens of female writers. Yet it is evident to even superficial observation, that the decency and good order of the Mormon state is not attributable to this abominable custom, but rather to circumstances of position and government. The Mormons were as pure, as upright, and as industrious before the promulgation of polygamy as they have been since. And their best history is in that period when there was a single wife to each husband. The doctrine may be kept in the Church on a religious pretext, and doubtless some who marry second and third wives do this now from religious motives, and not of free desire. But in the beginning it came into the Church through lust and sensualism, and the Divine sanction claimed for it was the excuse for low passion. We shall not waste words upon what is so hateful when joined to the idea of a Christian society, — upon the most pernicious of all the hallucinations of this century. The hallucination seems to be gaining ground even in a more respectable branch of the Christian Church, if we may trust the recent letter of the English Bishop of Natal and Colenso as a sign of the times.

The Mormon sacred days are not very numerous. The Saints keep Sunday after the manner of the Christian sects, by going to the regular place of worship, where the songs of Zion are sung, prayers are offered, one or more sermons are preached, and the sacraments are administered. Both the prayers and the sermons in Salt Lake City are reported in short-hand to be printed. In each town there is but a single place of worship, since it is not becoming to have any rivalry or division of the congregation. Those who cannot find seats must stand, and those who cannot get in and hear must stand without and wait. Sometimes a text is taken for the sermons, but usually they are harangues upon the topic uppermost in the speaker's mind. There are two services on Sunday, the second like the first. We cannot find that the Saints have yet been vexed by the passion for a liturgy, or have tried the experiment of "vespers." The spirit of the discourses keeps

the attention fixed, and neither M. Remy nor Captain Burton mentions any instance of sleeping in the sacred place.

Twice in the year solemn conferences are held in the capital to transact the business of the Church. These are on the 6th of April and the 6th of October, and they last four days. At these conferences the officers of the Church are re-elected, every man having a vote. As the voters are told whom to vote for, the process is an easy one, and there is no need of that electioneering machinery which must precede the meetings of the Gentiles. The conferences are usually thronged by brethren from all the settlements, are opened with prayer and music, and are accompanied by statements of the history and prospects of the Church. The martyrs are called to mind, the promises are repeated, and any new visions which may have been vouchsafed in the past season are produced for the joy of the assembly.

For the day of National Independence the Saints have substituted the 24th of July, the day on which, after long journeying across the waste, in the year 1847, Brother Brigham and his company entered the sacred precincts, and established there the seat of their Church. This day of deliverance is kept more soberly than the national holiday of the States, nor are unrestrained potations and a lavish consumption of powder regarded as fit signs of gratitude and joy. In all things, Mormon customs keep a sort of subdued decorum. Nothing excessive is encouraged or permitted. The shoutings must not be too loud, nor the dancings too long. The life of the Saints must be even, and work must be interfered with as little as possible. Indeed, the cardinal virtue of the Mormon system is industry. Without this, an amiable temper, a decent behavior, respect for superiors, and ardent piety are all imperfect. The beehive is the sign of the people, and the law is that all shall work, and each shall do as much as he can. The symbol is defective, inasmuch as in the Mormon hive there are to be no drones and no queen-bee. Men and women, high and low, are all to be workers to the extent of their force.

A word should be said upon the *music* of the Mormons. According to M. Remy, this is of a superior kind, arranged in part from selections from the best masters, and executed in a

style not much below that of Westminster Abbey and the Sistine Chapel. The singing is congregational, and the women join in it with great spirit. In the Salt Lake City there is a "Musical Society," which gives concerts from time to time. The Saints are fond of lively metres, and utterly avoid all doleful and dispiriting music. Even when the terrors of the law are presented, a cheerful strain accompanies the threatening, and the parting hymn always disperses any gloom and fear that may have been cast upon the assembly. The exhilaration of song rather than of strong drink is that in which the Saints delight. The prophet frequently describes his spiritual condition as prompting him to dance and sing. *A propos* of this tendency, M. Remy has appended to his work a treatise upon the Shakers, whom he calls the "antipodes of the Mormons."

The details of the condition of the Latter-Day Saints which we have here gathered, are but a small portion of what might be collected from the abundant sources within our reach. But we must forego further gleanings. Upon the future of the Mormon people it is not desirable to speculate, — whether the newly-elected Representative and Senators will be allowed to sit in the American Congress, or whether this alien community will be again driven out from the land which they have occupied. Some predict a short life for so mean a fanaticism, and believe that it will die out within this century. Others see it growing to become a great and powerful religious body. To some, the falsehood of polygamy which it has adopted seems certain to be its destruction, while to others this singularity seems to insure its increase. Whatever its future may be, it is a most curious phenomenon of the present time, and offers material for study and reflection which is new in religious history. After the hundred embodied vagaries of religious imposture, Mormonism gives something original in its theology, its methods, its customs, and its developments. Its eclecticism is a novel combination; and while it is the union of many genera, it is the only species of its own genus. What philosopher will show us the true place of that aggregation of ideas which, in spite of its elements of good, remains in its whole only a monstrous and ridiculous excrescence?

ART. IX. — *Considerations on Representative Government.* By JOHN STUART MILL, Author of "A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive." New York: Harper and Brothers. 1862. 12mo. pp. 365.

POLITICAL institutions are not created out of nothing; they grow from the antecedents and surroundings of the nation that is subject to them. They are effectively modified only by the progress or the essential change of the people in the elements of material, mental, or moral well-being. Modifications put in force by exterior power, as in the case of conquest or of the overmastering influence of a greater nation, endure only while the outward pressure lasts, or remain in form and letter while their substance and intent become obsolete. Revolutions from within are always slow, though they may seem sudden. Disruption barely marks the advanced stage of a process that may have been going on for centuries, and when it occurs it is a token, not of the entireness of the revolution, but of the unelastic rigidness of the displaced institutions. A state may be so organized that fundamental changes can be effected without the slightest shock; or it may be so constituted as to admit of no new principle or idea without convulsion. If this view be correct, it might seem at first thought that forms of government are determined by fate, and in no wise by choice or volition on the part of the governed. But so far is this from being the case, that such choice or volition is the most potent of all political causes, — not indeed infallibly efficacious, (for in all human affairs an inexorable past may tie the hands of the present,) but strong enough to overcome almost every force short of immemorial prescription or ingrained national tendencies.

Here, then, is the scope of political philosophy, especially when, as in numerous cases from Plato's Republic down to the treatise now under review, it assumes a concrete form, not only establishing principles, but defining organisms as yet untried and unfamiliar. The process is slow and stepwise; but an idea that has once commended itself to an influential mind is already in a fair way to find ultimate realization in a consti-

tution or government. This book propounds principles and modes of organism and administration which no nation upon earth is prepared to embody, yet the ability with which they are stated and defended renders their adoption in the distant future highly probable. The author's ideas will gradually diffuse themselves among philosophers who occupy his own intellectual plane; by their agency they will work their way into the common mind as reasonable, but impracticable; then they will be esteemed as *desideranda* in governmental institutions; and, when they are once objects of desire, they will in due time become objects of the popular will and choice.

We do not propose to follow Mr. Mill over the entire ground occupied by his treatise. Ours will be the easier task of selecting some few of its salient points, and discussing them in our own way, borrowing much of our material from him, but freely adding to, or digressing from, his course of illustration and argument.

Because a representative government is ideally the best form, it does not follow that it is always practicable, or always expedient when practicable. It is not practicable unless the people desire it, — unless they are able and willing to do what is necessary for its preservation, — unless they are able and willing to perform intelligently and honestly the functions which it imposes on them. It is not to be desired for a people that has not learned the lesson of obedience. This lesson is best learned under an absolute government, and especially under military rule. On the other hand, extreme passiveness disqualifies a nation for profiting by a representative government, which in that case would be virtually nominated by the supreme executive, and would be a mere court of registration for the dicta of irresponsible power. Imperfect union and centralization would equally render a representative government inexpedient; for in this case local interests would predominate to the prejudice of the general good, and the unifying power of the central administration would be weakened and thwarted by the pestilent activity of sectional rivalries and animosities. There is yet another partial disqualification, which we prefer to quote in Mr. Mill's own words.

"Among the tendencies which, without absolutely rendering a peo-

ple unfit for representative government, seriously incapacitate them from reaping the full benefit of it, one deserves particular notice. There are two states of the inclinations, intrinsically very different, but which have something in common, by virtue of which they often coincide in the direction they give to the efforts of individuals and of nations; one is the desire to exercise power over others; the other is disinclination to have power exercised over themselves. The difference between different portions of mankind in the relative strength of these two dispositions is one of the most important elements in their history. There are nations in whom the passion for governing others is so much stronger than the desire of personal independence, that for the mere shadow of the one they are found ready to sacrifice the whole of the other. Each one of their number is willing, like the private soldier in an army, to abdicate his personal freedom of action into the hands of his general, provided the army is triumphant and victorious, and he is able to flatter himself that he is one of a conquering host, though the notion that he has himself any share in the domination exercised over the conquered is an illusion. A government strictly limited in its powers and attributions, required to hold its hands from overmeddling, and to let most things go on without its assuming the part of guardian or director, is not to the taste of such a people; in their eyes, the possessors of authority can hardly take too much upon themselves, provided the authority itself is open to general competition. An average individual among them prefers the chance, however distant or improbable, of wielding some share of power over his fellow-citizens, above the certainty, to himself and others, of having no unnecessary power exercised over them. These are the elements of a people of place-hunters, in whom the course of politics is mainly determined by place-hunting; where equality alone is cared for, but not liberty; where the contests of political parties are but struggles to decide whether the power of meddling in everything shall belong to one class or another, perhaps merely to one knot of public men or another; where the idea entertained of democracy is merely that of opening offices to the competition of all, instead of a few; where, the more popular the institutions, the more innumerable are the places created, and the more monstrous the over-government exercised by all over each, and by the executive over all. It would be as unjust as it would be ungenerous to offer this, or anything approaching to it, as an unexaggerated picture of the French people; yet the degree in which they do participate in this type of character has caused representative government by a limited class to break down by excess of corruption, and the attempt at representative government by the whole male population to end in giv-

ing one man the power of consigning any number of the rest, without trial, to Lambessa or Cayenne, provided he allows all of them to think themselves not excluded from the possibility of sharing his favors. The point of character which, beyond any other, fits the people of this country for representative government, is that they have almost universally the contrary characteristic. They are very jealous of any attempt to exercise power over them not sanctioned by long usage and by their own opinion of right, but they in general care very little for the exercise of power over others. Not having the smallest sympathy with the passion for governing, while they are but too well acquainted with the motives of private interest from which that office is sought, they prefer that it should be performed by those to whom it comes without seeking, as a consequence of social position. If foreigners understood this, it would account to them for some of the apparent contradictions in the political feelings of Englishmen; their unhesitating readiness to let themselves be governed by the higher classes, coupled with so little personal subservience to them, that no people are so fond of resisting authority when it oversteps certain prescribed limits, or so determined to make their rulers always remember that they will only be governed in the way they themselves like best. Place-hunting, accordingly, is a form of ambition to which the English, considered nationally, are almost strangers. If we except the few families or connections of whom official employment lies directly in the way, Englishmen's views of advancement in life take an altogether different direction, — that of success in business or in a profession. They have the strongest distaste for any mere struggle for office by political parties or individuals; and there are few things to which they have a greater aversion than to the multiplication of public employments; a thing, on the contrary, always popular with the bureaucracy-ridden nations of the Continent, who would rather pay higher taxes than diminish, by the smallest fraction, their individual chances of a place for themselves or their relatives, and among whom a cry for retrenchment never means abolition of offices, but the reduction of the salaries of those which are too considerable for the ordinary citizen to have any chance of being appointed to them." — pp. 93 – 96.

While we agree fully with Mr. Mill that a representative government would be under many conceivable conditions impossible or worthless, we cannot lose sight of the efficacy of free and popular institutions as educators of public sentiment and of individual intelligence, capacity, and energy. If a nation can barely "keep out of fire and water," can secure

domestic peace, prevent any grave infractions of justice, and maintain honorable relations with other powers, under a government whose functionaries are dependent on, and at frequent intervals replaced by, the general suffrage, it will develop its capacity of self-help and its interior resources more rapidly and more symmetrically with its own often unwise, defective, or vacillating legislation, than beneath the tutelage of the wisest and most beneficent autocracy or oligarchy conceivable. It is a vast benefit to a people to have the horizon of thought enlarged. The man who has a share by his suffrage in making or administering the laws of the land, even if he votes injudiciously, — even if his views of public affairs are dim or false, — yet has for his own private concerns, whether of interest or duty, a steadiness of vision and purpose, a conscious dignity, a felt responsibleness, which can hardly be found among the most intelligent subjects of absolute rule. He in whom resides an aliquot portion of the sovereignty will bear his kingly estate in mind on the numerous occasions in daily life on which he might else forget even his manhood. The gravity of the Anglo-Saxon character, as contrasted with the frivolity of some races that belong to other branches of the great Teutonic family, may be traced with more probability to the difference of political institutions than to hereditary laws of temperament. Certain it is that scions of the various stocks ingrafted on American Anglo-Saxondom take on, in a single generation, the reflective habits of their adopted soil, and bear a closer resemblance to the people of which they form a part, than to the nations whence they sprang. The principle for which we contend may be traced in the democratic governments — not representative — of the Grecian republics. Athens was most atrociously misgoverned when her archons and other magistrates were chosen by lot, when the assembled *demos* held the reins of state, and when popular eloquence was mightier than virtue, law, or justice. But the power which every citizen held by his suffrage, and the power which might devolve upon him from the mysterious urn, educated the people to a clearness of apprehension, a subtilty of intellect, an activity and energy, such as had no precedent and have had no parallel. While Rome was a veritable republic,

her popular assembly also was a nation of kings, and from her plebeian ranks there constantly rose men fitted for the highest trusts in peace and war, — men whose fame immeasurably exceeds that of the greatest generals and administrators under the Emperors.

As regards the proper functions of a representative government, Mr. Mill presents views in some respects novel, but, as seems to us, eminently sound and just. That a numerous representative body cannot conduct the executive administration with wisdom and vigor, is universally conceded. Yet the controlling power is always virtually vested in the representatives of a free people, and that no less in a monarchy than in a republic. In Great Britain the sovereign is powerless against the Commons. The royal veto may indeed postpone, and by postponing may defeat, the transient purpose of the people in a season of excitement; but it cannot withstand the settled, deliberate will of the nation, or prevent the progressive wisdom of the community from righting ancient wrongs, and embodying the best and ripest views it has attained in the various departments of the public service. The checks interposed by the royal prerogative are simply such checks as a self-governing people must of necessity provide against its own temporary caprices and delusions, and experience has shown that they are less arbitrarily employed by an hereditary sovereign than they have repeatedly been by the elective sovereign of the United States.

Among the functions that by common consent reside in the representatives of a free people, that of taxation has been regarded as one of the foremost. Yet this is virtually exercised by the few, not by the many. The basis of the annual levies is the estimates furnished by the executive departments, which may indeed be modified, but cannot be essentially changed, by the vote of the representative body. The mode of apportionment can be determined only by select committees of that body, subject to the revision of the whole. And it is very certain that the less the estimates of a competent executive and the recommendations of an impartial committee of finance are tampered with by the partisan influences that are prone to affect legislative bodies, the more surely are the

interests of the public service and of individual tax-payers brought into harmony.

But Mr. Mill goes farther than this. He maintains that legislation is not among the proper functions of a representative body. He suggests the expediency of a legislative commission, whose business it shall be to prepare all bills for the action of the assembly. If the bills proposed by such a commission meet the wishes of the majority, they should pass in the precise form in which they are proposed; if they are repugnant to the wishes of the majority, they should be peremptorily rejected. If amendments are desired, the bills should be referred back to the commission, to be reported in a new draft. The reasons for such a provision are obvious. For the framing of laws a knowledge of the whole body of pre-existing laws is essentially requisite. From a lack of this knowledge springs the frequent conflict of laws, and thence the uncertainty, the utter dice-work, that is often manifest in the administration of justice. The chaotic state of the British statutes is well known and universally admitted. In many of the States of our Union this same condition of the statutes has rendered codification necessary; and hardly is the long labor completed, and the body of the revised statutes in the hands of the people, than the confusion commences anew, and the volume becomes obsolete before its leaves are worn. Then, too, laws which are to be subjected to strict and technical rules of interpretation need to be carefully guarded in their phraseology, lest the intent of their makers be frustrated or exceeded by their ignorance of legal terms and formulas.

According to Mr. Mill, "the proper function of a representative assembly is to watch and control the government; to throw the light of publicity on its acts; to compel a full exposition and justification of all of them which any one considers questionable; to censure them if found condemnable, and, if the men who compose the government abuse their trust, or fulfil it in a manner which conflicts with the deliberate sense of the nation, to expel them from office, and either expressly or virtually appoint their successors." Our author attaches also a very high importance to a representative body as literally a *parliament*, a talking assembly. On this subject he writes: —

"I know not how a representative assembly can more usefully employ itself than in talk, when the subject of talk is the great public interests of the country, and every sentence of it represents the opinion either of some important body of persons in the nation, or of an individual in whom some such body have reposed their confidence. A place where every interest and shade of opinion in the country can have its cause even passionately pleaded, in the face of the government and of all other interests and opinions, — can compel them to listen, and either comply, or state clearly why they do not, — is in itself, if it answered no other purpose, one of the most important political institutions that can exist anywhere, and one of the foremost benefits of free government. Such 'talking' would never be looked upon with disparagement if it were not allowed to stop 'doing'; which it never would, if assemblies knew and acknowledged that talking and discussion are their proper business, while *doing*, as the result of discussion, is the task, not of a miscellaneous body, but of individuals specially trained to it; that the fit office of an assembly is to see that those individuals are honestly and intelligently chosen, and to interfere no further with them, except by unlimited latitude of suggestion and criticism, and by applying or withholding the final seal of national assent. It is for want of this judicious reserve that popular assemblies attempt to do what they cannot do well, — to govern and legislate, — and provide no machinery but their own for much of it, when of course every hour spent in talk is an hour withdrawn from actual business." — pp. 117, 118.

This view may reconcile us in part to the alleged waste of time in most of our representative assemblies, especially to the very small proportion of time employed by Congress in "doing," and to the numerous speeches made for the sole behoof and benefit of constituents, — the "talking" with the whole nation for an audience. There can be little doubt that the else inefficient harangues delivered in the Capitol tend to arouse and energize the thought of the people on subjects of vital interest, and that, so far as the public mind is progressive in political science, its progress is largely due to the free ventilation of opinion, prejudice, and passion on the floor of Congress. The instances are not wanting in which the debates that have preceded an important measure, though not known to change a single vote, have given to the general opinion and conscience of the country a direction opposed to that of the final vote of the legislative chambers. In the

great issues which are joined in our present civil war, it is true, on the one hand, that Congress had, prior to the secession of South Carolina, taken no action whatever at which the most sensitive advocate of slavery had need to feel alarm; but it is equally true that Congressional discussion had brought the public sentiment of the Free States to a point at which action adverse to slavery would soon have been imperatively demanded, and could not have been much longer delayed.

The chief danger incident to a representative government, as Mr. Mill justly maintains, is that of class-legislation, that is, the neglect by the governing class of other interests than its own. This need not spring from corrupt or selfish motives. On the other hand, such motives are so liable to be detected and exposed, that, though when they are made operative they have emphatic recognition and live in long memory, they probably affect the course of legislation but seldom and feebly. What is to be feared is the unconscious class-egotism which identifies its own immediate interests with the public good, and the honest non-appreciation or misapprehension of the needs and rights of other classes. Thus, — to draw our illustration from the two great classes into which civilized society divides itself, the employers and the employed, or those who do and those who do not subsist by hand-labor, — neither of these classes can enter into the self-consciousness of the other. The laborer has but a vague comprehension of the elements which constitute the rightfulness of property and the legitimacy of large incomes; still less, of the offset to the superior advantages of wealth in its peculiar responsibilities, cares, and perils; least of all, of the inestimable public benefit of great estates as safety-funds and movement-funds for the subsistence and enterprise of the whole community. On the other hand, the non-laboring classes are prone to think of laborers as mere operatives, deserving barely to be comfortably lodged, clothed, and fed, while they are in full employment, and are to a great degree unaware of the depressing and precarious conditions under which they often toil, of the social arrangements which often defraud labor of its rights, and of the sensibilities and cravings which poverty suppresses only when it is allied with gross ignorance or vice. Each class is liable to legislate to

the disadvantage of the other. Thus, during the brief periods when the proletaries of France have had the power of the empire in their hands, wealth has been treated as a crime, the rights of property have been ruthlessly invaded, and the wildest dreams of socialism have threatened the people with their realization. In Great Britain, on the contrary, where the elective franchise has been carefully guarded and restricted, the worst portion of the national legislation has been that which relates to the laboring and pauper classes. The English poor-laws are adapted to create the very evil they are designed to mitigate; the system of public education is still in a chaotic state; there remain legal obstacles to free competition in the labor market; the abuses of the factories and the mines were patent to the whole world long before Parliament attempted to remedy them; Ireland has owed more of her suffering and depopulation to stepmotherly legislation than to all other causes combined; and the rapid consolidation of landed estates, with diminished products from the soil and employment for its cultivators, is due to the operation of laws which embody, in a sense never intended by its Author, the sacred maxim, "Unto every one which hath, shall be given, and from him that hath not, even that he hath shall be taken away."

Except during a revolutionary epoch and a violent upheaving of the lower strata of society, the danger of legislation less favorable to the laboring class than to capitalists and proprietors is always imminent. It is not averted by universal suffrage. The great mass of the voters are not represented by their own candidates. The intelligence, influence, and position which make a man eligible, are seldom found, except among those whose affinities are with the employers rather than with the employed. It is, indeed, for the interest of those who would retain office by popular suffrage, to consult for the welfare of the whole body of their constituents; but an outside view of their rights, claims, and wants must always be inadequate as compared with the knowledge which experience and fellow-feeling would give. Only a sincere and self-devoting philanthropy can discern the exact relations between those who occupy the higher and the lower places in the social scale; and the true remedy for exclusive class-legisla-

tion is to be found in the operation of such philanthropy in and through legislative bodies. It is mainly to this element that the legislative reforms in Great Britain are due, and to the same cause we are indebted in our country for the generally equitable character of our laws as between class and class, and for the degree to which the rights of labor and the needs of the poor are recognized and cared for.

In what we have said, we would not be understood as admitting that there are in reality any exclusive class-interests. Nor yet are there any exclusive national interests. No international treaty or commercial arrangement can be permanently beneficial to one of two nations that is not so to both; for so far as one of the two is weakened or impoverished for the benefit of the other, the benefit-yielding capacity of the former is impaired by every draft upon it, and must in process of time be exhausted. Equally must class-legislation become gradually less beneficial, then nugatory, then positively injurious to the class in whose behalf it is instituted. But as the immediate and apparent interest of a nation may be opposed to that of another nation, so may the immediate and apparent interest of a class be opposed to that of another class, and it can no more be expected of the legislative than of the treaty-making functionaries, that they shall always take those comprehensive and far-reaching views in which the good of each is seen to be identical with the good of all.

Mr. Mill has a very able and instructive chapter on the rights of minorities. It is possible, under the systems now in use in all representative governments, not only that a bare majority should wield all the power of a nation, but that a large minority should be wholly or nearly destitute of representation in its councils. This is evidently undesirable. It is not only unjust in itself considered, but it tends to make the majority less secure of permanent power, and to render the change of administrative policy harmfully frequent. A minority that could make itself heard in the national assembly would depend for its success in overcoming the odds against itself solely on the soundness of its expositions, the weight of its arguments, and the cogency of its eloquence; while the same minority, unrepresented and voiceless in the public

counsels, attracts to itself sympathy, makes capital of its enforced silence and inaction, appeals not in vain to a certain blind, rude justice, which weighs not the merits of the cause, but the wrongs of its adherents, and very probably turns the scale in its own favor without having made a single convert on rational or conscientious grounds. Now if the legislative assembly be in its prime intent and use a *parliament*, a talking body, every numerous and respectable party among the people has an undoubted right to its share in the talk; every significant phasis of opinion has a right to be presented and advocated, or, to state the case still more strongly, the nation has a right to such practical wisdom as can be elicited only by the free comparison and discussion of opposing or divergent theories and measures; and the legislators who represent a bare majority have no right to close their ears and minds to the most ample and forceful presentation of the views and arguments of the minority. But, if all this be admitted, how is it possible to insure the representation of minorities? It can be effected by no system now in practice. An approximation is made to it, however, by rendering each constituency so small, that it shall elect but a single representative; for it is at least probable that a large minority in a state or nation will be a majority in a considerable number of these small constituencies. On the other hand, constituencies large enough to choose several representatives on a general ticket will be likely to have a majority coincident with that of the whole state, or of the section of the country to which they respectively belong. Thus most of the counties of Massachusetts would generally furnish majorities of the same complexion with that of the State; while the individual towns would, many of them, choose minority Representatives. The time has often been when most, if not all, of the Northern and Middle States of our Union, choosing Representatives to Congress by a general ticket, would have been represented by men of the same political school, while the single representative districts would have furnished an adequate minority representation. Thus, too, it almost always happens that, of two legislative chambers, the smaller and higher is much more nearly homogeneous in opinion than the larger and lower; and we

have known at least one instance in which a senate of twelve consisted wholly of members of a single political party, while one third of the members of the lower house were in opposition. We deem this subject of so great importance in theory, and so sure to become at no great distance of time a matter of practical discussion, that we offer no apology for quoting at length the solutions of the problem suggested by Mr. Mill.

"Those who have seen and felt, in some degree, the force of these considerations, have proposed various expedients by which the evil may be, in a greater or less degree, mitigated. Lord John Russell, in one of his Reform Bills, introduced a provision, that certain constituencies should return three members, and that in these each elector should be allowed to vote only for two; and Mr. Disraeli, in the recent debates, revived the memory of the fact by reproaching him for it, being of opinion, apparently, that it befits a conservative statesman to regard only means, and to disown scornfully all fellow-feeling with any one who is betrayed, even once, into thinking of ends. Others have proposed that each elector should be allowed to vote only for one. By either of these plans, a minority equalling or exceeding a third of the local constituency would be able, if it attempted no more, to return one out of three members. The same result might be attained in a still better way, if, as proposed in an able pamphlet by Mr. James Garth Marshall, the elector retained his three votes, but was at liberty to bestow them all upon the same candidate. These schemes, though infinitely better than none at all, are yet but makeshifts, and attain the end in a very imperfect manner, since all local minorities of less than a third, and all minorities, however numerous, which are made up from several constituencies, would remain unrepresented. It is much to be lamented, however, that none of these plans have been carried into effect, as any of them would have recognized the right principle, and prepared the way for its more complete application. But real equality of representation is not obtained, unless any set of electors amounting to the average number of a constituency, wherever in the country they happen to reside, have the power of combining with one another to return a representative. This degree of perfection in representation appeared impracticable until a man of great capacity, fitted alike for large general views and for the contrivance of practical details, — Mr. Thomas Hare, — had proved its possibility by drawing up a scheme for its accomplishment, embodied in a draft of an Act of Parliament; a scheme which has the almost unparalleled merit of carrying out a great principle of government in a manner approaching to ideal per-

fection as regards the special object in view, while it attains incidentally several other ends of scarcely inferior importance.

"According to this plan, the unit of representation, the quota of electors who would be entitled to have a member to themselves, would be ascertained by the ordinary process of taking averages, the number of voters being divided by the number of seats in the House; and every candidate who obtained that quota would be returned, from however great a number of local constituencies it might be gathered. The votes would, as at present, be given locally, but any elector would be at liberty to vote for any candidate, in whatever part of the country he might offer himself. Those electors, therefore, who did not wish to be represented by any of the local candidates, might aid by their vote in the return of the person they liked best among all those throughout the country who had expressed a willingness to be chosen. This would so far give reality to the electoral rights of the otherwise virtually disfranchised minority. But it is important that not those alone who refuse to vote for any of the local candidates, but those also who vote for one of them and are defeated, should be enabled to find elsewhere the representation which they have not succeeded in obtaining in their own district. It is therefore provided that an elector may deliver a voting paper containing other names in addition to the one which stands foremost in his preference. His vote would only be counted for one candidate; but if the object of his first choice failed to be returned, from not having obtained the quota, his second perhaps might be more fortunate. He may extend his list to a greater number in the order of his preference, so that if the names which stand near the top of the list either cannot make up the quota, or are able to make it up without his vote, the vote may still be used for some one whom it may assist in returning. To obtain the full number of members required to complete the House, as well as to prevent very popular candidates from engrossing nearly all the suffrages, it is necessary, however many votes a candidate may obtain, that no more of them than the quota should be counted for his return; the remainder of those who voted for him would have their votes counted for the next person on their respective lists who needed them, and could by their aid complete the quota. To determine which of a candidate's votes should be used for his return, and which set free for others, several methods are proposed, into which we shall not here enter. He would, of course, retain the votes of all those who would not otherwise be represented; and for the remainder, drawing lots, in default of better, would be an unobjectionable expedient. The voting papers would be conveyed to a central office, where the votes would be counted, the number of first, second, third, and

other votes given for each candidate ascertained, and the quota would be allotted to every one who could make it up, until the number of the House was complete; first votes being preferred to second, second to third, and so forth. The voting papers, and all the elements of the calculation, would be placed in public repositories, accessible to all whom they concerned; and if any one who had obtained the quota was not duly returned, it would be in his power easily to prove it." — pp. 151 – 155.

As regards the right of suffrage, Mr. Mill is opposed to any other pecuniary qualification than the payment of a small capitation tax. He deprecates, however, the extension of the suffrage to those who are too ignorant to vote intelligently, and proposes as a test that the applicant for registration as a voter be required to copy a sentence from an English book, and to perform a sum in "the rule of three," — the last a provision which, we apprehend, would disfranchise some of the younger graduates of our universities, that useful rule having been dropped from the greater part of our treatises on arithmetic. Mr. Mill is in favor of granting two or more votes to persons who have attained certain prescribed standards of education, as to the alumni of universities and high schools, and the members of the liberal professions. This principle, though intrinsically reasonable, would be attended with too many practical difficulties, and with too many unjust discriminations, to find or to merit adoption. Thus there are many among those commonly termed "self-educated," whose attainments in knowledge are larger and more valuable than those of the inferior members of the (so-called) learned professions; and there are not a few of the comparatively uneducated, whose conversance with affairs, shrewd judgment of men and measures, and sound discretion, would render their just claim to a plural vote superior to that of many persons of high reputation for such learning as is derived from books alone.

Mr. Mill contends earnestly, and on grounds that are not easily set aside, for the admission of women to the right of suffrage. If they have independent property of their own, it is hard to deny them the privilege of representation in the body which protects their property and levies exactions upon it. They, in all civilized countries, possess at least as high an

average degree of intelligence as their husbands, fathers, and brothers, and are more likely to cast their votes under the restraint and guidance of a discriminating conscience. They have already decided political opinions, and exert a strong influence upon the voters. This influence is now employed without the governing check of personal responsibility, and could hardly fail to be more warily and judiciously exercised were this check felt in its full force. The other civil rights of women were long merged in the heathenish idea of their inferiority and subserviency to the stronger sex; but now unmarried women, in every civilized state, can hold property and form business relations on an even footing with men, and the tendency of recent legislation is toward the emancipation of married women from the legal disabilities of *coverture*. Why should not the same principle be extended to the suffrage, which would in the hands of women be far less liable to corruption than it is with the major part of those in whom this right is now vested? We acknowledge the force of these considerations, yet find ourselves unconvinced by them. But we can meet them only by what seems to us a *reductio ad absurdum*. There is no argument for female suffrage which does not bear with equal weight in behalf of the opening of all official stations to female competition. The voter may surely be voted for. A wise woman is by no means unfit to sit in Congress or in Parliament, and many anile members who now encumber their places might, without disadvantage to the public service, make room for such representatives as could be furnished from the sisterhood of genius and talent. But if women be eligible to office, they cannot be kept out of the scramble for office, and, as there are fewer lucrative employments open to them than to men, the number of place-hunters among them will be increased in the same proportion. If there are any of our readers who would gladly see women holding every grade of official station, from the premier to the constable, haranguing at mass-meetings, soliciting votes and influence in bar-rooms, on wharves, and at street-corners, plying all the low arts of political hucksters, they must be men who have no homes of their own to shield from desecration. While we doubt not that our elections would be all the purer,

if such women as are the pride and joy of our lives, in casting their votes, threw their whole noble natures into the discharge of this public duty, none can estimate the soil and stain and sin, the degradation and infamy, that would be drawn upon our households, and upon all the fountains of domestic virtue and happiness, by the inevitable concomitants and consequences of female suffrage. True, we must confess, with our author, women have an undoubted right to vote, and, we would add, to be candidates for votes; but we are told, on very high authority, that all things which are lawful are not expedient. Women have a right, beyond all question, to labor at the plough and the anvil, to reef topsails, to replace the stokers and brakemen on railroad cars, to run with fire-engines, and to do the hard and dirty work of society in general; and when they claim these functions as privileges, or show themselves over-anxious to share them as burdens with their brethren, it will be time enough to vindicate for them their rights in the caucus, at the hustings, and as candidates for public office.

On the question whether constituents should demand pledges of their representative, or leave him perfectly untrammelled, we have in the book under review an able and well-considered chapter. The question is not as simple as at first sight it might seem. On the one side, it is justly urged that the representative is, or ought to be, chosen because he has culture and discernment which may fit him to see farther than his constituents, and that, even were it not so, his position at the centre of affairs and his free conference with men of various shades of opinion may enable him to exercise a more trustworthy judgment than he could attain in the perhaps remote and isolated district from which he is chosen. Then, too, by virtue of his election, he loses in part his local character, and becomes a legislator not for his own electoral district, but for the whole nation, and he is therefore bound to sacrifice not only sectional prejudices, but even sectional interests, to the public good. Moreover, if he has a conscience, he cannot reasonably be expected to vote for measures which he does not approve. If a mere mouthpiece is wanted for a district, the choice ought to fall, not on the wisest and best man, but on the man who has the minimum of independent opinion, con-

science, and will. Yet, on the other hand, it may be contended that each constituency, having its own shade of opinion, has a right to the fair and full representation of its favorite policy; that each, having its own interests, has a right to the strong advocacy of these interests in the councils of the state, or nation; and that, by the comparison of all opinions and the competition of all interests on the floor of the legislative assembly, there is created the highest probability that the truth will be elicited, and the general good promoted. On this ground, if it be not the representative's duty to suppress his own judgment and to violate his own conscience, it may become his duty to resign in favor of one whose opinions coincide with those of his constituents. Our author thus sums up his conclusion.

"As the general result of what precedes, we may affirm that actual pledges should not be required unless, from unfavorable social circumstances or family institutions, the electors are so narrowed in their choice as to be compelled to fix it on a person presumptively under the influence of partialities hostile to their interest: that they are entitled to a full knowledge of the political opinions and sentiments of the candidate, and not only entitled, but often bound, to reject one who differs from themselves on the few articles which are the foundation of their political belief: that, in proportion to the opinion they entertain of the mental superiority of a candidate, they ought to put up with his expressing and acting on opinions different from theirs on any number of things not included in their fundamental articles of belief: that they ought to be unremitting in their search for a representative of such calibre as to be intrusted with full power of obeying the dictates of his own judgment: that they should consider it a duty which they owe to their fellow-countrymen to do their utmost toward placing men of this quality in the Legislature, and that it is of much greater importance to themselves to be represented by such a man than by one who professes agreement in a greater number of their opinions; for the benefits of his ability are certain, while the hypothesis of his being wrong and their being right on the points of difference is a very doubtful one." — pp. 246, 247.

As to the abstract expediency of a second representative chamber, the question must be determined by the mode in which that chamber shall be constructed. If it is of similar composition with the larger and more popular assembly, it can

do little except to render proceedings slower and more complicated. The cases of radical difference of opinion will seldom occur; and when they do occur, it may be because the smaller body is more easily susceptible of corruption and sinister influence. If, however, an upper house can be so constructed as to bring into its composition a different and higher class of minds, it may be invaluable as a council of revision. Especially, could such a body be composed of experienced statesmen, of men who had borne important civil trusts, or of *ex officio* members drawn from the judicial or executive departments, it would serve as a permanent check on precipitate and unwise legislation, while in a popular government it could never long withstand the deliberate and continuous voice of the popular branch. A body thus constituted could not, indeed, emanate from the immediate suffrage of the people, yet would be indirectly created by their choice. It would be thus created, were it dependent on appointment by the executive from officials or ex-officials of certain grades, or were certain high functionaries to become members of it after having borne office for a term of years. It is thus created in our national government, the Senate being chosen by the State legislatures, which are elected by the people at large. If it be the tendency of the lower house to legislate in favor of a class, the upper house should, above all, be so constructed as to counteract that tendency.

We cannot but think that the true principle on which an upper chamber should be constructed, is indicated in the word *Senate*, — a council of the elders. Progress toward an ideal standard, irrespective of vested rights, reasonable expectations, and a stable equilibrium of society, is the aim of young statesmen and legislators, while the old are characterized by a too fond conservatism, clinging to the idols of the past, no less than to what is worthy of being preserved and cherished. It is no doubt the will of Providence that social progress should be effected by successive generations, and through the ministry of the great reformer Death. But Providence also wills that the strong minds and noble hearts of each generation should for the most part remain loyal to the best views, the highest principles, the nearest approximate truths of their

early maturity; that they should be leading and progressive forces in their youth and prime; and that in after-life they should exercise the no less important function of repressing precipitancy, moderating excess, tempering extreme opinions and measures, and keeping the old waymarks erect and visible till the new are firmly established and fully recognized. Thus the engineers and firemen of one generation become brakemen for the next, and were it not for their agency, the onward rush would be destructive, not progressive, and old institutions and principles would collapse and perish, with nothing worthy of confidence to supersede them. The most perfect government would be that in which these two elements should be combined, so as mutually to interact, to check, and by checking to aid, each other. If the whole body of electors were to choose the lower house, while only those beyond a certain age could vote for the upper, and if at the same time all persons of full age were eligible to the former, and only those who had reached the late meridian of life could be chosen to the latter, we should have a *Senate* worthy of the name and fit for the functions which the name implies. We know very well that such a suggestion is now impracticable. But, as we have said, political theories, if sound and valid, may in process of time pass from Utopia into existing institutions, and any speculative view that has in it the elements of truth and right may be a candidate for future realization.

As regards the method of voting, Mr. Mill maintains the intrinsic fitness of the open vote, as opposed to the secret ballot. This question is virtually settled as he would have it, where the forms originally designed to insure secrecy are retained. Nay, even the sealed envelope is translucent, and its contents can be hidden only by falsehood. At one of our city or town elections it is or may be as well known for whom each elector votes, as if he gave his suffrage by uttering aloud the candidate's name; and when an important contest is going on, reporters register every vote as it is laid in the ballot-box. This is, we believe, as it should be. Voting is not a private privilege, but a public duty, and the citizen should be influenced in the discharge of this function, not by personal mo-

tives, but by such considerations as he need not hesitate to avow to the whole community. For an exclusive club or society the secret ballot is an appropriate mode of election; for there one has an undisputed right to indulge personal preferences and dislikes, of which he would not wish to make a public exposition. A mere incompatibility of taste and temper between a candidate for a select society and ourselves, may be a justifying cause for our adverse vote, while it would not justify our open expressions of disesteem or antipathy; and, on the other hand, we might honestly vote for the membership of one whom we should especially enjoy as a companion, even if there were good reasons for not making public proclamation of our preference. But private considerations have no rightful place in a political election. The citizen is bound to vote, not for the man he likes best, but for him who in his opinion will do the best service to the state. The elector, in fine, is, in the act of voting, a public servant, and, as such, he should divest himself of all those individual partialities and prejudices which are most appropriately locked up in his own bosom, and should vote even for the man he hates, if he be the man whom his state or country needs. All this will be readily admitted. But the question is, Which mode of election will be most likely to impress the elector with a just sense of the kind and measure of his responsibility? Will not the secret ballot sustain in his mind continually the idea of voting as a private, personal transaction, and of his suffrage as his own perquisite, for the use of which he is accountable to no man? And on the other hand, will not the external publicity of the act educate him to the consciousness of accountableness for it to the entire community, as an act which can be justified only so far as it is true to his convictions of general utility?

There is indeed one contingent evil attending public voting, and it has been not infrequently realized in our own country. It is within the power of an employer to constrain by interested motives the votes of those who depend on him for subsistence; and it is not without precedent for hundreds of operatives, under the dictation of a single proprietor or agent, to cast their suffrages for the same candidate, it being distinctly understood that dismission from the service was the

only alternative. Nay, worst of all, in our navy-yards and public workshops, the most stringent system of coercion has been exercised, and we have been personally cognizant of the summary discharge from these establishments of skilful and industrious mechanics, on the alleged ground, and no other, of having voted in opposition to the party then in power. These things are flagrantly wrong; but it must be remembered that two wrongs do not make a right, and because an honest voter may be persecuted for his honesty, it by no means follows that he should be encouraged to vote by stealth, as if he were performing a guilty act. In a healthy state of public opinion, the man who sought to coerce or intimidate voters under pain of exclusion from the means of subsistence, would be consigned to irrevocable infamy, even by his own party; and the state or national administration that would degrade itself by such a procedure would seal its ruin by its crime. We care not how high a standard of intellectual or moral fitness is established for the voter. We should be glad to have struck off from the register the name of every man who cannot read and write, of every convicted felon, of every common drunkard, of every bad man whose immorality could be recognized and defined in a statute of exclusion. But the entire freedom of the men who are suffered to vote should be so vigilantly guarded by law and by public opinion, that he who should invade that freedom would have life-long cause to rue his act.

As to executive functionaries, Mr. Mill regards their election by the people as always unadvisable. His remarks do not, indeed, apply to the single executive head, who, if not an hereditary sovereign, must owe his place, immediately or indirectly, to the popular suffrage, — or we might say without alternative *immediately;* for where, as in the United States, an electoral college intervenes, its members will be chosen with foreknowledge of their votes. Most departments of the executive service require peculiar adaptation, of which it would be impossible for the public at large to judge wisely. The supreme executive, who is responsible to the nation for the discharge of the public business, is fitly intrusted with the appointment of the heads of departments, and they, under

his control and approval, with that of their subordinates. But a far better system is that of competitive examinations, which has been recently introduced in England, and is understood to be already fully organized and in successful operation as to the civil service in India, — in fine, a system not unlike that which, in the graduates from West Point, has furnished our regular army with thoroughly educated officers. According to this plan, the inferior clerkships in the executive departments would be assigned, as fast as they became vacant, to the young men of good character who appeared on examination to be the best-trained scholars in such departments of learning as would qualify them at once to perform and to adorn official functions of a high grade. From this initial stage the way might lie open through one or two more successive examinations to charges of a more important character, while those who have passed the last examination should be eligible to the most elevated posts in the gift of the executive. While this plan would more effectually than any other insure the faithful performance of public business, the collateral benefits that would result from it would far exceed even the great national advantage. It would abate the intolerable nuisance of office-seeking, and would restore to and leave in the walks of productive industry the multitudes who are lured from them by the hope of living from the public chest. It would relieve citizens at large from the still greater nuisance of the interference of public functionaries in elections, the activity and success of that interference being now often the only condition on which they can hope that their own official incompetency, neglect, or malversation will be overlooked. At the same time, a healthful stimulus would be given to popular education; for the people would demand the means of educating their sons for public trusts, and the higher institutions under the charge of the state would be thus kept up to the standard required for furnishing successful competitors; while private schools and academies of the same nominal grade could justify and prolong their existence only by reaching and maintaining the same standard.

It can hardly be needful to speak of the untold evil accruing to the public service, no less than to the best interests

of society, from the brief and uncertain tenure of office in the subordinate departments of the executive administration. The worth of such a functionary grows with his years, and his ambition to excel can be sustained only by the assurance that his honorable endeavors will have their adequate and permanent recognition and reward.

Of an elective judiciary, Mr. Mill expresses opinions similar to those which we put on record, a few months ago, under the venerable sanction of Mr. Binney. We take pleasure in quoting on this subject the following paragraph.

"Of all officers of government, those in whose appointment any participation of popular suffrage is the most objectionable are judicial officers. While there are no functionaries whose special and professional qualifications the popular judgment is less fitted to estimate, there are none in whose case absolute impartiality, and freedom from connection with politicians or sections of politicians, are of anything like equal importance. Some thinkers, among others Mr. Bentham, have been of opinion that, although it is better that judges should not be appointed by popular election, the people of their district ought to have the power, after sufficient experience, of removing them from their trust. It cannot be denied that the irremovability of any public officer to whom great interests are intrusted is in itself an evil. It is far from desirable that there should be no means of getting rid of a bad or incompetent judge, unless for such misconduct as he can be made to answer for in a criminal court, and that a functionary on whom so much depends should have the feeling of being free from responsibility except to opinion and his own conscience. The question, however, is, whether, in the peculiar position of a judge, and supposing that all practicable securities had been taken for an honest appointment, irresponsibility, except to his own and the public conscience, has not, on the whole, less tendency to pervert his conduct, than responsibility to the government or to a popular vote. Experience has long decided this point in the affirmative as regards responsibility to the executive, and the case is quite equally strong when the responsibility sought to be enforced is to the suffrages of electors. Among the good qualities of a popular constituency, those peculiarly incumbent upon a judge, calmness and impartiality, are not numbered. Happily, in that intervention of popular suffrage which is essential to freedom they are not the qualities required. Even the quality of justice, though necessary to all human beings, and therefore to all electors, is not the inducement which decides any popular election. Justice and impar-

tiality are as little wanted for electing a member of Parliament as they can be in any transaction of men. The electors have not to award something which either candidate has a right to, nor to pass judgment on the general merits of the competitors, but to declare which of them has most of their personal confidence, or best represents their political convictions. A judge is bound to treat his political friend, or the person best known to him, exactly as he treats other people; but it would be a breach of duty, as well as an absurdity, if an elector did so. No argument can be grounded on the beneficial effect produced on judges, as on all other functionaries, by the moral jurisdiction of opinion; for even in this respect, that which really exercises a useful control over the proceedings of a judge, when fit for the judicial office, is not (except sometimes in political cases) the opinion of the community generally, but that of the only public by whom his conduct or qualifications can be duly estimated, the bar of his own court. I must not be understood to say that the participation of the general public in the administration of justice is of no importance; it is of the greatest; but in what manner? By the actual discharge of a part of the judicial office in the capacity of jurymen. This is one of the few cases in politics in which it is better that the people should act directly and personally than through their representatives, being almost the only case in which the errors that a person exercising authority may commit can be better borne than the consequences of making him responsible for them. If a judge could be removed from office by a popular vote, whoever was desirous of supplanting him would make capital for that purpose out of all his judicial decisions; would carry all of them, as far as he found practicable, by irregular appeal, before a public opinion wholly incompetent, for want of having heard the case, or from having heard it without either the precautions or the impartiality belonging to a judicial hearing; would play upon popular passion and prejudice where they existed, and take pains to arouse them where they did not. And in this, if the case were interesting, and he took sufficient trouble, he would infallibly be successful, unless the judge or his friends descended into the arena, and made equally powerful appeals on the other side. Judges would end by feeling that they risked their office upon every decision they gave in a case susceptible of general interest, and that it was less essential for them to consider what decision was just, than what would be most applauded by the public, or would least admit of insidious misrepresentation. The practice introduced by some of the new or revised State Constitutions in America, of submitting judicial officers to periodical popular re-election, will be found, I apprehend, to be one of the most dangerous errors ever yet committed

by democracy; and, were it not that the practical good sense which never totally deserts the people of the United States is said to be producing a reaction, likely in no long time to lead to the retraction of the error, it might with reason be regarded as the first great downward step in the degeneration of modern democratic government." — pp. 273 – 277.

In a chapter on "Federal Representative Governments," Mr. Mill reveals a singularly clear comprehension of the nature and working of our Federal Constitution. In his view, the Supreme Court of the United States is an anomalous feature of our system, and, writing before the present rebellion, he evidently thinks that here lies the weakest point of our body politic. He, in common with M. de Tocqueville, ascribes the deference which has thus far been paid to the decisions of that court to the fact that it has been wont, not to promulgate general dicta on constitutional or international law, but simply to deal with an actual case in hand, and to decide only such points in a general issue as apply to that particular case. He speaks of the Dred Scott decision as the first instance of marked and broad departure from this practice, and as on that score alone threatening peril to the Union; and he adds, with too just prescience, "The main pillar of the American Constitution is hardly strong enough to bear many more such shocks."

The concluding chapter of this volume treats "Of the Government of Dependencies by a Free State." We have not time to give a full sketch of this chapter. Suffice it to say, that the author approves of granting the largest possible measure of self-government to dependencies occupying the same plane of intelligence and capacity with the mother country, and that he admits the almost inevitable danger of misgovernment when a less civilized race, like the Hindoos, depends for its laws on the legislation, and for its local rulers on the selection, of a government which has its seat on another continent. We close our too brief and cursory notice of the volume by an extract with reference to the administration of affairs in India.

"It is not by attempting to rule directly a country like India, but by giving it good rulers, that the English people can do their duty to that

country; and they can scarcely give it a worse one than an English cabinet minister, who is thinking of English, not Indian, politics; who does not remain long enough in office to acquire an intelligent interest in so complicated a subject; upon whom the factitious public opinion got up in Parliament, consisting of two or three fluent speakers, acts with as much force as if it were genuine; while he is under none of the influences of training and position which would lead or qualify him to form an honest opinion of his own. A free country which attempts to govern a distant dependency, inhabited by a dissimilar people, by means of a branch of its own executive, will almost inevitably fail. The only mode which has any chance of tolerable success is to govern through a delegated body of a comparatively permanent character, allowing only a right of inspection and a negative voice to the changeable administration of the state. Such a body did exist in the case of India; and I fear that both India and England will pay a severe penalty for the short-sighted policy by which this intermediate instrument of government was done away with.

"It is of no avail to say that such a delegated body cannot have all the requisites of good government; above all, cannot have that complete and over-operative identity of interest with the governed which it is so difficult to obtain even where the people to be ruled are in some degree qualified to look after their own affairs. Real good government is not compatible with the conditions of the case. There is but a choice of imperfections. The problem is, so to construct the governing body that, under the difficulties of the position, it shall have as much interest as possible in good government, and as little in bad. Now these conditions are best found in an intermediate body. A delegated administration has always this advantage over a direct one, that it has, at all events, no duties to perform except to the governed. It has no interests to consider except theirs. Its own power of deriving profit from misgovernment may be reduced — in the latest Constitution of the East India Company it was reduced — to a singularly small amount; and it can be kept entirely clear of bias from the individual or class interests of any one else. When the home government and Parliament are swayed by such partial influences in the exercise of the power reserved to them in the last resort, the intermediate body is the certain advocate and champion of the dependency before the imperial tribunal. The intermediate body, moreover, is, in the natural course of things, chiefly composed of persons who have acquired professional knowledge of this part of their country's concerns; who have been trained to it in the place itself, and have made its administration the main occupation of their lives. Furnished with these qualifications, and not being liable

to lose their office from the accidents of home politics, they identify their character and consideration with their special trust, and have a much more permanent interest in the success of their administration, and in the prosperity of the country which they administer, than a member of a cabinet under a representative constitution can possibly have in the good government of any country except the one which he serves. So far as the choice of those who carry on the management on the spot devolves upon this body, their appointment is kept out of the vortex of party and Parliamentary jobbing, and freed from the influence of those motives to the abuse of patronage for the reward of adherents, or to buy off those who would otherwise be opponents, which are always stronger with statesmen of average honesty than a conscientious sense of the duty of appointing the fittest man. To put this one class of appointments as far as possible out of harm's way, is of more consequence than the worst which can happen to all other offices in the state; for, in every other department, if the officer is unqualified, the general opinion of the community directs him in a certain degree what to do; but in the position of the administrators of a dependency where the people are not fit to have the control in their own hands, the character of the government entirely depends on the qualifications, moral and intellectual, of the individual functionaries." — pp. 356–358.

Art. X. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *The Remains of the late* Mrs. Richard Trench, *being Selections from her Journals, Letters, and other Papers.* Edited by her Son, the Dean of Westminster. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1862. 8vo. pp. viii. and 525.

No one could have edited such a volume as this with greater judgment and good taste than Dean Trench has exhibited in every part of it. He has carefully refrained from any eulogy of his mother's character or writings, and has allowed her letters and journals to tell the story of her life, with only such explanatory remarks as are absolutely necessary to render them intelligible to the reader. "As I have abstained through all this volume hitherto," he writes on the last page, when recording the date of her death, "from any comment whatever, so I feel it will best become me to abstain to the end." The "Remains" which he has edited with such scrupulous delicacy show, however, that

Mrs. Trench well merited the encomium bestowed on her by Miss Anna Seward, as being "lovely, amiable, and accomplished," and few of the innumerable letter-writers of the Georgian era whose private correspondence has been printed in our own time have left a more pleasing picture of themselves. Mrs. Trench was not a woman of superior ability; her more elaborate prose compositions would scarcely have deserved the honors of publication; and her poems are in no respect distinguished from the fugitive verses of many of her sex who have no claim to rank among successful authors. But there was that in her character which grows on our regard the more intimately we become acquainted with her writings; and many of her journals and letters are of permanent interest, especially the account of her tour in Germany, and the letters written during her enforced residence in France.

She was the daughter of an Irish clergyman, the only surviving son of Bishop Chenevix, Lord Chesterfield's friend and correspondent, and was born in 1768. Before she was four years old both of her parents died, and while she was still a child she was also deprived of her grandfather's care. Yet she was not without kind friends, who, as the result proved, faithfully watched over her, and before she was eighteen she married Colonel St. George, an officer in the English army. Her married life was happy, though short, and she was early left a widow with one son, Charles Manners St. George, who afterward entered the diplomatic service of his country, and to whom many of her letters are addressed. After her husband's death she went to the Continent, apparently for the benefit of her health, and spent some time in different parts of Germany, keeping a very full and interesting record of everything that she saw and did. Subsequently she married Richard Trench, Esq., and on the conclusion of the Peace of Amiens she visited France with her husband, who was detained there as a prisoner on the breaking out of hostilities, and was not released until several years afterward. While she remained in France, Mrs. Trench passed much of her time in Paris, and her letters to her husband, who was not allowed to leave Orleans, and to her friends in England, contain some very graphic sketches of life among the prisoners. After her husband's release and their return home, her personal history was not marked by any noticeable incidents except the death of a child or of some attached friend. Her own death occurred on the 27th of May, 1827, after a long and painful illness.

Mrs. Trench seldom refers to public affairs, and her letters throw no new light on the memorable transactions of the period over which they extend; but occasionally we catch a glimpse of the impression produced on the writer's mind by some important or noteworthy event, and, as a

picture of social life for the half-century preceding her death, the volume has considerable worth, apart from the interest which her personal character excites. On the latter account, especially, we are grateful for the labor which Dean Trench has taken in rescuing these "Remains" from oblivion.

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2. — *The Correspondence of* LEIGH HUNT. Edited by his Eldest Son. With a Portrait. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1862. 2 vols. Small 8vo. pp. viii. and 333, 331.

A READER of these volumes who should form his estimate of Leigh Hunt's character as a letter-writer from the first of them, would be likely to entertain a rather unfavorable view of the intellectual capacity of that pleasing essayist and poet. The earlier letters from Hunt's own pen, though composed in his usual "chatty" style, are singularly trivial and uninteresting, and scarcely reward any one for the time spent in their perusal, while many of those addressed to him will be read with a feeling of disappointment. But in the second volume the letters are much more entertaining, and among them are several very interesting and characteristic productions. It is, however, to be regretted that Mr. Thornton Hunt, the editor, had not bestowed more care on their proper arrangement and their elucidation by explanatory notes. Many of the letters are obviously misdated, and are printed without regard to the connection of subjects, and very few have been properly annotated. Among Hunt's correspondents were most of the English literary celebrities of the last half-century; and in one or the other volume are letters to or from Shelley and his wife, Talfourd, Lord Brougham, Barry Cornwall, Jeffrey, Landor, Lord Macaulay, and others. One of the most delightful is a joint letter from Robert Browning and his wife, dated Bagni di Lucca, October 6, 1857, from which we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting two passages. In the part written by the former we read: —

"I am still too near the production of *Aurora Leigh* to be quite able to see it all; my wife used to write it, and lay it down to hear our child spell, or when a visitor came, — it was thrust under the cushion then. At Paris, a year ago last March, she gave me the first six books to read; I having never seen a line before. She then wrote the rest, and transcribed them in London, where I read them also. I wish, in one sense, that I had written and she had read it."

In the part written by Mrs. Browning we find the following passage: —

"When we came here from Florence, a few months ago, to get repose and cheerfulness from the sight of the mountains, we said to ourselves that we

would speak to you at ease, — instead of which the word was taken from our own mouth, and we have done little but sit by sick-beds and meditate on gastric fevers. So disturbed we have been, — so sad! our darling, precious child the last victim. To see him lying still on his golden curls, with cheeks too scarlet to suit the poor, patient eyes, looking so frightfully like an angel! It was very hard. But this is over, I do thank God, and we are on the point of carrying our treasure back with us to Florence to-morrow, quite recovered, if a little thinner and weaker, and the young voice as merry as ever. You are aware that that child I am more proud of than twenty *Auroras*, even after Leigh Hunt has praised them. He is eight years old, has never been '*crammed*,' but reads English, Italian, French, German, and plays the piano, — then, is the sweetest child! sweeter than he looks. When he was ill, he said to me, 'You pet! don't be unhappy about *me*. Think it 's a boy in the street, and be a little sorry, but not unhappy.' Who could not be unhappy, I wonder!"

Every reader will also be much interested in a correspondence with Lord Macaulay and Mr. Macvey Napier, editor of the Edinburgh Review, relative to Hunt's contributions to that journal. One of these letters we must copy at length, with a word or two of explanation. In one of his letters to the editor Hunt proposed to write a "short article," if he could "find a *chatty* subject," which phrase alarmed Napier, and in his reply he took occasion to express surprise at Hunt's too frequent use of colloquial and even "vulgar" expressions, and to criticise his style; adding, however, that he should be glad to receive an article of ten or twelve pages, written "in an amusing but gentlemanlike tone and style." Hunt was much irritated at this, and at once applied to Macaulay to know what he should do about it. The answer is remarkable, both on account of its practical wisdom and its kindly spirit, and can scarcely be too highly commended in either respect.

"*Albany*, 29*th October*, 1841.

"My dear Sir, — I do not wonder that you are hurt by Napier's letter, but I think you a little misunderstood him. I am confident that he has not taken any part of your conduct ill, and equally confident that by the expression *gentlemanlike*, which certainly he might have spared, he meant not the smallest reflection either on your character or manners. I am certain that he means merely a literary criticism. His taste in composition is what would commonly be called classical, — not so catholic as mine, nor so tolerant of mannerisms which are produced by the various tempers and trainings of men, and which, within certain limits, are, in my judgment, agreeable. Napier would thoroughly appreciate the merit of a writer like Bolingbroke or Robertson; but would, I think, be unpleasantly affected by the peculiarities of such a writer as Burton, Sterne, or Charles Lamb. He thinks your style too colloquial; and, no doubt, it has a very colloquial character. I wish it to retain that character, which to me is exceedingly pleasant. But I think that the danger against which you have to guard is excess in that direction. Napier is the very man to be startled by the smallest excess in that direction.

Therefore I am not surprised that, when you proposed to send him a *chatty* article, he took fright, and recommended dignity and severity of style, and care to avoid what he calls vulgar expressions, such as *bit*. The question is purely one of taste. It has nothing to do with the morals or honor.

"As to the tone of Napier's criticism, you must remember that his position with regard to the *Review*, and the habits of his life, are such that he cannot be expected to pick his words very nicely. He has superintended more than one great literary undertaking, — the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, for example. He has had to collect contributions from hundreds of men of letters, and has been answerable to the publishers and to the public for the whole. Of course he has been under the necessity of very frequently correcting, disapproving, and positively rejecting articles; and is now as little disturbed about such things as Sir Benjamin Brodie about performing a surgical operation. To my own personal knowledge, he has positively refused to accept papers even from so great a man as Lord Brougham. He only a few months ago received an article on foreign politics from an eminent diplomatist. The style was not to his taste; and he altered it to an extent which greatly irritated the author. Mr. Carlyle formerly wrote for the *Review*, — a man of talents, though, in my opinion, absurdly overpraised by some of his admirers. I believe, though I do not know, that he ceased to write because the oddities of his diction and his new words compounded *à la Teutonique* drew such strong remonstrances from Napier. I could mention other instances, but these are sufficient to show you what I mean. He is really a good, friendly, and honorable man. He wishes for your assistance, but he thinks your style too colloquial. He conceives that, as the editor of the *Review*, he ought to tell you what he thinks. And, having during many years been in the habit of speaking his whole mind on such matters almost weekly to all sorts of people, he expresses himself with more plainness than delicacy. I shall probably have occasion to write to him in a day or two. I will tell him that one or two of his phrases have hurt your feelings, and that, I think, he would have avoided them if he had taken time to consider.

"If you ask my advice, it is this. Tell him that some of his expressions have given you pain; but that you feel that you have no right to resent a mere difference of literary taste; that to attempt to unlearn a style already formed, and to acquire one completely different, would, as he must feel, be absurd, and that the result would be something intolerably stiff and unnatural; but that, as he thinks that a tone rather less colloquial would suit better with the general character of the *Review*, you will, without quitting the easy and familiar manner which is natural to you, avoid whatever even an unreasonably fastidious taste could regard as vulgarity. This is my honest advice. You may easily imagine how disagreeable it is to say anything about a difference between two persons for both of whom I entertain a sincere regard. Believe me, dear sir, yours very truly,

"T. B. Macaulay."

In reading these letters, one cannot help expressing a regret that Mr. Thornton Hunt has not been able to bring forward more of the same character, and that so large a part of his volumes is utterly worthless and uninteresting.

3. — *Lives of the Engineers, with an Account of their principal Works; comprising also a History of Inland Communication in Britain.* By SAMUEL SMILES. With Portraits and numerous Illustrations. Vols. I. and II. London: John Murray. 1861. 8vo. pp. xvii. and 484, 502.

FROM our previous acquaintance with Mr. Smiles's writings we were inclined to look with interest for his new work, in the expectation of finding in it much that was both new and instructive, and these anticipations have been more than realized. The field of inquiry which he has marked out for himself has been comparatively neglected by other writers. Yet it possesses many attractive points, and no one could have been more successful than Mr. Smiles in bringing them out into a clear light. His knowledge of general literature is extensive and accurate; his industry is well-directed and persistent; and his style, without exhibiting much elegance or felicity of expression, is uniformly simple and perspicuous. The plan of his work, so far as it may be gathered from the two volumes now published, has been judiciously formed, and is skilfully elaborated. It includes a wide range of topics, each of which is of intrinsic interest or importance, and it affords ample scope for the exhibition of Mr. Smiles's uncommon skill as a biographer. His work cannot, indeed, possess so great a unity of interest as binds together Lord Campbell's "Lives of the Chancellors," or Dr. Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury"; but the common relation to the history of civil engineering in England which was borne by the different persons whose lives are narrated, gives to his biographies such a degree of unity as warrants their publication in a connected form.

The two volumes now before us are, we suppose, only an instalment of a rather voluminous work, though the writer's plan is nowhere distinctly stated. They are divided into eight parts of unequal length, of which three are of a general character, and may be regarded as almost purely introductory, while each of the others is confined to the life of some one person. The First Part is devoted to an account of the "Early Works of Embanking and Draining," and includes a description of the works undertaken for draining Romney Marsh and the Great Level of the Fens. The Second Part contains the "Life of Sir Hugh Myddelton," the once famous engineer of the New River Water-Works for supplying the city of London. The Third Part treats of the "Early Roads and Modes of Travelling" in England, and sketches the life of John Metcalf, a blind and self-taught engineer, who acquired considerable local reputation in his own day, and well deserves the honor Mr. Smiles awards him. To us this is in many respects the most attractive division of his work. The Fourth Part, which also

comprises much curious and interesting matter, relates to the early "Bridges, Ferries, and Harbors." The last four Parts contain the Lives of James Brindley, whose name will be forever associated with the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal, of John Smeaton, the engineer of the Eddystone Lighthouse, of John Rennie, who constructed the Waterloo and London Bridges and the Plymouth Breakwater, and of Thomas Telford, one of the greatest engineers of this century, who built the suspension bridge over the Menai Strait, and was connected with many other important works. All of these topics, both general and special, Mr. Smiles has studied with a genuine love of his subject, and he has brought together much that would soon have perished, like all other traditional accounts, but which is well worth preserving. His volumes, we ought to add, are profusely illustrated with maps and plans from the magnificent ordnance surveys, and with other engravings.

In his Preface, Mr. Smiles gives some curious details as to the late growth of mechanical skill in England. One passage is so striking and suggestive, that we cannot refrain from quoting it at length, both as a fair specimen of his style, and on account of its intrinsic interest.

"Most of our modern branches of industry," he says, "were begun by foreigners, many of whom were driven by persecution to seek an asylum in England. Our first cloth-workers, silk-weavers, and lace-makers were French and Flemish refugees. The brothers Elers, Dutchmen, began the pottery manufacture; Spillman, a German, erected the first paper-mill at Dartford; and Boomen, a Dutchman, brought the first coach into England.

"When we wanted any skilled work done, we almost invariably sent for foreigners to do it. Our first ships were built by Danes or Genoese. When the Mary Rose sank at Spithead in 1545, Venetians were hired to raise her. On that occasion Peeter de Andreas was employed, assisted by his ship-carpenter and three of his sailors, with 'sixty English maryners to attend upon them.' When an engine was required to pump water from the Thames for the supply of London, Peter Morice, the Dutchman, was employed to erect it.

"Our first lessons in mechanical and civil engineering were principally obtained from Dutchmen, who supplied us with our first wind-mills, water-mills, and pumping-engines. Holland even sent us the necessary laborers to execute our first great works of drainage. The Great Level of the Fens was drained by Vermuyden, and another Dutchman, Freestone, was employed to reclaim the marsh near Wells, in Norfolk. Canvey Island, near the mouth of the Thames, was embanked by Joas Croppenburgh and his company of Dutch workmen. When a new haven was required at Yarmouth, Joas Johnson, the Dutch engineer, was employed to plan and construct the works; and when a serious breach occurred in the banks of the Witham, at Boston, Matthew Hake was sent for from Gravelines in Flanders; and he brought with him not only the mechanics, but the manufactured iron required for the work. The art of bridge-building had sunk so low in England about the middle of the last century, that we were under the necessity of employing the Swiss engineer Labelye to build Westminster Bridge."

4. — *Memoir of the Life of Sir Marc Isambard Brunel, Civil Engineer, Vice-President of the Royal Society, Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, &c., &c., &c.* By RICHARD BEAMISH, F. R. S. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1862. 8vo. pp. xvii. and 359.

MARC ISAMBARD BRUNEL, one of the most distinguished mechanical engineers of this century, was born at Hacqueville in Normandy, on the 25th of April, 1769. At an early age he gave very strong evidence of a taste for mechanical pursuits, and while he was still a mere boy he constructed a quadrant, which was perfect in all its parts, after only a single cursory examination of one. On the breaking out of the French Revolution, his royalist principles rendered his continued residence in France unsafe, and accordingly he came to this country. Here he was naturalized, and spent rather more than five years, principally in the State of New York, engaged in various engineering operations and as an architect, in which latter capacity he superintended the erection of the old Park Theatre in the city of New York. In January, 1799, he embarked for England; and in that country the last fifty years of his life were passed. His death occurred on the 12th of December, 1849. In England he devoted himself with great assiduity to the profession for which his tastes and mental habitudes so admirably qualified him. Shortly after his arrival, he invented, and put into successful operation in the dock-yard at Plymouth, a very ingenious set of machines for the manufacture of ships' blocks, by means of which an immense saving of time and money was effected. At a little later period he invented machinery for the manufacture of army shoes, by which the quality of the work was much improved and a large reduction was made in the cost. He also constructed the government saw-mills at Chatham, and introduced various improvements which showed great mechanical ingenuity and skill. But the work with which his name is chiefly associated is the Thames Tunnel, commenced in 1825, and, after many difficulties and delays and a total suspension of the work during a period of several years, opened to the public in March, 1843. In the prosecution of this work Mr. Beamish was employed by Brunel as an assistant engineer, and he was therefore brought into frequent and intimate relations with the great mechanist. From personal recollections, and from materials furnished by Brunel's family and friends, he has drawn up the very full, and on the whole satisfactory, Memoir now before us. He is not, it is true, a practised writer, and he has not much skill as a biographer; but his thorough knowledge of his subject, and his graphic account of the construction of the Tunnel, to which a

large part of the volume is devoted, render his Memoir a valuable and instructive contribution to mechanical literature. Some abatement, however, must be made from the estimate which he places on the worth of Brunel's services as an engineer, and we have not been able to discover in his Memoir any recognition of the fact that the Tunnel fails to answer the purpose for which it was intended.

5.—*Lectures on Modern History, delivered in Oxford*, 1859–61, *by* GOLDWIN SMITH, M. A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. Oxford and London: John Henry and James Parker. 1861. 8vo. pp. 210.

THIS little volume comprises five Lectures delivered at different times by Mr. Smith, in the regular discharge of his duties as Professor of Modern History at Oxford; but, with a single exception, they all have a general connection, and are designed to explain and defend the theory according to which the lecturer purposes to teach history. The first Lecture is the inaugural discourse pronounced by him on assuming the Professorship of Modern History under the revised statutes recently promulgated, and it is mainly devoted to an earnest plea in behalf of historical studies, and to an examination of the relation of history to jurisprudence and political economy. The next two Lectures are "On the Study of History," and contain a very thorough and satisfactory refutation of the doctrines of Comte and his disciples as applied to historical inquiries, together with an elaborate vindication of the doctrine that a philosophy of history is possible. In a Postscript the lecturer offers some very acute and weighty criticisms on the theory maintained by Mr. Mansel in his Bampton Lectures on the Limits of Religious Thought. The fourth Lecture continues the discussion of the subject, and treats of "Some Supposed Consequences of the Doctrine of Historical Progress." The last Lecture, which is the least satisfactory one in the volume, is "On the Foundation of the American Colonies." It presents, indeed, a tolerably good account of the foundation of the various Colonies, and offers some excellent observations on the folly and madness exhibited by the English government during the memorable struggle which ended in the forcible separation of the thirteen Colonies from the mother country; but, considered as a philosophical discussion of this important and suggestive theme, it fails utterly to confirm the favorable anticipations which we had formed from reading the previous Lectures. From some cause, Mr. Smith does not take a broad and firm grasp of his subject, nor does he generalize with much

skill from the facts narrated, or point out the relations of cause and effect with the ability of which the other Lectures give promise. From the first settlement of this country Englishmen have failed to understand American politics; and it is not, perhaps, surprising that Mr. Smith also should have failed, though it is unfortunate for his permanent reputation as a teacher of history. His style, though clear and vigorous, is hard and inflexible, and contrasts very unfavorably with that of the Professor of Ecclesiastical History, who was inaugurated not long before him, and who has also published a volume of academic Lectures which is noticed below. Still we shall look with much interest for his future publications, since it is certain that, even if they should not be attractive in this particular, they will contain many just observations and much acute reasoning.

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6. — *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church. With an Introduction on the Study of Ecclesiastical History.* By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D. D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. From the Second London Edition, Revised. New York: Charles Scribner. 1862. 8vo. pp. 551.

THESE Lectures are the first fruits of Dr. Stanley's labors in the Professorship of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, and their republication in this country will be cordially welcomed by all who are familiar with his previous writings. They fully justify the anticipations which were generally entertained on his appointment; and are a most brilliant and acceptable contribution to ecclesiastical literature. The style is glowing, animated, and picturesque, and the reader is borne along with much the same rush of feeling which an auditor must have experienced as he listened to the spoken words, while everywhere we discover the evidences of a ripe and various scholarship. No one has ever before shown so well how Church history may be written so as to be interesting; and no writer in this department ever had a more attractive field in which to labor. If Dr. Stanley should be able to complete the plan which he seems to have marked out for himself, and of which the Lectures now before us form only a fragment, he will enrich English literature with a series of volumes on ecclesiastical history of unrivalled brilliancy and power. One of these volumes — that on the History of the Jewish Church — is stated to be nearly ready for the press.

The volume now published opens with an inaugural course of three

Lectures, delivered in 1857, treating of the province of ecclesiastical history, the manner in which the study should be pursued, and the advantages to be derived from it. These Lectures are not directly connected with the principal topic of the volume, but they form a most admirable and appropriate introduction to it, and unfold, with an eloquence and felicity of statement which cannot be too highly praised, the exact nature and extent of the author's historical theories. The Lectures which follow, and give to the volume its appropriate title, are a successful application and development of these theories. The first Lecture, which is one of the longest in the volume, and has been condensed from a separate course, is devoted to a general survey of the Eastern Church, its divisions, its historical epochs, its general characteristics, and the special advantages to be gained by the study of it. The next six Lectures are on the Council of Nicæa, the central event in the history of the Eastern Church, including special Lectures on the Emperor Constantine and on Athanasius, and graphic sketches of most of the other prominent actors, beside a summary of the decrees adopted by the Council. The eighth Lecture treats of Mahometanism in its Relations to the Eastern Church, and as a whole is scarcely equal to those which precede and follow it. The last four Lectures present an admirable sketch of the Russian Church, from its foundation to the present time. In general, little or no exception can be taken to the candor and fairness with which Dr. Stanley deals with the disputed points of ecclesiastical history, but in his account of the Council of Nicæa he occasionally fails to render full justice to Arius and his friends, while Athanasius is painted in the warmest colors.

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7. — *Lectures on the Science of Language, delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in April, May, and June*, 1861. By MAX MÜLLER, M. A., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford; Corresponding Member of the Institute of France. From the Second London Edition, Revised. New York: Charles Scribner. 1862. Small 8vo. pp. 416.

FEW men have studied the new science of language, or comparative philology, as it has sometimes been called, more thoroughly or more comprehensively than the author of these Lectures, and certainly no one could have stated the results of his inquiries in a more attractive manner. The substance of the volume, as its title shows, was read as a course of lectures before a popular audience, and it has therefore the clearness and vivacity of treatment which ought to characterize

such productions, while at the same time the writer seldom descends to any unworthy expedient to attract notice and applause. Moreover, in the printed form considerable matter has been added which was omitted when the Lectures were delivered, and is now incorporated again with the text. The extent to which this restoration has been carried will be apparent to any one who compares the length of the different Lectures. For instance, the first covers but little more than twenty-six pages, while the eighth covers sixty-seven pages, and the other seven Lectures vary in length from twenty-five to fifty pages. The whole course, however, is systematically arranged, and the various topics discussed in it are, with a single exception, treated with sufficient minuteness of statement and amplitude of illustration to bring out the author's meaning with clearness and precision. His style is always luminous and exact, and never falls into those obscurities of expression which are so common in the writings of his countrymen.

In his first Lecture he endeavors to show, with much ingenuity and force of argument, that the science of language is one of the physical sciences, and not one of the historical sciences so called. This discussion he resumes in his second Lecture, in which he considers some of the objections to this view, while treating of the growth of language in contradistinction to its history, and also points out the two processes in the growth of language, Dialectical Regeneration, or the formation of new dialects, and Phonetic Decay, or the corruption of the component elements of words. The third Lecture treats of the first or empirical stage of the science, and traces the origin and progress of the empirical or analytical study of language from the time of Aristotle and Plato down to our own age. Having thus laid a broad foundation for the further investigation of his subject, he proceeds in the next three Lectures, which are among the most striking in the course, to treat of the classificatory stage, of the genealogical classification of languages, and of comparative grammar. From the latter topic he passes by a natural transition to a very thorough and elaborate discussion of the constituent elements of language, which he is inclined to think do not exceed five hundred roots in each of the principal languages. The eighth Lecture treats of the Morphological Classification of languages. It opens with an examination of the Semitic family, including under this title the Aramaic, Hebraic, and Arabic branches, and then passes to a discussion of the Turanian group, including all the known languages which do not belong to either the Aryan or the Semitic family. The last Lecture is mainly devoted to the Theoretical Stage in the Science of Language, and comprises an ingenious, but not very satisfactory nor lucid, discussion of the origin of language. From this brief summary of Professor

Müller's Lectures it will be easy to perceive how systematically he has treated his subject, and what, in general, is his method; but no analysis can do justice to his clearness and vigor of statement, his copiousness of illustration, or the fresh life he has thrown into the most abstruse questions connected with the science.

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8. — *A Sketch of the History of the United States from Independence to Secession.* By J. M. LUDLOW, Author of "British India, its Races and its History," "The Policy of the Crown towards India," &c. To which is added, *The Struggle for Kansas.* By THOMAS HUGHES, Author of "Tom Brown's School-Days," "Tom Brown at Oxford," &c. Cambridge [England]: Macmillan & Co. 1862. Small 8vo. pp. xxii. and 404.

THE design of this work is praiseworthy; and we are sorry we cannot add that it has been executed in a manner equally deserving of commendation. "I find the ignorance of my countrymen on the subject of which it treats so general," says Mr. Ludlow in his Preface, "and feel that ignorance to be so dangerous in the feelings which it allows to grow up, and the conclusions to which it allows them to be led by newspaper writers, too often quite as ignorant as their readers, but only more audacious, that I have ventured to think no time should be lost in supplying some elementary, but, I trust, correct data on which a safer judgment may be formed by any who choose to think for themselves." But the writer of such a sketch who has not consulted "either the proceedings, or even the acts, of Congress," and who is not thoroughly acquainted with the Madison Papers, The Federalist, Elliott's Debates, Hamilton's Works, Curtis's History of the Constitution, and Webster's Speeches, is ignorant of much which he ought to know in order to present a trustworthy account of the nature and working of our complex system of government; and in this respect Mr. Ludlow is sadly deficient.

In his account of the last war with England, his prejudices crop out in a very extravagant manner: for instance, he devotes two pages and a half to the capture of the Chesapeake by the Shannon, and entirely omits to mention Perry's victory and several of our most important naval achievements. In his Preface he speaks with some show of indignation of the "outrage" committed by Captain Wilkes in the arrest of the rebel emissaries on board of the Trent. His account of the Bank controversy during Jackson's administration, which seems to have been based wholly on Benton's statements, needs to be entirely

recast before it can be received as an impartial narrative of that important episode in American politics; and several other parts of his History are also open to criticism. Nevertheless, Mr. Ludlow's volume is one of the very few books published in England since the breaking out of the rebellion which show a just conception of the character of the present struggle, and kindly sympathy with the great principles at stake. He sees, what few of his countrymen are willing to perceive, that there is no right of secession under the Constitution, that the triumph of the rebels is to be deprecated by every friend of liberty and order, and that the recognition of a confederacy based on slavery as its corner-stone is not the way to secure the freedom of the blacks, or even the manufacturing and commercial prosperity of England.

Mr. Hughes's contribution to the volume covers about sixty pages, and comprises the substance of two lectures, delivered, like those of Mr. Ludlow, before the Workingmen's College in London. It presents a pretty full summary of the struggle in Kansas between the Free Soil party and the friends of slavery extension, expressing cordial sympathy with the former, but not requiring special notice.

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9. — *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* 1860 – 1862. Boston: Printed for the Society. 1862. 8vo. pp. xii. and 530.

This is the third volume of "Proceedings" published by the Massachusetts Historical Society within the last four or five years, and comprises, beside a record of the monthly and special meetings of the Society from April, 1860, to April, 1862, much historical matter which is worthy of preservation. Among the more important or more interesting materials thus preserved in an easily accessible form are some very curious excerpts from a manuscript History of New England, written in 1740 by Joseph Bennett; several documents connected with the famous case of Phillips *vs.* Savage; Stoughton's "Relation concerning New England"; a curious collection of medical recipes prepared in 1643 for Governor Winthrop, and now printed with explanatory notes by Dr. O. W. Holmes; Mr. Curtis's elaborate and conclusive report on the "Exchange of Prisoners during the American Revolution"; Mr. Winthrop's admirable "Memoir of the Hon. Nathan Appleton"; and the proceedings of the Society on the death of Judge Shaw, Judge White, Hon. William Appleton, and President Felton. There are also several shorter memoirs, numerous previously unpublished letters, and other matters of interest to the historical student. In the publica-

tion of such volumes as this, our oldest Historical Society is rendering a valuable service in this department of literature; and we cannot but congratulate its officers and members on the success which has so often crowned their labors. So far as we have noticed, the volume is carefully and accurately printed; but there is an obvious error in the date prefixed to Major-General Dix's letter on p. 374, and the Index is by no means so full as we could have wished.

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10. — 1. *The Pearl of Orr's Island: a Story of the Coast of Maine.* By Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, Author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "The Minister's Wooing," etc. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1862. 12mo. pp. 437.

2. *Agnes of Sorrento.* By Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, Author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "The Minister's Wooing," etc. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1862. 12mo. pp. 410.

If these two novels show but little versatility in the delineation of character and not much skill in the management of the plot, they nevertheless give abundant evidence of that ability to acquire and maintain a control over all the sympathies of her readers, which is the chief source of Mrs. Stowe's power as a writer. Her books are always intensely interesting, and one does not read many pages before he finds it hard to tear himself away from the simple and sometimes homely narrative. Her style is for the most part of crystal clearness and purity, and has that flexibility and harmony which are of the first importance to a writer of fiction. Her descriptions of scenery and natural objects are remarkably spirited and accurate, and she is scarcely less successful in painting local manners and customs. Her uncommon merits in both of these respects are well shown in the first of the two works now before us; and we know not where to look for a better picture of ordinary New England life half a century ago than is exhibited in it.

"The Pearl of Orr's Island" is a simple and affecting story, such as might be drawn from the annals of almost any one of our New England seaport towns. The scene is laid on a little island near Bath, Maine, and, with the exception of a single episode narrated in a letter, all the incidents take place there or in the immediate neighborhood. The heroine is one of those saintly characters which are not unfrequently met with in real life, whose fragile bodies seem scarcely able to sustain the sensitive spirit within. Her father is drowned within sight of home on his return from a distant voyage, and her mother dies a few hours afterward in giving her birth. Thus left an orphan almost

from her first breath, she grows up, under the care of her maternal grandfather and grandmother, into a lovely but delicate woman, and dies on the eve of her own marriage, a victim of that insidious disease which removes so many of our loveliest and best. The hero is thrown ashore on the same little island while a mere child, the only survivor from another wreck, is adopted by Mara's grandparents, and under their tender care he becomes a strong and healthy boy. When he reaches manhood, he builds a ship, of which he is the master, and returns from sea only in time to watch over the last hours of his betrothed, the playmate of his childhood and the self-sacrificing friend of his youth. A few other personages such as would be found in any community like that of Orr's Island and its neighborhood are the only other characters in the book. But with such materials as these, and with simple and natural incidents, Mrs. Stowe has constructed a story of singular pathos and beauty. No one can read it without acknowledging its power, and feeling all his sympathies awakened as if by some actual occurrence within his own knowledge and under his own observation.

"Agnes of Sorrento" is a tale of much less ability and interest than "The Pearl of Orr's Island," though it bears considerable resemblance to it, and contains many passages of graceful or picturesque description. It is an Italian story of the time of Savonarola, who figures as one of the characters in it, and as a picture of Italy in the latter half of the fifteenth century it possesses much merit. Agnes, indeed, is a mere reduplication, under other circumstances and amid different influences, of Mara, and her mother's peculiarities recall at once similar traits in several of the subordinate characters in the former work.

11.— *A Practical Guide to the Study of the Diseases of the Eye: their Medical and Surgical Treatment.* By Henry W. Williams, M. D., Fellow of the Massachusetts Medical Society, Honorary Fellow of the Rhode Island Medical Society, Member of the American Medical Association, etc., etc., etc. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1862. 12mo. pp. xii. and 317.

It seldom happens that a medical book is to be commended as a specimen of typographical excellence; but this one is a luxury for overworked eyes, and we are glad that Dr. Williams has given so admirable an illustration of the connection existing between good printing and the preservation of good eyesight. The volume is printed in a manner which leaves nothing to be desired, and is creditable to every

one concerned in its preparation. Of the worth of the treatise thus presented to us we need say but little, since the position which Dr. Williams holds in the front rank of his profession is a sufficient guaranty of his right to speak with authority on every point involved in the proper discussion of his subject, and our own want of professional knowledge on the various topics discussed renders it impossible for us to form a trustworthy judgment as to the soundness of the "new and original views, which he deems highly important, upon certain of the subjects considered" by him. It is enough to say, that his treatise is admirably arranged, and is characterized throughout by clearness and directness of statement, and that on many points its suggestions will be found scarcely less important to the unlearned reader than to the professional student. To the class of persons for whom it is specially designed, the rich fruits of Dr. Williams's large experience, both at home and abroad, must be a welcome offering.

12.— *The Master.* By MRS. MARY A. DENISON. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1862. 12mo. pp. 270.

THE "Master" in Mrs. Denison's story is a music-master; and the story would pass as a musical story. Most of the characters are either musical in performance or very fond of the art. An "organ" here, as in the story of Miss Bremer, is the composing influence to silence passion and quell despair. We cannot, however, rank this volume, as a tale of music, with the Venetian novel of Paul Scudo, or with the powerful story of Charles Auchester. The music is only incidental, after all, and the reader does not care for it and is not moved by it. The characters are numerous, and their figures stand out quite clearly; but they are not all consistent, nor are any of them very interesting. Roget, the most remarkable, is introduced as a disagreeable and sinister person; yet he appears in the course of the narrative as kind, humane, and disinterested. Madeline, the chief heroine, is a paragon of virtue at the outset; yet she deserts her lover, hears of his death without remorse, and hastens to finish her affair with Roget, who has supplanted the first affection. Madam Porta's antipathies are as unaccountable as her sudden conversion. Lucille is wayward and petulant to a degree that spoils her pretended fascination. The Angora cat is very annoying, in spite of her soft, white fur. The most that we can say of "The Master" is, that it is spirited, fresh in tone, and correct in style, not tiresome, if not altogether satisfactory.

13. — SILVESTRE DE SACY. *Mélanges de Littérature Orientale. Précédés de l'Éloge de l'Auteur, par* M. LE DUC DE BROGLIE. Paris: E. Ducrocq. 8vo. pp. 395.

TWENTY-FOUR years have passed since France lost, in the death of Silvestre de Sacy, the founder of that remarkable school of Orientalists which has done so much to sustain the scientific fame of the land. The investigations of Sedillot, of Chésy, of Rémusat, of Champollion, of Saint Martin, of Renan, Adolph Franck, and Barthelemy St. Hilaire, are the best and most enduring monument of him whose precept and example aroused these scholars to their researches. In special branches, several of the pupils have surpassed their master; but there is no one who, in the face of such difficulties, has made such conquests, — no one who has wrought such results from such scanty material. To unfold the mysteries of that most secret of sects, the *Druses*, would seem to be work for a lifetime; but this, though the most difficult of De Sacy's labors, was only one of a multitude. He was the first to reveal to his countrymen the treasures of Persian literature, to interpet to them the dialects of the Egyptian tongue, and to give to the Arabic a grammatical and exact form. No language could baffle his scrutiny, and where he resolved to study, he was certain to succeed. That he did not become master of Sanscrit and Chinese, and the wilder jargon of Tartary, was owing to the preference which he gave to the Semitic tongues of Western Asia.

Nor was De Sacy merely a scholar. He was in every sense a man of his time, bearing an active part in the doings of the Academy, the state, and the Church. No professor could be more diligent in the discharge of the duties of his chair. His voice and his vote were ready in the legislative assemblies, and public affairs did not find him indifferent or disposed to shrink from responsibility. A firm royalist and a decided Romanist, he dared to defy the threats of the Revolution, and the insinuation that his favorite studies would land him in atheism. His opinions were never concealed, though he was by nature a man of peace, and not controversial in temper. Few men have lived eighty years, through so stormy a period, in such constant activity, and in so many changes, whose life has been so serene, so pure, so honored by the praise of the good, and so satisfactory in its results. The eulogy of the eloquent Duc de Broglie expresses the universal sentiment of the cultivated men of France, and merely interprets the teaching of that noble brow, those deep, full eyes, and those massive features, on every line of which sit genius, dignity, and power. Of all the peers created by the Citizen King, none was more worthy of the honor, and

none conferred more honor on the Chamber, than the scholar who had held so many public charges, and had fulfilled them all so well.

The volume which has just been prepared by Louis A. Sedillot, the son of De Sacy's former pupil and friend, and himself an Orientalist of the highest reputation, contains nine pieces of various length, which illustrate the characteristics of the author in the different departments of Oriental study. The first is the discriminating sketch of his life, character, and works, by the Duc de Broglie, to which we have already alluded. This is followed by De Sacy's Discourse on the *Translations* of Eastern works, in which the true principles of such translation are pointed out; — by some views on the Professorships of Sanscrit and Chinese established in the Collége de France; — by a report on the archives of Genoa, whither M. de Sacy was sent to inspect the manuscripts, and to ascertain if they contained anything bearing upon the history of art, commerce, or government in the Levant; — by a striking essay on "The Utility of the Study of Arab poetry," which M. de Sacy vindicates as more than a dry philological exercise; — by a very full and interesting account of Abdallotif and his History of Egypt, criticising the defective translations of Pococke and Wahl, and giving correct renderings of many important passages; — by an acute discussion of the origin of the word "Pyramid," in which the theories of its Grecian and its Syrian source are alike refuted, and it is shown to be a genuine Egyptian word, meaning a "place sacred," set apart to the Deity, thus proving that the structure was not a granary or a house of defence, but a religious monument; — by the learned and ingenious summary of Moslem sects and their opinions, taken from the Introduction to the History of the Druses; — and finally, by an account of the treaty between Philip the Bold and the King of Tunis, as it appears in an Arab manuscript which De Sacy has deciphered.

In all these pieces, the opinions of the author are given with a freedom which is at once modest and fearless. Numerous as are the criticisms of other writers, the mistakes exposed, and the false methods blamed, there is no word of acrimony, and the fullest justice is done to the intentions and the scholarship of the offending authors. The spirit of the discussions in this volume is gentle and amiable to a rare degree. Of the style, pure and dignified as it is in tone, we have to regret an unfortunate prolixity, which reduces the vigor of the thought. M. de Sacy is as fond of long sentences as Taylor or Milton; but he has not the art of working them up to a climax. They are level throughout. He seems to care little for style in itself, and never seeks to adorn his paragraphs by figurative language. Lacking this charm, the volume which we have noticed is, nevertheless, exceedingly attractive for the novelty of its details, and for the wisdom and originality of its views.

14. — *The Merchants' and Bankers' Almanac for* 1862. Published at the Office of "The Bankers' Magazine and Statistical Register." New York. 1862. 8vo. pp. 212.

This is the twelfth volume of this annual, which is devoted to commercial and financial details. The tabular statements of the Banks and Bankers of every State in the Union occupy a large portion of the work. To these are added a List of Private Bankers in Europe, South America, West Indies, and elsewhere; a List of the Banks in Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, their Cashiers, Managers, and Foreign Agents; Governor, Directors, and Officers of the Bank of England, 1861; List of Banks and Bankers in London, December, 1861; Lowest and Highest Quotations of Stocks at New York, each Month, 1861; History of the Mint of the United States, and Statistics of the Coinage; Quotations of Foreign Exchange at New York, each Month, 1861; The Usury Laws, and Laws of Damages on Bills, of each State in the United States; The Banks of New York, Names of President, Vice-President, Cashier, and Notary; Historical Sketch of Early Banking in the City of New York; The Cotton Crop of each Year, and Foreign Exports, 1858 – 1861; Railroads of each State, Length, Cost, &c., January, 1861; Table of the Values of all Foreign Gold and Silver Coins in the United States; Annual Report on Breadstuffs, Trade of the United States, Year 1861; The Census of the United States, 1860, and 1850; Commercial Events of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries; Annual Report on Sugar and Coffee Trade of the United States and Europe, 1858 – 1861; Historical Sketch of the Tariffs of the United States, 1800 – 1861; and Outlines of a Plan for a Bank of the United States.

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15. — 1. *Christian Worship; Services for the Church, with Order of Vespers and Hymns.* New York: James Miller. 1862. 12mo. pp. 260, 108.*

2. *Book of Vespers, an Order of Evening Service, with Psalms and Hymns.* New York: James Miller. 12mo. pp. 129, 120.

These works have been prepared by well-known clergymen of New York and Brooklyn, to meet a want of their churches, and to enrich public worship. The object, as declared in their Preface, is not to

* In our last number appeared a notice of this volume. On the appearance of the smaller compilation named below, we received the notice now printed, from a valued friend and contributor, and we very cheerfully solicit our readers by his aid to obey the always wholesome precept, "Audi alteram partem."

abridge, but to enlarge, the liberty of praying, and to supply new materials of devotional thought and inspiration. The hymns are gathered from widely various portions of the Christian field.

The fitness of the Hymns and Chants in the "Christian Worship" for free and varied musical effect should be rightly appreciated. The Hymns are in all metres, and give to the choir the full sweep of our richest modern melodies, while they reproduce many of the great lyrics of the ancient Church that have been strangers heretofore to the popular collections. Some of the ancient hymns are so florid, as to seem to partake somewhat of our modern sentimentalism. Such are the "Hic breve vivitur" of Bernard of Cluny, in the Vesper Service, and that hymn of the eighth century, "Urbs beata Jerusalem," and the old "Alleluia, dulce carmen," that are in the Morning Service, to be used at pleasure in the place of the Psalms. Copious use also is made of the New Testament for singing, and not only the well-known "Benedictus," "Magnificat," and "Nunc Dimittis," but the "Hosanna," "Alleluia," "Sanctus," "Venite ad me," and the "Beatitudes," are included. The great Church hymns that are so closely modelled upon New-Testament phraseology, the "Gloria in Excelsis," the "Te Deum," and the "Ter Sanctus," are also given, so that, on the whole, no books in the churches are so rich in musical adaptations as this volume.

The Psalms are selected with reference to the Christian consciousness. The prayers are the sacred classics from Christian antiquity and from modern books of devotion. The collects, with their adaptation to the Christian year, and the services for Baptism, Marriage, and Burial, are instructive, even if they should not be rigidly adopted.

The occasional introduction of quaint and ancient expressions may be offensive to some, but every science has its nomenclature, and religion derives its phraseology from the Bible too largely for its appropriate terms to be much affected by the ingenuities and novelties of modern thought. Many prayer and service books have been offered to the public attention within a few years, but none seems to us so complete and comprehensive as this, in the union of reverence for what is good in the past with the new wine of the present.

Especially for the vesper service these selections offer suggestive materials in chants, prayers, responsive readings, hymns, introductions, and doxologies. The use of some such helps, instead of confining the clergyman to a rigid and wearisome routine, may supply him with the means of escaping the monotone of his own utterances in the largeness and variety of the universal Christian thought and language.

These two works are admirably printed and arranged, and they form most attractive books for the hand and eye. We only regret that the

numbering of the pages had not been made uniform and continuous throughout.

Whether these volumes are the precise works which the times need, we cannot affirm, but can only declare our sense of the fidelity and felicity with which the compilers have made their selections and adaptations.

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16. — *Aids to Faith; a Series of Theological Essays.* By Several Writers. Being a Reply to "Essays and Reviews." Edited by William Thomson, D. D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1862. 12mo. pp. 538.

The Essays in this book are of various merit; but it is enough to commend the volume as a whole, to say that Mansel, McCaul, George Rawlinson, and Ellicott are among its writers. Mansel's paper on "Miracles as Evidences of Christianity," Rawlinson's on "The Genuineness and Authenticity of the Pentateuch," and Ellicott's on "Scripture and its Interpretation," seem to us to be marked by signal ability. Some of the others are hardly inferior to them; and the whole collection bears the imprint equally of a faith grounded on argument and a conviction derived from experience. We welcome this issue, not only or mainly for the fresh thought there is in it, but even more for the breadth of ground which it covers and defends, comprehending as it does all the points at which positive and historical Christianity was assailed by the "Essays and Reviews." A large part of the volume ought to have been, as it is, new only in form; for the sceptical arguments which it rebuts were most of them old, and had been met and answered by earlier writers, so that it was necessary simply to resort for defensive weapons to the armory in which the Church had kept them in store. The thesis defended throughout by the "Essays and Reviews" is, that man is competent to determine by *a priori* reasoning all that it was ever possible for the Almighty to do; while the present essayists maintain, and on strictly rational grounds, that God can be his own witness to man, and that the evidence of his communications by word and deed, in doctrine and in precept, is capable of as clear and valid authentication as is that of any other class of historical facts. What strikes us most painfully in the former publication is not its infidelity so much as its blank and cold materialism, — we would even say, with regard to Baden Powell's Essay, its virtual atheism. Not only is special revelation eliminated from the realm of possible events, but the crushing, paralyzing conception of self-energized, self-developed, and self-moving Nature is given us in lieu of the Divine pater-

nity, of the Providence without which the sparrow falls not to the ground. The reverent theism of the English infidels of the last century is refreshing and edifying by the side of this pseudo-Christianity. Conversely, we prize the volume now before us less for its able and unanswerable defence of positive Christianity, which we for ourselves did not need to have defended anew, than for the vivid views which it presents of the Divine personality and fatherhood, and of the "footsteps of God among men."

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17. — JOHN ALBERT BENGEL'S *Gnomon of the New Testament. Pointing out from the Natural Force of the Words, the Simplicity, Depth, Harmony, and Saving Power of its Divine Thoughts.* A New Translation, by CHARLTON T. LEWIS, M. A., and MARVIN R. VINCENT, M. A., Professors in Troy University. Philadelphia: Perkinpine and Higgins. 1862. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 925, 980.

BENGEL died more than a century ago, and it might seem a strange and ill-advised enterprise to revive and to bring into use again a critical work on the New Testament, which bears date in the very infancy of modern Biblical criticism, and before the recensions of the text on which that criticism is founded. Yet Bengel's Gnomon has been a repertory from which his successors have derived a large proportion of their best material. He had all the learning of his day, and a mind of wonderful keenness and penetration. At the same time he was a man of profound spiritual insight and experience, and while he never indulges in homiletic exposition, he frequently broadens, deepens, and enriches for religious use, yet without warping or perverting, the signification of a sentence or passage. The work in its present form is less a translation than a revision of the original, and represents in great part what Bengel would have written had he lived a century later. And here we must praise the editors for what they have not done, as well as for what they have done. They have not, under cover of a venerable name, foisted in their own notions or any of the controverted opinions of the present day; but they have brought the work into conformity with whatever of textual and philological knowledge, positive and beyond doubt, has been added to what was within the author's reach. The mass of these volumes comes fittingly into the estimate of their value; for there is no wasted room. No critic has been more concise; and the student may be assured that he comes here into possession of nearly two thousand octavo pages of closely condensed materials, the monuments of the author's faithful thought and research, and welcome aids in his own.

18. — *The Testimony of Christ to Christianity.* By PETER BAYNE, A. M., Author of "The Christian Life," "Essays in Biography and Criticism," etc. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1862. 16mo. pp. 200.

THIS essay is a defence of the miracles of Christ by his own testimony. It is assumed as not even needing proof that his words must have come to us substantially as they fell from his lips; for there was nothing in the age, character, or culture of the Evangelists to account for the conception of one who thus spake, unless he actually taught in Judæa. He professed to work miracles, not formally, but incidentally and by implication, referred to them as admitted facts, and connected with his references to them his most weighty teachings concerning God, duty, and immortality. He must have been either an impostor, a victim of baseless delusion, or a trustworthy witness as to his own deeds. Imposture has its inseparable moral characteristics, delusion its inseparable mental characteristics, all of which are wanting in his recorded words, in the traits and memorials of his life, and in his influence upon his disciples and upon the early Church. The only remaining hypothesis is that he was what he professed to be and what the Christian Church believes him to be. The argument is ably conducted, and the publication is timely as regards the naturalistic tendencies which are having so portentous a development under cover of the Christian name and the established Church of England.

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19. — *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels. With Historical and Explanatory Notes.* By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, M. A., Formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; Author of a "History of the New Testament Canon," etc. With an Introduction by HORATIO B. HACKETT, Professor in Newton Theological Institution; Author of "A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles," "Illustrations of Scripture," etc. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1862. 12mo. pp. 476.

WE wish that the term *rationalism* were not spoiled for respectable use by its application to a grovelling naturalism which is utterly irrational. Were it not for this established misnomer, we should like to call the work now in our hands a manual of Christian rationalism. It is equally loyal to reason and to Scripture. It admits the probability, that is, the *prove-ability*, of a theophany and a divine revelation, and shows that on no other ground can we account for the existence of our canonical Gospels. But it treats the phenomena presented by the Gospels as

amenable to the laws and modes of critical judgment which we apply in general to other ancient records. While the author not only earnestly maintains, but defends with great ability, the divine illumination, and therefore the perfect trustworthiness, of the biographers of Jesus, he accounts for the form in which their narratives respectively are embodied, by the oral Gospel which must, from their mutual intercourse between the Ascension and the Pentecost, have grown into being and shape as the joint work of the Apostles, by the purpose with which and the persons for whom each Gospel was written, and by the peculiar genius and culture of each writer. He handles all the open questions as to these writings at once with reverence and with frankness, never forgetting that, if a revelation be given to man, the human and the divine element must be blended in its methods and its memorials, and that the mutual interpenetration and coalescence of these elements are a token and a proof of the genuineness of sacred books. Accordingly, "the Gospels," as he says, "are most divine because they are most human." To characterize this book in brief, we would say that it is learned without pedantry, believing without superstition, liberal without looseness of thought or statement. The author evidently has some affinities with the Broad-Church divines; but he differs from them in standing upon a firm continent of faith, instead of the quaking bog in which they flounder, in having a clear conception of what he means to teach, and in prizing liberty, not as greater than truth, but as a means of reaching the truth.

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20. — *Discourses and Essays.* By WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1862. 12mo. pp. 324.

THIS volume consists of four addresses, and three essays reprinted from periodicals, all but the last essay having been collected in a previous volume. We have not space to analyze them separately, nor could such an analysis give any just idea of their merits. We prefer therefore to speak of them collectively. They are characterized by three elements, either of which might win for them a favored reception, and all of which united can hardly fail to gain for them currency with a very large, and we trust an increasing public, namely, profound thought, translucent style, and rare rhetorical beauty. Professor Shedd has succeeded, as few men can succeed, in making close and subtile metaphysical reasoning perfectly intelligible and singularly attractive. He indicates a combination of gifts which must render him an invaluable teacher and lecturer. Christian theology especially needs such expositors and defenders at a time when a shallow and supercilious scepticism rears itself in contempt of verities which have been hallowed to the faith and reverence of all the Christian centuries.

21. — *The Altar at Home. Second Series. Selections and Prayers for Domestic Worship.* Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1862. 16mo. pp. 336.

We cannot praise too highly this manual of domestic worship. The services for each day and each of the special services are preceded by well-chosen selections from sacred poetry, from Holy Scripture, and from strictly devotional writings. The forms of prayer, furnished by a large number of contributors, and of course in a wide diversity of style, are all prayers, and not, as such compositions are prone to be, pieces of sacred rhetoric. They are remarkable for their simplicity, their evangelical spirit, and their adaptation to social worship. The book has one peculiar feature. The morning and evening services for each day, with the accompanying selections, are prepared with the view of making some one religious truth, idea, or sentiment the pervading thought, yet without excluding those general topics of praise and supplication which belong to all times; and thus the volume as a whole embraces the full and prolonged recognition of a large and edifying range of devotional subjects. We would warmly recommend it, as second to no other among the excellent aids to family devotion, which are now so many and so various as to leave none who have the will, yet not the ready words for the service, destitute of congenial offerings for "the altar" which ought to be reared in every Christian "home."

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22. — 1. *Vermont Quarterly Gazetteer. A Historical Magazine, embracing a Digest of the History of each Town, Civil, Educational, Religious, Geological, and Literary.* Edited by Abby Maria Hemenway, Compiler of "The Poets and Poetry of Vermont." No. III. Ludlow: A. M. Hemenway. April, 1862. 8vo. pp. 241–340.

2. *The History of Cape Cod: The Annals of the Thirteen Towns of Barnstable County.* By Frederick Freeman. Volume II. No. 1. pp. 176. Boston. 1862.

This new number of the Vermont Gazetteer embraces the sequel of Bennington County, and sketches of the history of Caledonia County and its several towns. It pursues successfully the thorough, exhaustive method of which we spoke with commendation in our notice of the former numbers. We are struck with the richly interesting biographical materials furnished by towns whose names till now we had scarcely known. The Vermont pioneers were a hardy race; the exigencies of their new settlements developed strong and sturdy characters, and gave full scope for those individualities which make history piquant; and the

prosperity of their descendants has been won, and is maintained, by no natural advantages, but only through the heritage of strong bodies, vigorous minds, and brave hearts; while the influences that are fast assimilating the inhabitants of other States came later into operation, and are working more slowly there than elsewhere.

Mr. Freeman, we are glad to find, is commencing the publication of his second volume. The first number is occupied chiefly by the annals of Sandwich. It indicates as thorough a research as can ever have been devoted to a town history, and the materials, especially for the first hundred years, are rich and racy, illustrating an autonomy somewhat self-willed and obstinate, which made the people of the Cape often unwilling and recalcitrant subjects even of their own chosen rulers in church and state, and prepared them for the ready and bold part they sustained in the struggle for political emancipation. We cannot omit emphatic mention of the typographical accuracy and beauty of the work, which do great credit to the author's taste, and will, we trust, be suitably recognized by the many who ought as purchasers to relieve him of his generous outlay.

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23. — *The C. S. A. and the Battle of Bull Run.* (*A Letter to an English Friend.*) By J. G. BARNARD, Major of Engineers, U. S. A., Brigadier-General and Chief Engineer Army of the Potomac. With Five Maps. New York: D. Van Nostrand. 1862. 8vo. pp. 136.

THIS is on several grounds a publication of great importance and value. General Barnard was on duty, as senior engineer of General McDowell's staff, in the battle of Bull Run, and we have here his own narrative combined with the official report of the commanding officer and the detailed reports of several who held commands under him. These, with maps drawn on a large scale, and filled in so as to designate every locality connected with the battle, enable the reader to obtain a much clearer apprehension of the movements and events of the day than could have existed in any mind till time had elapsed for the collation of different accounts and the construction of the shifting geography of the battle-ground. General Barnard's object in preparing this volume was, first, to relieve the affair of Bull Run from the obloquy which had been cast upon it, and to place it "in the category of well-planned and well-fought battles"; and, secondly, to make such representations of the national cause and of the motives and course of the rebellion as might aid in averting British interference in behalf of the Confederate States. There is an interesting appendix on "Routs

and Panics," in which it is shown that, as in this, so in several well-known historical instances, a groundless and seemingly fortuitous panic has turned the fortune of a battle almost won, and has changed a victory just within grasp into a disastrous rout. General Barnard merits hearty gratitude for the patriotic aim with which his book has been prepared, while its execution does ample justice to his reputation as a scientific officer and his ability as a writer.

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24. — 1. *Prison-Life in the Tobacco Warehouse at Richmond.* By a Ball's Bluff Prisoner, Lieut. Wm. C. Harris, of Col. Baker's California Regiment. Philadelphia: George W. Childs. 1862. 16mo. pp. 175.

2. *Journal of* Alfred Ely, *a Prisoner of War in Richmond.* Edited by Charles Lanman. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1862. 12mo. pp. 359.

These books, published independently and without the possibility of concert or collusion, bear a great deal of testimony which, for the honor of those whom we still claim as our countrymen, we would gladly disbelieve. Such barbarity in the treatment of prisoners of war could find place in no civilized nation, unless through the brutalizing influence of slavery. We recognize, and the people of the North have been only too ready to recognize, the reverse side of the picture. We know that the habit of command gives grace and ease to manners among equals, and that hospitality is relieved of the difficulties and burdens which often cramp and scant it, by the ownership of cooks, chambermaids, and waiters, a description of property so sadly mutable and fugacious in our households; but it is equally certain, that few characters have strength and sweetness enough not to be made arbitrary and cruel by the possession of unrestricted power over others, and the same measure which is meted to slaves by their masters can hardly fail to be dealt out by those same masters to all such persons as pass under their control. These books will render the sad but needed service of illustrating Southern institutions. It would be out of place to criticise their literary merits. Lieutenant Harris wins our respect and sympathy by his simple, direct, frank, and modest narrative. Mr. Ely must, we think, be in a minority of one as to the importance which he attaches to his own person; and though we can hardly say why, we closed the book with less regard for him than we had when we began to read it. Indeed, the farcical presentation of a wooden sword to the captive Congressman by his fellow-prisoners, which, as described by Lieutenant Harris, seemed to us an atrocious indecency, no longer surprised us when we came to it in Mr. Ely's own book.

25.—1. *Cadet-Life at West Point.* By an Officer of the United States Army. *With a Descriptive Sketch of West Point.* By BENSON J. LOSSING. Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham. 1862. 12mo. pp. 367.

2. *History of the United States Naval Academy, with Biographical Sketches, and the Names of all the Superintendents, Professors, and Graduates; to which is added a Record of some of the earliest Votes by Congress, of Thanks, Medals, and Swords to Naval Officers.* By EDWARD CHAUNCEY MARSHALL, A. M., formerly Instructor in Captain Kinsley's Military School, at West Point, Assistant Professor in the N. Y. University, etc. New York: D. Van Nostrand. 1862. 12mo. pp. 156.

THESE books are as unlike as they can be; yet they effect their purpose equally well. The first is in the form of an autobiography,—fact, we suppose, relieved of its dulness by the creations of a mirthful fancy; and, with no great literary merit, and a style evidently imitative of somebody, we cannot say of whom, it is an exceedingly attractive and interesting story. The writer takes us with him through all the phases of West Point life, and makes us minutely acquainted with the details of the class-room, the parade-ground, the encampment, manners, morals, and discipline. Mr. Marshall's book, on the other hand, is a plain narrative and description, clear, full, bearing all the marks of faithful preparation, and indicating on the author's part a profound and intelligent interest in the naval service and in the training appropriate for its officers.

26.— *The Koran; commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed. Translated into English immediately from the Original Arabic.* By GEORGE SALE, Gent. *To which is prefixed the Life of Mohammed: or the History of that Doctrine which was begun, carried on, and finally established by him in Arabia, and which has subjugated a larger Portion of the Globe than the Religion of Jesus has set at Liberty.* Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham. 1862. 16mo. pp. 472.

OF course we have nothing, in a short book-notice, to say about the Koran, and we hardly need to say that it has peculiar claims on the interest of the present generation, now that its believers are brought into closer connection than ever before with the Western world, while the governments founded upon it seem on the verge of disintegration. Sale's translation, first published in 1734, still keeps its place as superior to any other English version. We are glad of Mr. Burnham's reprint, which, while well executed, is a book of such moderate size and

cost as to promise for it an extensive circulation. Apart from its value as the key of large departments of Eastern history, the Koran bears certain important relations to the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, which demand and reward the careful study of the theologian and the Biblical scholar.

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27. — *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving.* By his Nephew, PIERRE M. IRVING. Volume I. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1862. 16mo. pp. 463.

WE have read this volume with profound interest, but we are sorry that it has appeared. We cannot admit the propriety of giving to the public so many of the letters and personal memoranda which the writer could never have designed for the press. To be sure, Mr. Irving committed these papers to his nephew, as the nephew writes, "with the understanding that I was to construct a biography from them, should it be my fate to survive him." But instead of the "construction," we have what we certainly have read with much greater avidity, a very considerable proportion of the materials themselves. We doubt whether the publication does justice to Irving's early character. There must have been in one whose old age had so much of majesty and beauty a higher style and stronger staple of manhood than this volume attributes to the first half of his life. This may have been, and yet the serious and earnest portion of his being may have left no record, while the more festive aspects of his life and character were precisely those that would be preserved in his correspondence and in that of his friends. We forbear further comment till the completion of the work.

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28. — *A Book about Doctors.* By J. CORDY JEAFFRESON, Author of "Novels and Novelists," "Crewe Rise," etc., etc. Reprinted from the English Edition. New York: Rudd and Carlton. 1861. 12mo. pp. 490.

THIS is a collection of anecdotes about doctors, arranged with little method, many of them amusing, some of them possessed of biographical and historical interest. It is written with considerable skill and with a high relish, and is on the whole one of the most pleasant books that have fallen into our hands since the coming on of the weary and anxious days that have restricted the issues of the press in the same proportion in which they have disturbed the ordinary course of commerce and industry.

29. — *Last Poems of* ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING. With a Memorial, by THEODORE TILTON. New York: James Miller. 1862. 16mo. pp. 242.

MOST of these poems were left in manuscript by the author. Some of them are among the best of her minor poems. Several have that union of masculine vigor with the profoundest womanly tenderness, which we could trace more and more in the last years of her life, and which marked the culmination of her powers. We have so recently discoursed at length on the peculiar traits of her genius, that little now remains which we should wish to add. Mr. Tilton's "Memorial" is a warmly appreciative and at the same time a discriminating essay on her character and poems, and especially on her character as illustrated by her poems.

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30. — *A Dictionary of English Etymology.* By HENSLEIGH WEDGWOOD, M. A., Late Fellow of Christ College, Cambridge. Volume I. (A–D.) With Notes and Additions, by GEORGE P. MARSH. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1862. 8vo. pp. 247.

THIS is a dictionary, not to be consulted, but to be read through both for delight and for instruction. It is one of the most fascinating books of the time. We can best define it by terming it a biographical dictionary of words. *Biographical* we say; for words have life, and sometimes they die before the language to which they belong; and while they live, they move, they drop and take on significations, they are called to new services with the growth or modification of science, art, and social refinement. Conversely, the biography of words embodies large and momentous sections of human history. How much, for instance, is told by the contrast between the Latin *privilegium* and the English *privilege*, the former capable of a bad sense [a *priva lex* against an individual], as when Cicero complains of the demolition of his house as a *privilegium*, — the latter indicating that Christian civilization, whatever it may *do*, will *recognize* exceptions only in favor of individuals! How much of spiritual history is comprehended in the fact that Tertullian, the Christian, was the first writer known to have used *tribulatio* to denote affliction, thus marking the advent into Christian consciousness of the *threshing* ministry for God's wheat of what were previously regarded only as burdens and sorrows! Of such items of history the volume now before us is full. The English author must have made these inquiries the study of a lifetime, and the additions by our learned countryman are such as we should have anticipated from his previous labors in this department. Were

the reconstruction of our orthography on phonographic principles possible, which it is not, and were it on other grounds expedient, a sufficient and conclusive objection would be found in the bearing which it would have on the history of thought. It is our silent letters and our anomalous combinations of letters that connect our words with their origin, and make them waymarks of the progress of our race.

We notice very few of the words in this volume, to whose treatment we could take exception; but there are one or two with regard to which we are inclined, not without diffidence, to dissent from the author. One of these is the word *assess*, of which he writes: —

"To Assess. The Lat. *assidere*, *assessum*, to sit down, was used in Middle Lat. in an active sense for to set, to impose a tax; *assidere talliam; in Fr.* [French] *asseoir la taille*, to fix a certain amount upon each individual."

We are inclined to derive our sense of *assess* from one of the senses of *assidere*, to sit by. In a tribunal, while the principal judge was occupied wholly in his judicial functions, it fell to the lot of his *by-sitters*, or side-judges, to manage the financial concerns of the court, to determine costs, fines, and damages, and to apportion the rates to be paid for the public service. From the position of these men as *assessors*, their distinguishing office came to be designated by the corresponding verb *assess*.

Of *calamity* our author says: —

"Calamity. Lat. *calamitas*, loss, misfortune. Perhaps from W. [Welsh] *col*, loss, whence Lat. *incolumis*, without loss, safe."

Is not this word more probably derived from *calamus*, a reed, and is there not reference to the reed broken by the wind? Bacon derives it from *calamus*, a stalk, and says that it denotes the blighted condition in which the corn cannot "get out of the stalk," so that the unhappy cultivator has only the stalk for his harvest, — a *calamity* indeed.

We doubt whether the whole story is told in the following: —

"Dint. — Dent. — Dunt. All imitative of the sound of a blow. To *dunt*, to strike so as to make a hollow sound, to beat, to palpitate. — Jam. Icel. [Icelandic] *dyntr*, *dynt*, shaking up and down; *dynkr*, a hollow sound, as when a stone is thrown into the water; Sw. [Swedish] *dunka*, to beat heavily. Sc. [Scotch] to *dump*, to beat or strike with the feet. Sw. *dimpa*, to fall."

We cannot but think that *dint*, *dent*, and *dunt* are connected in their origin with *dens*, *dentis*, and denote, primarily, a *tooth-mark*.

These doubts, to which we might add a few others, we propose, not by way of fault-finding, but barely as specimens of the fruitful questionings which it is one of the offices of such a book to raise.

NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Two Dedication Sermons, delivered in Wilton, N. H., before the First Congregational Church and Society in that Town; by Rev. Jonathan Livermore, Pastor, January 5, 1775; and by Rev. Abiel Abbot Livermore, Pastor of the First Congregational Unitarian Church in Yonkers, N. Y., January 10, 1861. New York. 1861.

Christ stilling the Waves. A Sermon preached in King's Chapel, Boston, February 2, 1862, the Sunday after the Funeral of the Hon. Samuel A. Eliot. By Rev. Henry W. Foote. Cambridge. 1862.

A Sermon for the Hour. Preached on Sunday, February 23, 1862, in the First Unitarian Church of Chicago, by Rev. Charles B. Thomas. Chicago. 1862.

Addresses at the Inauguration of the Professors in the Theological Department of Yale College, September 15, 1861. New Haven. 1861.

The Good Samaritan in Boston: a Tribute to Moses Grant. From a Discourse by Rev. William R. Alger, delivered January 26, 1862. Boston. 1862.

The Pulpit and Rostrum. Sermons, Orations, Popular Lectures, &c. Andrew J. Graham and Charles B. Collar, Reporters. — No. 29. Oration by George Bancroft, on the Twenty-second of February, 1862. To which is added Washington's Farewell Address. — No. 30. The Sabbath and its Relations to the State, by the Rev. Alexander H. Vinton, D. D. The Concluding Discourse of the "Sabbath Series," delivered in St. George's Church, New York, March 9, 1862. New York: E. D. Baker. April, May, 1862.

Man's Twofold Life included in the Promise of Godliness. A Discourse preached at the Installation of Rev. William Irvin, as Pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Rondout. By John Proudfit, D. D. New York. 1862.

Life of Captain Nathan Hale, the Martyr-Spy of the Revolution. Boston: American Tract Society. 1862.

Words of Healing for the Sick Soldier. By Mrs. H. E. Brown. Boston: American Tract Society. 1862.

How to come to Christ. By Rev. J. S. Sewall. Boston: American Tract Society. 1862.

How to become a Christian. By Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. Revised by the Author. Boston: American Tract Society. 1862.

Hallelujah: the Voice of Thanksgiving for the Army and Navy of the Republic. Boston: American Tract Society. 1862.

[Supplement to the Friend.] Morning-Star Papers. By Rev. Samuel C. Damon. Honolulu. 1861.

Letter to the Editor of the Atlantic Monthly. By Charles Beck. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1862.

Emancipation in the West Indies. By F. B. Sanborn. Concord. 1862.

Remarks of the Hon. B. F. Thomas, of Massachusetts, on the Relation of the "Seceded States" (so called) to the Union, and the Confiscation of Property and Emancipation of Slaves in such States, in the House of Representatives, April 10, 1862. Boston. 1862.

Southern Slavery and its Relations to Northern Industry: a Lecture delivered at the Catholic Institute, in Cincinnati, January 24, 1862. By Henry Reed. Cincinnati. 1862.

Philosophia Ultima. Charles Woodruff Shields. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1861.

The "Cattle-Disease" Panic: Pleuro-Pneumonia, Tight Barns, etc. From the "Massachusetts Ploughman." Boston. 1862.

The London American — Extra. George Train and a British Jury. London. April 9, 1862.

The Parish Will Case. Argument of John K. Porter, in Behalf of the Respondents, in the Court of Appeals of the State of New York, January 10, 1862. Albany: J. Munsell. 1862.

Argument of Hon. Henry F. French, of Boston, March 12, 1862, before the Joint Committee of the Legislature of Mass., on the Petition for the Repeal of "An Act in Relation to the Flowage of the Meadows on Concord and Sudbury Rivers." Boston. 1862.

The Hoosac Tunnel and Troy and Greenfield Railroad. Boston. 1862.

The Road to Ruin: or, The Decline and Fall of the Hoosac Tunnel. By F. W. Bird. Boston. 1862.

Memorial of the Union Railway Company to the City Council of the City of Cambridge. Cambridge. 1862.

Argument of Henry W. Paine, Esq. upon the Petition of Thomas Stearns and others, for an Act of Incorporation for the Broadway Railroad Company, before the Committee on Railways and Canals, Tuesday, February 24, 1862. Phonographic Report by W. Bacheler. Cambridge. 1862.

Debate in the Massachusetts Senate, upon an Act to incorporate the Cambridge Broadway Railroad Company, Friday, April 25, 1862. Phonographic Report by W. Bacheler. Cambridge. 1862.

Address of Charles D. Drake, on the Birthday of Washington. Delivered at the Union Commemoration, in St. Louis, February 22, 1862. St. Louis. 1862.

The Present Attempt to dissolve the American Union a British Aristocratic Plot. By B. New York. 1862.

Second Part. The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus under the Constitution. Philadelphia. 1862.

Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, of the Eleventh Annual Session, for the Years 1861 – 62. Great Salt Lake City. 1862. pp. 152.

Our Flag. A Poem in Four Cantos. By T. H. Underwood. New York: Carleton. 1862.

Library of Select Novels. No. 220. The Struggles of Brown, Jones, and

Robinson. By One of the Firm. By Anthony Trollope, Author of "Orley Farm," "Framley Parsonage," "Castle Richmond," "The Three Clerks," "Doctor Thorne," "The Bertrams," &c., &c. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1862. pp. 136.

Can Wrong be Right? By Mrs. S. C. Hall. Complete. Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham. 1862. pp. 143.

The Old Lieutenant and his Son. By Norman Macleod. Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham. 1862. pp. 130.

The Monitor. Vol. I. Nos. 1 – 6. Concord: Albert Stacy. 4to. pp. 1 – 48.

Chambers's Encyclopædia. A Dictionary of Useful Knowledge for the People. On the Basis of the latest Edition of the German Conversations Lexicon. Illustrated by Wood Engravings and Maps. Parts 44 – 48. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. pp. 129 – 448.

The Book of Days: a Miscellany of Popular Antiquities, in Connection with the Calendar; including Anecdote, Biography and History, Curiosities of Literature, and Oddities of Human Life and Character. Parts I. and II. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. pp. 1 – 128.

Index to the New-Englander, Volumes I. to XIX. (1843 to 1861), containing an Index of Authors, a Topical Index, an Index of Books noticed and reviewed, and a List of Engravings. New Haven: William L. Kingsley. 1862. pp. 152.

Catalogue of the Officers and Students in Yale College, with a Statement of the Course of Instruction in the various Departments. 1861 – 62. New Haven. 1861.

Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale College deceased during the Academical Year ending in July, 1861, including the Record of Ten who died the Year previous, hitherto unreported. Presented at the Meeting of the Alumni, July 24, 1861. New Haven. 1861.

Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the College of New Jersey for the Academical Year 1861 – 62. Princeton. 1862.

University of Michigan. Catalogue of the Officers and Students for 1862. Ann Arbor. 1862.

Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. 1861 – 62. Chambersburg. 1862.

Report of the Committee of the Overseers of Harvard College appointed to visit the Library for the Year 1861; together with the Accompanying Documents. Submitted January 30, 1862. Boston. 1862.

Report of the Committee of the Overseers of Harvard College appointed to visit the Observatory in the Year 1861; together with the Report of the Director. Submitted February 20, 1862. Boston. 1862.

Annual Report of the Trustees of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, together with the Report of the Director, 1862. Boston. 1862.

Rules and By-laws of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College: to which is appended the College Charter, with sundry Acts and Instruments relating to the Powers and Duties of the Overseers. Boston. 1862.

Fourteenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Massachusetts School for Idiots and Feeble-Minded Youth. October, 1861. Boston. 1861.

The Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, for 1861. Philadelphia. 1862.

Sanitary Commission, No. 40. A Report to the Secretary of War of the Operations of the Sanitary Commission, and upon the Sanitary Condition of the Volunteer Army, its Medical Staff, Hospitals, and Hospital Supplies. December, 1861. Washington. 1861. pp. 107.

The Thirty-Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the House of Refuge, with the Annual Statement of the Treasurer, Report of the Ladies' Committee, and of the Superintendents, &c. Philadelphia. 1862.

On the Companion of Sirius, by Prof. G. P. Bond, Director of the Observatory of Harvard College. From the American Journal of Science and Arts, Vol. XXXIII., March, 1862. New Haven. 1862.

Constitution and By-Laws of the American Statistical Association, with a List of Officers, Fellows, and Members. January, 1862. Boston. 1862.

Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches. Presented March 2, 1862. Boston. 1862.

Annual Reports of the several Superintending School Committees of the City of Portsmouth, for the Year ending March 31, 1862. Portsmouth. 1862.

Report of the Board of Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital, presented to the Corporation at their Annual Meeting, February 5, 1862. Boston. 1862.

Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Mercantile Library Company of Philadelphia, with the Charter, By-Laws, Library Rules, and List of Stockholders and Subscribers. January, 1862. Philadelphia. 1862.

Eighth Annual Report of William J. Mullen, Prison Agent, to the Philadelphia Society for alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons, instituted 1787. Philadelphia. 1862.

Investigations into the Laws of English Orthography and Pronunciation. By Prof. R. L. Tasel, A. M., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. Vol. I. No. 1. New York: B. Westerman & Co. 1862. pp. 92.

The Mother and her Work. Boston: American Tract Society. 1862. 16mo. pp. 137.

Little Patie, the Child who loved her Saviour. By M. A. L. C. Boston: American Tract Society. 1862. 16mo. pp. 87.

The Winter School: or, The Boys' Campaign against one of their worst Enemies. By Mrs. H. E. Brown. Boston: American Tract Society. 1862. 16mo. pp. 294.

The Pathway of Promise: or, Words of Comfort to the Christian Pilgrim. Boston: American Tract Society. 1862. 24mo. pp. 196.

Helps over Hard Places. Stories for Boys. Boston: American Tract Society. 1862. 16mo. pp. 224.

Helps over Hard Places. Stories for Girls. Boston: American Tract Society. 1862. 16mo. pp. 224.

The Christian Minister's Affectionate Advice to a Married Couple. By Rev. James Bean, A. M. Including a Letter from the Rev. Henry Venn, A. M., with Select Poems. Boston: American Tract Society. 1862. 16mo. pp. 128.

Faith: treated in a Series of Discourses. James W. Alexander, D. D. New York: Charles Scribner. 1862. 12mo. pp. 444.

The Church in the Army; or, The Four Centurions. By Rev. Wm. A. Scott, D. D. New York: Carleton. 1862. 12mo. pp. 443.

Sermons by Jabez Bunting, D. D. Vol. I. New York: Carlton and Porter. 1862. 8vo. pp. 472.

The New American Cyclopædia: a Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge. Edited by George Ripley and Charles A. Dana. Vol. XIV. Reed—Spire. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1862. 8vo. pp. 850.

Annual of Scientific Discovery: or, Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art for 1862. Exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Zoölogy, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc. Together with Notes on the Progress of Science during the Year 1861; a List of recent Scientific Publications, Obituaries of eminent Scientific Men, etc. Edited by David A. Wells, A. M., Author of Principles of Natural Philosophy, Principles of Chemistry, Science of Common Things, etc. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1862. 12mo. pp. 415.

Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, showing the Progress of the Survey during the Year 1860. Washington. 1861. 4to. pp. 409. Maps, Charts, and Sketches, 40.

Instruction for Naval Light Artillery, Afloat and Ashore. Prepared and arranged for the U. S. Naval Academy, by William H. Parker, Lieut. U. S. N. Second Edition, revised by Lieut. S. B. Luce, U. S. N., Assistant Instructor of Gunnery and Tactics at the United States Naval Academy. New York: D. Van Nostrand. 1862. 12mo. pp. 120.

A Course of Instruction in Ordnance and Gunnery; compiled for the Use of the Cadets of the United States Military Academy. By Capt. J. G. Benton, Ord. Dept., late Instructor of Ordnance and Science of Gunnery, Military Academy, West Point, Prin. Asst. to the Chief of Ordnance, U. S. A. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. New York: D. Van Nostrand. 1862. 8vo. pp. 550.

Jefferson at Monticello. The Private Life of Thomas Jefferson. From entirely New Materials. With numerous Fac-similes. By Rev. Hamilton W. Pierson, D. D., President of Cumberland College, Ky. New York: Charles Scribner. 1862. 8vo. pp. 138.

A Discourse on the Life, Character, and Policy of Count Cavour, delivered in the Hall of the New York Historical Society, February 20, 1862. By Vincenzo Botta, Ph. D., Professor of Italian Literature in the New York University, late Member of the Parliament, and Professor of Philosophy in the Colleges of Sardinia. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1862. 8vo. pp. 108.

A Popular Treatise on Deafness: its Causes and Prevention. By Drs. Lighthill. Edited by E. Bunford Lighthill, M. D. With Illustrations. New York: Carleton. 1862. 12mo. pp. 133.

The Children's Picture-Book of the Sagacity of Animals. Illustrated with Sixty Engravings, by Harrison Weir. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1862. 16mo. pp. 276.

Lyrics for Freedom; and other Poems. Under the Auspices of the Continental Club. New York: Carleton. 1862. 12mo. pp. 243.

Beauties, selected from the Writings of Thomas De Quincey, Author of "Confessions of an English Opium-Eater," etc. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1862. 12mo. pp. 432.

Les Miserables. Fantine. A Novel. By Victor Hugo. Translated from the Original French, by Chas. E. Wilbour. New York: Carleton. 1862. 8vo. pp. 171.

The Last of the Mortimers. A Story in Two Voices. By the Author of "Margaret Maitland," "The House on the Moor," "The Days of my Life," "The Laird of Norlaw," &c., &c., &c. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1862. 12mo. pp. 373.

The Bay-Path; a Tale of New England Colonial Life. By J. G. Holland, Author of "Letters to the Young," "Lessons in Life," etc. New York: Charles Scribner. 1862. 12mo. pp. 418.

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, at the Hall of the American Academy, in Boston, April 30, 1862. Boston. 1862.

Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education, together with the Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board. Boston. 1862. 8vo. pp. 128, 233, xciii.

First Lessons in Mechanics; with Practical Applications designed for the Use of Schools. By W. E. Worthen. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1862. 12mo. pp. 192.

Replies to "Essays and Reviews." By the,—I. Rev. E. M. Goulburn, D. D. II. Rev. H. J. Rose, B. D. III. Rev. C. A. Heurtley, D. D. IV. Rev. W. J. Irons, D. D. V. Rev. G. Rorison, M. A. VI. Rev. A. W. Haddan, D. D. VII. Rev. Chr. Wordsworth, D. D. With a Preface by the Lord Bishop of Oxford; and Letters from the Radcliffe Observer and the Reader in Geology in the University of Oxford. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1862. 12mo. pp. 438.

The City of the Saints, and Across the Rocky Mountains to California. By Richard F. Burton, Author of "The Lake Regions of Central Africa," etc. With Illustrations. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1862. 8vo. pp. 574.

Ballads of the War. By Augustine J. H. Duganne, splendidly and profusely illustrated from Original Drawings by the best Artists. No. I. March to the Capitol. New York: John Robins. 1862.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CXCVII.

OCTOBER, 1862.

ART. I. — 1. *The Life of Edward Irving, Minister of the National Scotch Church, London. Illustrated by his Journals and Correspondence.* By MRS. OLIPHANT. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1862. 2 vols. 8vo.

2. *The Same.* New York: Harper and Brothers. 1862. 8vo.

"EDWARD IRVING'S warfare has closed, if not in victory, yet in invincibility and faithful endurance to the end..... His was the freest, brotherliest, bravest human soul mine ever came in contact with. I call him, on the whole, the best man I have ever (after hard trial enough) found in this world, or now hope to find."

Thus wrote Thomas Carlyle nearly thirty years ago. The history of a man who while living filled so large a place in men's minds, and who when dead could call forth such a eulogy, deserves to be written; all the more that in outward results his life was the saddest failure. The heroes of lost battles deserve a record. We have only commendation to give to the manner in which Mrs. Oliphant has performed her task. The theological warfare in which Irving's later years were passed has now grown of little consequence; but the character of the man himself, which she so lovingly portrays, can never lose its interest.

Edward Irving was born in August, 1792, at the quiet little Scotch seaport of Annan. His father was Gavin Irving, a tanner of good repute and condition. His mother, Mary

Lowther, was the tall, handsome, high-spirited daughter of a neighboring farmer. From her the children of Gavin Irving inherited the stately presence and dark, solemn beauty for which they all were noted. This in Edward was rendered peculiar, though hardly marred, by a marked obliquity of vision. The young Irvings grew up tall and stout, Edward being famous for his feats of running and leaping, and of swimming and rowing in the swift-flowing Solway.

Edward was destined for the ministry. The Scottish Church demands a long course of study, — four years in the Humanities, and as many more in Theology, before ordination. The candidates for the ministry, therefore, must enter college at an early age. At thirteen Edward was sent to the University of Edinburgh, in company with his brother, two years older. The Scottish *Alma Mater* provides only class-rooms and instruction, and takes no personal charge of even her youngest children. A room far up in one of the lofty Edinburgh houses was procured for the two lads. Here, to use our American college phrase, they "boarded themselves," at small cost in money, receiving their supplies of oatmeal, cheese, and other necessaries, from home. They pursued their studies as best they might, going to the class-rooms at the hours for recitation, in their country caps and jackets; for a distinct academical costume is unknown in Edinburgh. The session lasts only from May to November, leaving the whole summer free. At its close the lads sent their boxes home by the carrier, and set out themselves on foot, walking "straight as the crow flies," Edward making it a point to leap every fence in the way.

The four years passed. Irving returned to his native Annan "with college prizes, high character, and promise. Nothing but joy, health, hopefulness, looked out from the blooming young man." Soon afterward he was appointed teacher of a school just established in the little village of Haddington, where he remained two years, pursuing his theological studies by himself, only resorting to the Divinity School at Edinburgh to undergo the necessary examinations. Here we get our first purely personal glimpse of the man. He was employed as private tutor to a little girl of five or six years.

The lessons were to be given from six to eight in the morning, and in the evening. When he came in in the dark winter mornings, and found her peeping, hardly half-dressed, from her room, he would take her up in his strong arms, and, carrying her to the door, point out the constellations shining in the frosty dawn, or, setting her on the table, would teach her the mysteries of scholastic logic, with which the little philosopher puzzled the astonished household. The tutor was required to leave a written report of his pupil's conduct; and when this report was *pessima*,—"Very bad indeed,"—she was to be punished. One day this was the only true report that could be rendered. Irving paused long, pen in hand, before writing the word. "Jane," he said at length, pitifully, "my heart is broken, but I *must* tell the truth." Half a century has passed; but that pupil still remembers the sad face of her tutor as he wrote the word which doomed her to chastisement. Love for children and the consequent faculty of winning their love were characteristics of Irving's great nature. In after years, he could hardly pass a child without laying his hand in benediction upon its head. In the height of his London renown he might be seen walking the street with his own infant in his arms, while the nurse followed behind; or stretched at full length upon the grass in the public square, with a bevy of the neighboring children tumbling over him. Toward the close of his troubled career he was once preaching in the street, when a cry went up that a child had been separated from its parents in the crowd. He had it brought to him; taking it in his arms, he hushed its cries, and held it lovingly nestling against his broad shoulder during the whole of his long discourse, then gave it back to its parents, who had been waiting for it in the throng.

After two years at Haddington, Irving was appointed to the mastership of the academy in the "lang toun of Kirkaldy." He was now past twenty, and had attained his full height of six feet and some two, three, or four inches, with a corresponding development of breadth. Like all strong, healthy men, he gloried in his physical might and activity. He taught the academy at Kirkaldy for seven years. In school he was an absolute ruler, being nowise sparing of the rod. Out of

school he was the companion and playmate of his pupils, with whom he was always a favorite. Looking back upon his career, we cannot help thinking that his proper vocation was that of a teacher, and that, if Scotland had offered any fitting sphere for him, like that of the great English schools, Irving might have anticipated the noble career of Arnold of Rugby. Three years after coming to Kirkaldy he completed his divinity course, and after going through the "trials" before the Presbytery he was duly licensed to preach the Gospel among the churches; for the Scottish Church "ordains no pastor until he has been provided with a flock."

He met with little acceptance anywhere. Good Dr. Martin, of Kirkaldy, whose daughter he was to marry, sometimes suffered Irving to occupy his pulpit, to the manifest disfavor of the people. Beveridge the baker would irreverently kick open his pew door, and bounce out of kirk whenever a certain lofty head was seen in the pulpit; and it was notable that the congregation was visibly diminished whenever it was known that the "schoolmaster" was to preach. He had "ower muckle gran'ner," was the criticism of the good folks of Kirkaldy; very likely not altogether an unjust one, for Irving's style, always ornate and sounding, was doubtless at first overstrained and bombastic. At all events, he found no honor at home. So for three years more he taught his school, and sat on Sundays silent in church, listening to sermons which fell coldly upon his ear, or framing imaginary discourses which should move men's hearts.

He was now twenty-seven years old; and if, as he believed, his work in life was to be that of a preacher, he must not delay entering upon it. So he gave up his school, and, with the small savings of seven years, betook himself again to Edinburgh, hoping that some opening would present itself. For a whole year he waited in vain, an unemployed probationer. Then his thoughts turned toward the East. If Scotland rejected him, he might carry Christianity under strange skies. In that year, 1819, there was another young student, who also had been teaching at Kirkaldy, had now come up to Edinburgh, and was wearily waiting for employment. None offering, he was about to return to the country. "I have,"

he said, "the ends of my thoughts to bring together, which no one can do in this thoughtless scene. I have my views of life to reform, and the whole plan of my conduct to new-model; and with all, I have my health to recover. And then once more I shall venture my bark upon the waters of this wide realm, and if she cannot weather it, I shall steer west, and try the waters of another world." This young student did not try the waters of a new world; but has lived to write "Sartor Resartus," "The History of the French Revolution," and the "Life of Frederick the Great."

While busy with his Oriental grammars, and looking for a speedy departure to the East, Irving received an invitation from Dr. Chalmers to become his assistant in Glasgow. That great manufacturing city was in a troubled state. Want of work, and consequent starvation, produced the deepest discontent. There was talk of plots and risings. Chalmers had undertaken the supervision, economical and spiritual, of the very poorest quarter of the city, and Irving's main work was to visit the hungry weavers and spinners in their gloomy homes, to minister to their spiritual wants, and likewise to aid in dispensing the alms of the church. He entered these poor dwellings always with the apostolical benediction, "Peace be to this house." As a visitor he was eminently successful, but as a preacher he still found little favor. The discourses which were destined to awaken the great heart of London fell coldly on the ears of Glasgow. There was but one Chalmers, and the good trades-people saw in Irving only the Doctor's "helper." "It 's no himsel' the day," was whispered disparagingly when Irving entered the pulpit.

Irving felt that this was not his place. There was, indeed, but one Chalmers; but there was also only one Irving, for whom, he was assured, there was a fitting work, — if not in Scotland, then elsewhere. His old missionary schemes recurred to his thoughts. Might it not be his appointed task to go forth, apostle-like, and proclaim the Gospel in the East? Or should he accept an invitation to become a preacher in Jamaica? White men, or brown men, or black men, what mattered it, so long as he found his own work and performed it?

"Sitting one morning in my lonely apartment," he writes,

"and meditating the uncertainties of a preacher's life, and revolving in my mind purposes of missionary work, a stranger stepped in upon my musings, and opened to me the commission with which he had been charged." It was not a brilliant one. In an obscure street in the smoky, dusty heart of London was the little "Caledonian Chapel," capable of seating about six hundred people. Small as it was, it was too large for its scanty congregation, which had dwindled down to fifty, and was in almost hopeless straits. It was, however, connected with the "Caledonian Asylum," a government institution for the benefit of the orphans of Scotch soldiers and sailors, and received a small grant from Parliament, upon condition that its minister should be able to preach in Gaelic. This little church had heard of Chalmers's assistant, and now sent asking him to become their minister.

Irving's heart leaped to the summons. He replied that he would go on any call, and almost on any conditions. If need were, he would support himself by the labor of his own hands. He knew not a word of Gaelic, but would pledge himself to be able to write and speak it in six months; for his "spirit was bent to preach the Gospel in London." He set out forthwith, bearing a letter of introduction from good Doctor Fleming of Edinburgh to worthy Doctor Waugh of London. The bearer was a large, rawboned, uncouth Scotchman, but a man of great learning and profound attainments in science. His moral character was excellent, and his doctrinal views Doctor Fleming judged to be sound. He had been assistant to Chalmers of Glasgow, who thought very well of him. As a preacher he had formerly been rather fanciful, but he had now come down to the level of plain commonsense. Moreover, he had a special faculty for visiting among the people, and would doubtless make a very useful minister in London; and so, if Doctor Waugh could aid him in any way, he would greatly oblige Doctor Fleming. This was the somewhat hesitating commendation accorded to the man whose splendid eloquence was so soon to thrill all London.

The "trial of his gifts" having been found satisfactory, the stipulation as to preaching in Gaelic waived, and other difficulties removed, Irving began his labors in London in

July, 1822. He attracted attention from the first. The little chapel began to fill. Hearers of higher station and of wider culture appeared among the audience. One day Sir James Mackintosh was present. Irving, in his prayer, spoke of a family of poor orphans, who were now "thrown upon the fatherhood of God." Mackintosh repeated this phrase to Canning, who "started," and at once made an appointment to hear the Scotch preacher the next Sunday. Soon after, a debate on church endowments sprung up in the House of Commons. It was urged that good pay was necessary to secure good preaching. Canning denied this; and by way of proof, said that he had just heard the minister of one of the poorest congregations of the poorest of all churches, with no endowments at all, who had nevertheless preached the most eloquent sermon to which he had ever listened.

This public praise from the so-called "British Cicero" sent London hurrying to the little church in Hatton Garden. Week by week the throng increased, until the congregation found themselves like the garrison of a besieged fortress. It became a matter of difficulty to reach the door of the chapel, and then admittance could be had only by the bearer of a ticket. If this was numbered, the possessor entered the designated pew; if not, he must probably stand through the whole long service and longer sermon, for Irving would not be limited in time, and his discourses were quite likely to exceed two hours in length. "I am resolved," he said, to some who remonstrated, "that two hours and a half I will have the privilege of."

The awkward Scotchman, whom Kirkaldy bakers had flouted, Glasgow traders endured, and good Doctor Fleming doubtingly patronized, stepped at once, as though by conscious right, into his new sphere as instructor of "imaginative men, and political men, and legal men, and scientific men, who bear the world in hand." The secret of his sudden popularity lay doubtless somewhat in his personal aspect, — his tall stature, majestic presence, long black hair, voice of wonderful melody and power; and even in the strange, discordant glance of his eyes, which gave the impression of something supernatural, — the one seeming to belong to a "bandit of Sal-

vator Rosa, the other to the Saviour of the world." These might have attracted the attention of fashion, eager for some new excitement, but not of the intelligent and gifted, who crowded, month after month, to the little chapel. At a time when preaching was dull and formal, here was a man who discoursed of righteousness, a judgment to come, of the Living God, Ruler of earth and Arbiter of men's destinies, as though he really believed, not only in the truth, but in the paramount importance of his message. Kean on the stage was not more thoroughly in earnest than Irving in the pulpit. The vices of the rich, the well-born, the cultivated, of the intellectual and the religious, rather than of the poor and ignorant, were passed in stern review. No wonder London was roused from its apathy, and the newspapers of the day noticed Irving's sermons as regularly as they did the performances of the theatre and the opera.

This heyday of popularity lasted in a measure for quite five years; but when, in 1827, the new "National Church," which had been built for Irving, was opened, fashion had gone on its idle way, and he found himself at the head of a large congregation of permanent hearers, who filled, but did not overflow, the limits of the church. It is customary to say that Irving's head was turned by the sudden influx of popularity, and that when this passed away, — as from its nature it must, — he tried to bring it back by resorting to wild extravagance. Carlyle, in his magnificent elegy, written just after the death of Irving, seems to sanction this theory. Nothing to warrant it appears in his true biography, as narrated by Mrs. Oliphant. When fairly established in London, he had gone to Kirkaldy, from whose manse he brought back Isabella Martin, his long-affianced bride. After two years, she returned for a while to Scotland, bearing their first-born son, who died almost at the moment when the mother gave birth to another child. She was obliged to remain behind, while Irving returned to his work in London. The letters which he wrote to her, and the long journal which he kept for her, — now for the first time made public, — give a more perfect revelation of his life and heart than we know where to find elsewhere. They would form of themselves a considerable volume of the most tender

letters ever written. They give a daily picture of his life at the very time when he is supposed to have been intoxicated by the poisonous breath of fashionable applause. Yet no hint here appears of such malign influence. We see him in his modest home exercising all the humane courtesies of a Christian priest, consoling the afflicted, confirming the wavering, visiting the poor and humble; but there is no trace of even casual intimacy with the world of fashion. Besides the regular duties of his ministerial office, his other occupations during these bright, busy years were enormous. The books which he wrote were alone enough to make up the tale of one man's daily work.

One of his discourses deserves special note, since it marks the first point of the divergence, which was to grow so wide, between Irving and the great body of the religious world. Two years after his arrival at the metropolis, the London Missionary Society, wishing to avail itself of his popularity, invited him to preach its anniversary sermon. He accepted the invitation, and, having retired to the country, prepared the discourse. The appointed day came, and was duly announced. The great chapel in Tottenham Court Road, once known as that built for Whitefield, was crowded, long before the hour, by an eager audience. The preliminary services were commenced a full hour before the appointed time. Irving's sermon lasted three and a half hours. At the close of the sounding periods the officials of the Society looked around in blank astonishment. Instead of a discourse upon the benefits accomplished by the missionary work as carried on by the Society, with "prudence" as its first, second, and third requisite, and a due regard to the subsequent contributions to be made, he had drawn a portrait of the ideal missionary of the apostolic ages, going forth without staff or scrip, with no society to back him, intent only upon proclaiming his heavenly message. If the preacher was right, they were all wrong. A wild hubbub arose; the Society disowned the sermon, and angry recrimination followed. It was clear then, and grew daily more apparent, that the whole scheme of Irving and that of the religious world was at variance. The divergence grew wider, and occasion only was needed to put them in actual opposition.

Irving, meanwhile, had entered upon that train of study and thought which was to color all his subsequent life. A Mr. Hatley Frere had some years before elaborated a scheme of interpretation of the Prophecies, which betokened the near end of "the world" and the ushering in of a new dispensation. Men paid no heed to his interpretation, and would not even give him time to sum up his columns of prophetical figures. Like Moses, he was slow of speech; he wanted an Aaron to stand between him and the people. He encountered Irving, who listened to his expositions, and was convinced of their soundness. In due time a band of men devoted to the study of prophecy were grouped together, whose annual meetings were known as the "Albury Conference."

Three members of this body have a decided individuality. These were Irving, Joseph Wolff, the eccentric Christianized Hebrew, the oracle to whom all points of textual criticism were submitted, and Henry Drummond, at whose princely mansion of Albury the meetings of the students of prophecy were held. Henry Drummond was in many ways a man of note. High-born, wealthy, a keen politician, in full intercourse with "society," yet an ardent pietist, he seemed to touch life at every point. In the British Parliament there was no more caustic critic of public measures; in social life, no man more brilliant; in philanthropic effort, none more zealous; in mystic theology, no one more devoted. He combined in himself all that was necessary to make up a Wilberforce and a Loyola, a Knox and a Joe Smith. Irving has given the only intelligible report of the meetings of these Albury prophets, of which we need only mention that the grand conclusion was that the "fulness of the times" was at hand, and that the great gathering of the saints, and the visible reign of Christ on earth, was about to commence. To the enforcement of this doctrine Irving soon began to devote his mighty powers.

Full of the impression that the time was short, he went, in 1828, to Scotland, to warn first his own father's house and kindred, and then all Scotland, through her capital. In his native Annan he stalked through the market, announcing his message. The whole country-side was moved. The neigh-

boring clergy closed their churches, and went with their people the long Sabbath-day's journey over the moors to hear him. Thence he went to Edinburgh. It was May, when all the clergy of Scotland were gathered in the city; so that in preaching to them he was in effect preaching to the nation. He began a course of Lectures on the Apocalypse, at six o'clock in the morning. The church was thronged at an hour when half of his audience would usually have been in their beds. Chalmers tried to force his way into the building, but without success. He had to change the place to the largest church in the metropolis. Here Chalmers heard him. "I have no hesitation," he writes in his journal, "in saying it is quite woful. There is power and richness, and gleams of exquisite beauty, but withal a mysterious and extreme allegorization which I am sure must be pernicious to the general cause." Irving returned to London, and soon became involved in that weary struggle in which the short remainder of his life was to be spent.

He could not fail to come, sooner or later, into direct collision with his own national Church. His scheme of the Christian faith differed widely in many respects from theirs. To say nothing of the idea that grew out of his views of prophecy, that the existing churches were soon to be done away with, — cast aside as a worn-out garment, — his views on baptismal regeneration differed in no appreciable points from those since put forth by the "High Church" section of the Episcopacy; his theory of the authority of the priestly office was as lofty as that of the most strenuous Romanist; while his doctrine of the Atonement, if carried out to its logical sequence, would throw doubt upon the eternity of future punishment. But the actual breach between him and the Church by which he had been ordained took place on a point where he never dreamed that he was at variance with it. The very heart and soul of his teaching, before he became involved in his prophetical studies, had been the doctrine of the Trinity, and its relations to the redemption of fallen human nature. Freed, in his new chapel, from the presence of the throng of strange new faces to which he had addressed the bursts of brilliant oratory that marked his early preaching, he had, Sabbath

after Sabbath, borne his regular audience for hours together through lofty arguments leading into the very secret courts of heaven, and tracing out the eternal covenants between the ineffable Triune Godhead, in virtue of which "the Word became flesh," not merely for the salvation of individual man, but for the final overthrow of evil in a nature which had become corrupt and sinful. As human nature had fallen through the sin of the one man who was its first head and representative, so it was to be redeemed by the perfect obedience of the one Man who was appointed its second head and representative. This Head must be of the same nature with the body. The Saviour of man must be a man "tempted in all points as we are, yet without sin." In other words, as Irving phrased it, he took upon himself our "corrupt human nature," "that sinful substance."

Charges of heresy as to this doctrine were brought, at first vaguely, and then, as the breach between Irving and the religious world grew wider, in a definite shape. Irving himself states his belief in explicit terms. In the Preface to his volume, "Christ's Holiness in the Flesh," he says: —

"The doctrine which, with all orthodox churches, I hold and maintain concerning the person of Christ, — the doctrine, I mean, of his human nature, — is that it was manhood fallen which he took up into his divine person, in order to prove the grace and the might of Godhead in redeeming it; or, to use the words of our Scottish Confession, that his flesh was, in its proper nature, mortal and corruptible, but received immortality and incorruption from the Holy Ghost."

And in his tract, "The Orthodox and Catholic Doctrine of our Lord's Human Nature," he writes at greater length: —

"I believe that my Lord did come down and toil and sweat and travail, in exceeding great sorrow, in this mass of temptation, with which I and every sinful man am oppressed; did bring his Divine presence into death-possessed humanity, into the one substance of manhood created in Adam, and by the Fall brought into a state of resistance and alienation from God, of condemnation and proclivity to evil, of subjection to the Devil; and bearing it all upon his shoulders in that very state into which God put it after Adam had sinned, did suffer its sorrows and pains, and swimming anguish, its darkness, wasteness, disconsolateness, and hiddenness from the countenance of God;

and by his faith and patience did win for himself the name of the Man of Sorrows and the Author and Finisher of our faith."

This was what Irving taught and believed. What he was — as seems to us by a wilful perversion — charged with teaching, was the "sinfulness and corruption of our Lord's human nature." The Presbytery of London took the matter up, and formally condemned the doctrine, excommunicated him from their body, and recommended that the sentence should be read from their pulpits. Irving then denied the jurisdiction of this Presbytery over him, since he was ordained, not by this body, but by a Presbytery in Scotland, to which alone he declared himself amenable. A formal manifesto was put forth by him and the members of his Church Session, who still clung to him, in which they explicitly declare: —

"That we utterly detest and abhor any doctrine that would charge with sin, original or actual, our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, whom we worship and adore as 'the very and eternal God, of one substance, and equal with the Father; who, when the fulness of the time was come, did take upon him man's nature, with all the essential properties and common infirmities thereof, yet without sin'; 'very God and very man, yet one Christ, the only Mediator between God and man'; who in the days of his flesh was 'holy, harmless, undefiled, and full of grace and truth'; 'who through the Eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God'; 'the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world,' 'a Lamb without blemish and without spot'; in which offering of himself 'he made a proper, real, and full satisfaction to his Father's justice in our behalf.' And we further declare, that all our peace of conscience, progress in sanctification, and hope of eternal blessedness resteth upon the sinlessness of that sacrifice, and the completeness of that atonement, which he hath made for us as our substitute.

"And, finally, we do solemnly declare that these are the doctrines which are constantly taught in this church, agreeably to the standards of the Church of Scotland, and the Word of God."

This was at the close of 1830. In the following May, the General Assembly of the Scottish Church formally condemned his treatises on the subject of Christ's human nature. He now openly stood aloof from his brethren of the Church, and was to go on his weary way alone. His opinions on prophecy

had become fully developed. They all pointed to the immediate closing of the present, and the ushering in of a new dispensation; the gathering in of the saints, and the personal reign of Christ upon earth. That this new dispensation was to be inaugurated by miraculous gifts, like those which marked the outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, — gifts of speaking in unknown tongues, of direct inspiration, and wonder-working, — gifts which had long been in abeyance, — was a foregone conclusion. Just then came from Scotland reports that this miraculous outpouring had begun. At Fernicarry, on the Clyde, lived a young woman, Mary Campbell, noted for a kind of ecstatic piety, for which there is little room in our Protestant faith, but which is largely illustrated in the annals of the Catholic Church. She believed that the Lord had set her apart for missionary labors among the heathen. This faith was in no wise weakened when she had long lain in a deep decline, which, to all human appearance, was at the point of bringing her to her grave. Some friends of like faith were kneeling at her bedside, imploring a restitution of the spiritual gifts. All at once the sick woman burst out into loud and long speech in a language unknown to her or her friends. This was at once accepted as the "preparation of the Spirit," and the "preparation of the body" was confidently anticipated. It was delayed but a few days. At Port Glasgow, across the Clyde, was a family named Macdonald, noted for their profound and saintly piety. There were two brothers, who pursued their daily labor as builders, and a sister, a bed-ridden invalid. Coming home to dinner, the brothers found their sister in the very ecstasy of the new inspiration. They thought her dying; but she broke forth into a long and fervent address, closing with a solemn prayer that her brother James might *then* be endowed with the power of the Holy Ghost. He walked to the window, stood silent for a moment, and exclaimed, "I have got it!" Then, stepping to his bed-ridden sister Margaret, he took her by the hand, with the words, "Arise and walk." She arose at once, and from that moment was perfectly cured. He then sent to Mary Campbell, across the Clyde, a letter containing the same words, "Arise and walk." The sick girl, whose

death seemed at hand, arose at once on the summons, and, without any interval of convalescence, returned to active life. Nor was this all. In London, some months later, Elizabeth Fancourt, who had been for eight years confined to her bed by a hip-disease, was healed upon the prayer of faith being offered up by a pious friend. All traces of the disease passed away at once, the flabby flesh became firm and sound, the crooked spine was straightened, and even an enlarged collar-bone resumed its natural shape.

Such, at least, were the accounts given of these wonderful transactions. Reports of them were spread far and wide; the cases were investigated by men who were not, like Irving, predisposed to believe them. No one dared to pronounce them impostures. Even Chalmers, one of the shrewdest and most cautious of men, would not condemn them. We do not pretend to explain these phenomena. All the prominent persons, both before and after, bore characters that seemed to set aside any suspicion of wilful imposture. Mary Campbell, indeed, afterward figured among Irving's flock in London, but always to her credit; while the Macdonalds kept on in their quiet life at Port Glasgow. We do not learn that they ever claimed any subsequent influx of miraculous power. The alleged facts of the long illnesses and sudden restorations were capable of easy disproof, if not true; no such disproof appears to have been made. As far as we can now see, we can refuse credence to the alleged facts, only on the ground that they are so inherently incredible that no amount of direct evidence can substantiate them. It is foreign from our purpose to enter upon this question, our only object being to show their influence upon Irving's life.

To his mind there was no such inherent improbability in these events. Nay, they were in the highest degree probable. Such manifestations were the very things which he believed were to appear in the latter days. For this he and his disciples had prayed; and would God, when they asked bread, give them a stone? When, therefore, not long afterward, the manifestation of unknown tongues appeared in his own church, he entered upon the investigation of their genuineness with a mind predisposed in their favor.

In the summer of 1831 the first mention occurs of the "speaking in tongues" in Irving's church. "Two of my flock," he writes, "have received the gift of tongues and of prophecy." By "prophecy" he here and elsewhere means, not the foretelling of future events, but the gift of exhortation, in intelligible language, under the direct influence of the Holy Spirit. The first manifestations were private; and it was four months before they were made in public. At first the "sealed" ones broke out in their private devotions into ejaculations in a language which they themselves, we infer, did not profess to understand; then, in time, they were moved to speak in public, and, still later, to add exhortations in intelligible language. For some weeks Irving tried to restrain these public manifestations; but at last, convinced that they were the direct utterances of the Spirit, he dared no longer to oppose them; and, against the wishes of the officials of the congregation, they became a part of the regular service of the church. Strange and wild scenes were enacted; crowds were again drawn to the services; and the whole matter was spread out in the newspapers of the day. What these tongues really were, it is now difficult to say. Or rather they were to each hearer just what his own feelings and imagination made them. Mary Campbell thought that the tongue given to her was that of the Pelew Islands; others imagined that they were speaking Turkish or Chinese; at length the hypothesis that these were any languages spoken on earth was abandoned, and they were thought to be a supernatural sign given in attestation of the authority of the intelligible "prophecy" which followed. Irving describes them with unwonted splendor of diction. We quote a few sentences from him.

"The whole utterance," he says, "from the beginning to the end of it, is with a power and strength and fulness, and sometimes rapidity of voice, altogether different from the person's ordinary utterance in any mood. There is a march and a majesty, and a sustained grandeur in the voice, especially of those who prophesy, which I have never heard even a resemblance to, except now and then in the sublimest and most impassioned moods of Mrs. Siddons and Miss O'Neil. And when the speech utters itself in the way of a psalm or a spiritual song, it is the

likest to some of the most simple and ancient chants in the cathedral service. Most frequently the silence is broken by utterance in a tongue, and this continues for a longer or a shorter period, sometimes occupying only a few words, as it were filling the first gust of sound; sometimes extending to five minutes, or even more, of earnest and deeply-felt discourse, with which the heart and soul of the speaker is manifestly much moved to tears, and sighs, and unutterable groanings, to joy, and mirth and exultation, and even laughter of the heart. So far from being unmeaning gibberish, as the thoughtless and heedless sons of Belial have said, it is regularly-formed, well-proportioned, deeply-felt discourse, which evidently wanteth *only the ear of him whose native tongue it is* to make it a very masterpiece of powerful speech."

To others the "tongues" were sheer gibberish, — the unintelligible ejaculations of persons wrought up to frenzy by strong nervous excitement. If they were less intelligible than some of the "prophesyings" of which they were the sign and authentic seal, it must have been unedifying in the extreme. But the torrent, once broken forth, could no longer be restrained, and devout, sober men, who came to be edified, were shocked by the constant interruptions of these prophets, male and female, — mainly the latter, as was to be expected.

Among these gifted persons, one Robert Baxter deserves special mention. He was evidently a weak, excitable, enthusiastic man. Visions of a higher order of inspiration than even the prophetic, to be bestowed upon him, haunted his imagination. He was to be the "apostle" of the new dispensation. The "ministry of the Spirit," not merely "the ministry of the word," was to be laid upon him. He gave himself up to fasting and prayer; tried to exorcise evil spirits; rebuked Irving for slowness of faith. Once a command came to him that he must go to the Lord Chancellor's court, where a message would be put into his mouth that would make the nation tremble; that he would be cast into prison; that then the abomination of desolation would be set up in the land, and Satan would sit in the high places of the land. He proceeded to the court, but no message came to him, though he stood there for three hours waiting for it. He thought he had been deceived. Then he was told, "in the power," that he had misconceived the message; that the imprisonment which

he was to suffer was that bondage of the spirit which had prevented him from saying a word. Again a message came to him that he must leave wife and children, and wander over the earth without home or habitation. Then the Scripture, "If any man provide not for his own, he hath denied the faith," was brought to his mind, and he thought the former revelation came from Satan. Again, he was "in the power" told to declare that the 1,260 years of witnessing had begun; that in three and a half years the saints would be taken up; that ordination by the Church was cut short in judgment, and a new spiritual ministry was to be established; that church and state were accursed; that many of the people, some of the nobles, and the king would be given to the prayers of the people; that the nation and the Church would be destroyed; that pestilence and the sword would overflow the land; but that the people of the Lord would be preserved.

The full narrative of these wild procedures in the Caledonian Chapel makes a strange chapter in the history of human error. This state of things could not last. Irving, never doubting that these prophetic utterances were from the Divine Spirit, could not check them. The staid members of his flock remonstrated in vain. They had followed him so far with loving zeal. Here they must part. The legal document by which the control of the Chapel was placed in the hands of trustees provided that the worship should be in accordance with that of the Church of Scotland, and that the London Presbytery should be arbiters of this question. The trustees laid their charge before this body, whose spiritual jurisdiction they had solemnly repudiated only a few months before. But this was purely a legal question as to the ordering of worship. There could be but one decision. The worship of the Caledonian Chapel was not in accordance with the standards of the Church, as was most clearly to be seen. On the very day when the trial was to come on, Robert Baxter came to London, and told Irving that he had become convinced that his own claims to Divine inspiration were groundless; that he had been deceived, and was now sure that he and all the other prophets had been speaking by a lying spirit, and not by the Spirit of God.

Irving defended himself with wonderful skill. He tried to show that there was nothing against Scripture in the proceedings in the Chapel. But that was not the point at issue. The question was, Had the rules of the Scottish Church been violated? and the Presbytery refused to be diverted from it. Their decision was given that the charges were fully proven, and that "the Rev. Edward Irving has rendered himself unfit to remain the minister of the National Scotch Church, and ought to be removed therefrom, in pursuance of the trust-deed of the said church." Mrs. Oliphant, with a woman's feeling, censures the action of the Presbytery; but we think, that, even upon her own showing and that of Irving himself, they could not have done otherwise.

The church which had been built for, and virtually by Irving, was at once closed against him, and the large part of his flock which adhered to him were forced to seek some other place of assemblage. For a while they met in a hall which on other days was occupied by Robert Owen and his sceptical associates. Afterward they secured the large gallery in Newman Street, built by West the painter to contain his enormous pictures; and here they began the organization of the "Catholic Apostolic Church." The room was fitted up in a peculiar manner. There were the usual pews and galleries, as in other churches; but in lieu of a pulpit was a platform capable of containing fifty persons. On the front of this were seven seats, — the middle one for the "angel," or minister, the three on each side for the "elders." Below, on the steps, were seven seats for the "prophets," and still lower another seven for the deacons. The "angel" ordered the service; the preaching was by the "elders" in turn, the "prophets" speaking "as utterance was given to them." A full report of the opening services has been preserved. The sermon was by Irving, interrupted now and then by the utterances of the prophets and others of the gifted of both sexes. These interjected interruptions are also given. Nothing less worthy of direct inspiration can be conceived. We will quote but one, that of the acute and gifted Henry Drummond: —

"Ah, be ye warned! be ye warned! Ye have been warned. The Lord hath prepared for you a table, but it is a table in the presence of

your enemies. Ah, look you well to it! The city shall be builded, — ah! every jot, every piece of the edifice. Be faithful each under his load, — each under his load; but see that ye build with one hand, and with a weapon in the other. Look to it, — look to it. Ye have been warned. Ah! Sanballat, Sanballat, Sanballat; the Horonite, the Moabite, the Ammonite! Ah! confederate, confederate, confederate with the Horonite! Ah, look ye to it, look ye to it!"

Irving was now wholly loose from all his old ecclesiastical relations. But he was to make one more formal appearance before a Scottish Presbytery. The General Assembly had, as we have mentioned, condemned his doctrines on the "Human Nature of Christ," and now ordered the Presbytery which had ordained him to proceed to his trial. He was cited to appear before this body in his native Annan. The trial was to take place on the 12th of March, 1833. He went down, accompanied by some friends, — among them David Dow, once a minister in Scotland, now one of the "prophets" of the "Apostolic Church." The church of Annan was crowded to witness the trial of the great man by his ecclesiastical peers. It was computed that two thousand persons were present. The trial began at noon. Irving was charged with "printing, publishing, and disseminating heresies and heretical doctrines, particularly the doctrine of the fallen state and sinfulness of our Lord's human nature." He admitted the authorship of the works in question. The obscure country parsons who composed the Presbytery had made up their minds as to the heterodoxy of Irving's views; and, though he vehemently protested that he had never taught or held the doctrine laid to his charge, it was of no avail. All that they had to do was to give their sentence, one by one, — "Guilty as libelled," — with such remarks as they were able to make. These proceedings occupied the whole afternoon. Darkness set in; a single candle was placed upon the moderator's table as he asked the oldest member to lead in prayer before he proceeded to pronounce the solemn sentence of condemnation. In the thick gloom, a voice was heard from the pew in which Irving and his friends were seated: "Arise, depart. Ye cannot pray. Depart, flee!" The voice was that of the prophet Dow; to Irving it was the voice of God; and so he and his

friends went out into the cold March night, without waiting to hear the solemn sentence of deposition by which the Presbytery took away from him the office which eleven years before they had conferred, pronouncing him no longer a minister or member of the Church of Scotland. He remained a few weeks in Scotland, preaching out of doors to thousands of excited listeners, and then, taking a solemn farewell of his friends and kinsfolk, he returned to London.

He was received, not as a martyr who had borne a good testimony, but by an interdict of the prophets "in the power," forbidding him to exercise his function as "angel" of the church, and degrading him to the post of "deacon," the lowest in their ministry. It would be curious to know who were the men that passed this sentence. But Irving bowed his lofty head, and for weeks sat silent. Then came a new utterance, "by the concurrent action in manifested supernatural power both of prophet and apostle," reappointing him as "angel" of the flock, and Mr. Cardale, the "apostle," laid his hands upon the head of Edward Irving in new ordination. But his great public work was done. His functions were circumscribed by the obscure "prophets" and "apostles," who took it upon themselves to check, thwart, and control him. They sent him hither and thither, upon this mission and that, for months; and at length, in September of 1832, — the last autumn which he was to see, — they ordered him to go to Scotland, "in the power," to do some great prophetic work.

The strong man who twelve years before had come up to London was now but a shadow of his former self. Hardly forty-two, he was an old man. The giant form was bent; the once raven hair was as white as snow; the mighty voice was weak and faltering. Perhaps the prophets sent him away, hoping that a visit to his native land would restore his wasted powers.

He set off by devious ways, sending back almost day by day tender notes to his wife and children, — hopeful at first. The rides — for he went on horseback — seemed to recruit his wasted strength; his pulse, fevered by excitement, had fallen to a hundred. Soon, however, came a change; restlessness and fever set in; "the Lord made vain the remedies

of man." By the middle of October he had reached Liverpool, worn out and exhausted, and wrote to his wife to come to him. She obeyed the call, and hastened to join him. Together they proceeded to Glasgow in the stormy October, in obedience to the mission laid upon him, though physicians assured him that his only chance of life was to spend the winter in a southern climate. But the mission was, he believed, appointed of God, and He would give him strength to accomplish it. It was to establish an "Apostolic Church" in Glasgow, where his small band of disciples had found a little place for worship. For a few weeks his gaunt form is visible in the streets, or in the little assembly of his disciples. Then strength fails, and he takes to his bed, stricken with death, as all believe but himself and his faithful wife, who still trust that the miraculous power which raised Mary Campbell from her sick-bed will be put forth in his behalf.

But the supreme hour approached, and even his wife abandoned hope. Irving grew delirious. Now he thought himself in his London congregation; now, counselling the members of his flock. Once he was heard murmuring to himself sonorous syllables in a tongue unknown to those who watched beside him. Could it be that now the gift in which he so faithfully believed, though it had never been vouchsafed to him, was to be bestowed? Were the words of that unknown tongue the precursor of the miraculous healing that was to restore him to health and vigor? Doctor Martin, the father of his wife, bent down his head to catch those mysterious sounds. But it was no unknown language that came from those pale lips. It was the Hebrew measures of the twenty-third Psalm: "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want." Feebler and feebler waned the tide of life. Then a last debate seemed to spring up in that soul which was so soon to be with its Maker.

"They heard him," says his biographer, "murmuring to himself in inarticulate argument, confusedly struggling in his weakness to account for this visible death which at last his human faculties could no longer refuse to believe in, — perhaps touched with ineffable trouble that his Master had seemed to fail of his word and promise. At last that self-argument came to a sublime conclusion in a trust more strong

than life or death. As the gloomy December Sunday sank into the night shadows, his last audible words on earth fell from his pale lips. 'The last thing like a sentence we could make out was, "If I die, I die unto the Lord. Amen."' And so, at the wintry midnight hour which ended that last Sabbath on earth, the last bonds of mortal trouble dropped asunder, and the saint and martyr entered into the rest of his Lord."

They buried Irving with solemn pomp in the crypt of the magnificent Cathedral of Glasgow. Most of the clergy of the city followed him to the grave, forgetting in that solemn hour that he had just been excommunicated from their body, remembering only the worth and piety of the man. It seemed that his work had perished before him. The great and noble, "the men who hold the world in their hands," to whom he had preached righteousness and the judgment to come, had gone on in their old way. He had unrolled the solemn scroll of prophecy, but the consummation which he had educed had not come to pass. The doctrine of the oneness of his Lord and Master with the humanity which he had come to redeem, the doctrine which was to him the centre and life of the Christian faith, had been solemnly condemned by the Church of his love, and for maintaining it he had been excommunicated and deposed on the very spot where he had been baptized and ordained. The new "Apostolic Church" which had gathered around him had been given up to babbling "prophets" and feeble "apostles." To him had been vouchsafed none of those miraculous gifts which he believed to be the heritage of the Church, held in abeyance only on account of its want of faith; and some of those in whose claims to the possession of these gifts he had most implicitly trusted, had publicly acknowledged that they had been the dupes of evil spirits or of their own eager imaginations. To himself, as he lay dying on that winter Sabbath evening, his life must have seemed a failure, saving only for the sublime conclusion that he had been honest and faithful to the light given him, so that, "living or dying, he was the Lord's."

No wonder that the world tried, in its foolish way, to explain the mystery of his life. The easiest solution was to pronounce him crazed, first by popular applause, then by its withdrawal. We can hardly wonder that Carlyle, writing just

after Irving's death, should have given faith to this idea. He has since grown wiser. Not many months ago, Milburn, the American "Blind Preacher," visited Carlyle. Something brought up the name of the friend of his early days. "My poor friend Irving," he exclaimed, bursting out into sublime monologue, "men thought him *daft;* but he was *dazed.* I have heard that the eagle becomes blind in gazing with unveiled eye upon the sun. Thus Irving tried to do what no man may do and live, — to gaze full in the face of the brightness of the Deity, and so blindness fell upon him."

It was fit that the life of Edward Irving should be written by one so tender and reverent as his present biographer.

"So far," she says in conclusion, "as these volumes present the man himself, with his imperfections breaking tenderly into his natural grandeur, always indivisible, and moving in a profound unity of nature through such proof of all sorrows as falls to the lot of few, I do not fear that his own words and ways are not enough to clear the holy and religious memory of Edward Irving of many a cloud of misapprehension and censure of levity; and so far as I have helped this, I have done my task. He died in the prime and bloom of his days, without, so far as his last writings leave any trace, either decadence of intellect or lowering of thought; and left, so far as by much inquiry I have been able to find out, neither an enemy nor a wrong behind him. No shadow of unkindness obscures the sunshine on that grave which in old days would have been a shrine of pilgrims. The pious care of his nephew has emblazoned the narrow Norman lancet over him with a John Baptist, austere herald of the cross and advent; but a tenderer radiance of human light than that which encircled the solitary out of his desert lingers about that resting-place. There lies a man who trusted God to extremity, and believed in all Divine communications with truth as absolute as any patriarch or prophet; to whom mean thoughts and unbelieving hearts were the only things miraculous and out of nature; who desired to know nothing in heaven or earth, neither comfort, nor peace, nor rest, nor any consolation, but the will and the work of his Master, whom he loved, — yet to whose arms children clung with instinctive trust, and to whose heart no soul in trouble ever appealed in vain. He was laid in his grave in the December of 1834, — a lifetime since; but scarce any man who knew him can yet name, without a softened voice and a dimmed eye, the name of Edward Irving, — true friend and tender heart, — martyr and saint."

ART. II. — *A Grammar of the Greek Language.* By WILLIAM EDWARD JELF, B. D., late Student and Censor of Christ Church. Third Edition, enlarged and improved; with an additional Index to the Constructions of the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. Vol. I. — *Accidence.* Vol. II. — *Syntax.* Oxford and London: John Henry and James Parker. 1861. 8vo. pp. xxxiv., 483, 700.

THERE is no greater mistake than the idea that grammatical science has been stationary during the last quarter of a century. The fact is, very few departments of knowledge can show a more satisfactory progress. When we consider the large place that is given to grammatical training in the education of youth in every enlightened country, we shall certainly not be disposed to underrate the importance of every step by which the grammars of the two classic tongues (upon which that training is chiefly based) are raised to a higher position as scientific treatises, and are changed from mere collections of isolated facts to philosophic expositions of the laws of human thought as it finds expression in language.

Many, who have noticed this progress chiefly in the additional length, and too often additional obscurity, of elementary school-books, have even regretted the change, and have sighed for the old days of Adams's Latin Grammar and the Gloucester Greek Grammar. We sympathize with this feeling so far as to believe that the cause of classical education would be decidedly advanced by carefully prepared elementary grammars, containing only the briefest and clearest statement of fundamental principles. Such works need not be larger than the discarded text-books just mentioned, which would include all that the beginner ought to commit to memory. They must, of course, be much fuller in the etymology and the earlier chapters, which exercise the memory chiefly, than in the syntax, which exercises the reasoning powers, and needs practice for a proper comprehension of its rules. These, however, should be mere skeletons of the larger grammars, to which the more advanced student must look for an answer to the numerous questions that constantly arise in his reading

and writing. Experience seems to show more and more conclusively, every year, that, while the details of Latin and Greek syntax can never be understood by being mechanically committed to memory, the rudiments of grammar can never be thoroughly mastered by any other process. Such elementary works as we refer to could show the progress of grammatical science in many important points. For example, we would not teach boys that the aorist imperative τύψον means *have struck*, as the Gloucester Grammar did, but we would tell them what this tense really means, and at the same time give a brief but intelligible statement of the various senses (including both past and future) of the aorist infinitive and the aorist optative, — an explanation for which we should look in vain in any grammar (great or small) written more than twenty-five years ago, although the forms occur in almost every page of Greek.

Perhaps no better example can be found to illustrate the advance in grammatical science to which we refer, than the one here suggested. Most scholars will start with surprise, we think, when they are told that a quarter of a century ago no one had stated distinctly the two meanings of the aorist infinitive in the sentences φησὶ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι and βούλεται τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, or those of the aorist optative in εἶπεν ὅτι τοῦτο γένοιτο and εἴθε τοῦτο γένοιτο. Yet such is the fact. The prevailing dictum on the whole subject was that which we still find in the twentieth edition of Buttmann (1858), that the present and aorist of the dependent moods make no designation of time whatever, *bezeichnen durchaus keine Zeit*. We do not mean that scholars of that day were ignorant of the true meaning of these forms in particular cases, for common sense or the context will generally decide that; but they had never systematized their knowledge so as to perceive and state the simple principles on which the meaning in each case depends. If any one doubts our statement, we commend him to the two volumes of Matthiæ, and the two volumes of Kühner's *Ausführliche Grammatik* (1834–35), assuring him that in the whole two thousand pages he will find nothing to enlighten him on these simple questions. But occasionally the want of a correct theory led even the ablest

of the older scholars astray. We find a singular illustration of this in the discussions on the verse of Æschylus (Agamemnon, 564),

γυναῖκα πιστὴν δ' ἐν δόμοις εὕροι μολών,

where, on every recognized principle of the language, εὕροι must mean *may he find*. Yet Matthiæ calls this *oratio obliqua*, explaining it as depending on εἰπὲ ὅτι understood, and translating it *tell him that he will find*. Strangely enough, he was followed by the great Hermann himself, who even ridiculed Blomfield for translating the verse correctly. To conclude the remarkable history of this passage, one of the latest editors, Paley, attacks Hermann's explanation only on the ground that the leading verb is not past, admitting that, if we had εἶπεν ὅτι εὕροι, we could translate it *he said that he would find*. This phrase, however, could never mean anything but *he said that he had found*, a fact which the older scholars seem to have overlooked in their theories, although they recognized it constantly in their practice.

The progress in grammatical science during the last twenty-five years has not been marked by many elaborate treatises; the most famous works of this nature — Matthiæ's two volumes, Hermann's four books on the Particle ἄν, and even Kühner's larger Grammar — belong to the preceding period. The advanced state of our present knowledge is due mainly to discussions of particular passages in editions of the classics, in philological reviews, and in the numberless monographs with which the German press annually swarms. There is hardly a principle that has not been subjected to criticism and revision, and hardly an idiom that has not received some new light from these active investigations. The older grammarians seem often to have supplied merely the material from which their successors were to elaborate a system of rules. If any one will read Lobeck's *Parerga* to Phrynichus, Cap. VI. (*De Constructione Verbi* μέλλειν *et affinium Verborum*), he will find the material collected for establishing some of the most important principles of Greek syntax, principles which a modern grammarian could state in ten lines, but which seem to have been very dimly apprehended by Lobeck himself. The case is

the same with the immense mass of examples collected by Matthiæ; he has unconsciously aided in the illustration of many a principle which never occurred to him.

While, therefore, we have faith in simple grammars for teaching the rudiments, we believe also in larger treatises for those who wish to study grammar as a science, as every classical scholar should study it. We have no fault to find with Mr. Jelf's work on the ground that it devotes more than twelve hundred pages to Greek grammar. But what we have a right to demand is, that such elaborate works shall be not merely large, but scientific, in the highest sense of that word; that the phenomena shall be so classified that the mass of illustration shall not bury the principles, but rather make them more conspicuous. A grammar of twelve hundred pages thus scientifically arranged differs from an unscientific treatise, for all practical purposes, as thoroughly as a museum of natural history, properly classified and catalogued, would differ from one in which the specimens were thrown in heaps upon the floor as they were brought in. Above all, we have a right to expect of every man who prepares a book for the instruction of youth, that he shall render himself, as far as he can, competent to the task; that he shall first make his own mind clear on all points of his subject, and then labor long and anxiously to express his meaning in the clearest possible language; that he shall spare no study that may tend to simplify what has usually been left obscure, and, at all events, that he shall acquaint himself with what has been done with this object by his predecessors; and, finally, that he shall never attempt to impose upon his readers by learned language on subjects which he does not himself understand, trusting to their inability to distinguish between learning and nonsense. The man who, from carelessness or incompetency, drugs the mind of youth with antiquated nonsense, where plain common sense ought to be at his disposal, thus retarding the mental development of thousands to save himself the labor of investigation, is hardly less guilty than the ignorant or careless physician who poisons the body by his noxious drugs.

We are sorry to be compelled to say that the work before us illustrates all of the vices and none of the virtues which we

have mentioned. Jelf's Greek Grammar first appeared in 1842 and 1845, under the title, "A Grammar of the Greek Language, chiefly from the German of Raphael Kühner." This was a valuable contribution to grammatical literature, as it was the only English translation ever made of Kühner's larger Grammar, which was published at Hannover, in two volumes, in 1834 and 1835. It in fact represented the science as it stood at that date; and as Kühner's Grammar was the best work of the kind that Germany had produced (Buttmann's *Ausführliche Grammatik* unfortunately never having been completed), it was warmly welcomed by English scholars. We are not sure how far we ought to rely upon the statement made by the publishers, that the work "is now in general use at Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, and Durham; at Eton, King's College, London, and other public schools." It is constantly referred to as a high authority in Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon; and it is mentioned as the first of the "greater grammars" in use at Oxford in the recent work entitled "Pass and Class," which we may consider good authority for that University. The present edition is the third; it appears without the name of Kühner on the title-page, and we find no reference to that scholar's labors in the Preface. Still the work is to no small extent based upon Kühner's, as a slight inspection will show; indeed, we are inclined to think that the omission of his name from Mr. Jelf's new Preface is accidental. We must add, however, that Mr. Jelf has clearly consulted Kühner's reputation in omitting his name; for no one who has the least acquaintance with the standard of German scholarship can believe that Kühner would have republished his *Ausführliche Grammatik* in 1861 without introducing numerous important modifications and corrections. Kühner was the first to suggest many questions which, since his work appeared, have been thoroughly discussed and better understood; and we are sure that there are many such points upon which he would never have republished his first speculations without revision, and that he would not have thanked Mr. Jelf for so doing without omitting his name.

Following the title-page as our authority, we must deal with the whole work before us as the production of Mr. Jelf.

We have no disposition to depreciate the real value of the book, which indeed is too well known to scholars in its earlier editions to need commendation at this late day. The index of quotations at the end of the first volume, containing ninety-eight closely-printed pages, and referring to about seventeen thousand examples, most of which are quoted in the syntax, is a work for which all scholars will be grateful; and the mere collection of such a mass of examples, however imperfect the text which they illustrate, is a real service to scholarship. The question which we have to consider, however, is not whether the book has merits, but whether it is what scholars have a right to expect from a work of such high pretensions and reputation. It is by far the most extensive work on Greek grammar ever published in English; and it was certainly to be anticipated that a new edition, published at Oxford in 1861, should exhibit the latest results of both English and German scholarship. Many on this side of the ocean, attracted by Mr. Jelf's name and the previous reputation of the book, will send for it, hoping in return for the high English price (£1 10*s.*) to find in its twelve hundred pages the most satisfactory explanation that modern erudition can offer of every phenomenon of the Greek language. We should not do justice to such persons, who are by no means few, if we hesitated to tell them plainly that they will be disappointed. They will find the book unsatisfactory and deficient just where they most need its help; and in many of the most important discussions they will find it hopelessly blind and erroneous, — in fact, worse than useless.

These are grave charges; and we ask no one to give them credence farther than we shall establish them to the very letter by quotations from the book itself. We shall select our examples chiefly from those parts of the syntax in which Mr. Jelf has been least able to rely upon his chief authority, Kühner, and has therefore had the best opportunity to display his own scholarship. At the same time, we intend to confine our criticism to points upon which no scholar who has taken ordinary means to make himself acquainted with the subject can have the slightest excuse for ignorance, or even uncertainty.

Mr. Jelf thus begins his discussion of the simplest form of conditional sentences: —

"§ 853, 1. Εἰ with any tense of the indicative.

"The thing supposed is really an actual fact, though, for the sake of politeness or a form of argument, it is stated hypothetically, as εἰ λέγεις τοῦτο ἁμαρτάνεις: cf. Eur. Phoen. 1201; or where that which is really a supposition is, for the sake of argument, or out of deference to the view of some one else, stated as a fact."

We wonder that Mr. Jelf, before he had described this circle, did not see the simple truth, that such a sentence implies *nothing whatever* as to the reality of the thing supposed, or even as to the speaker's opinion about its reality; it is a simple supposition, and that is the end of it. Mr. Jelf's faith in the common formula that "*the condition is regarded as certain*," which satisfied him in the first edition, seems to have been shaken by two examples from St. Paul, — 1 Cor. xv. 16: εἰ γὰρ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, οὐδὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται, *for if the dead rise not, then is not Christ raised*, and Rom. iv. 2: εἰ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη, *for if Abraham was justified by works*, &c. Hence the marvellous comprehensiveness of the new rule. The finishing touch, however, is added in *Obs.* 1: —

"It will generally be found that the protasis and apodosis taken together give the real view of the speaker, however much in one or the other it [?] may be supported for the sake of politeness."

Of course it will, Mr. Jelf; and for the simple reason that most Greek writers, and especially the Apostles, were honest men. When the "*protasis and apodosis taken together*" do not "*give the real view of the speaker*," the speaker does not make a blunder in syntax (as Mr. Jelf seems to imagine), he simply tells a lie. We are grieved to see Mr. Jelf extenuating so grave an offence by such mild language.

We find in § 429, 1, the following simple rule for the use of the infinitive and participle with the adverb ἄν: —

"When the construction changes from the *Verbum finitum* to the Inf. or Part., ἄν is joined to these forms, if it would have been used in the construction with the *Verbum finitum*. . . . . The particular tense and mood for which it stands is of course decided by the context."

This is a principle which must be understood (at least in practice) before a student can translate correctly the simplest Greek author. In a treatise so elaborate as Mr. Jelf's we should look for a clearer statement of the rule, and especially for some allusion to the well-known limitation, that each tense of the infinitive or participle with ἄν is equivalent to the *corresponding tense* of the finite mood with ἄν (imperfect and pluperfect being included under present and perfect in the infinitive and participle). Even a few well-chosen examples might have made this clear. Mr. Jelf, however, shows by his attempts to illustrate the principle that he has not the most elementary understanding of the rule, which he has translated from Kühner, § 455. At least we can draw no other conclusion from the following: —

"*a.* Infinitive used for the Opt. with ἄν; as, εἴ τι ἔχει or ἔχοι, ἔφη, δώσειν ἄν: Hdt. VI. 129 ἀποστυγέων γαμβρὸν ἂν ἔτι γενέσθαι — Cleisthenes said, γαμβρὸς οὐκ ἄν μοι γένοιο: Thuc. II. 30 νομίζοντες .... ῥᾳδίως ἂν σφίσι τἆλλα προσχωρήσειν: Id. V. 82 νομίζων μέγιστον ἂν σφᾶς ὠφελήσειν: Xen. Cyr. I. 5, 2 ἐνόμιζεν .... πάντων γε ἂν τῶν πέριξ ῥᾳδίως ἄρξειν: Dem. 467 fin. οἷς ἂν ὁ νόμος βλάψειν ὑμᾶς φαίνεται: so with an infinitive followed by a finite verb with ἄν, signifying the possibility of the infinitival notion: Thuc. V. 105 πολλὰ ἄν τις ἔχων εἰπεῖν (= ἃ ἂν εἴποι, *which he might say if he pleased*) ξυνελὼν μάλιστ' ἂν δηλώσειεν."

What is proved by these examples, except Mr. Jelf's hopeless confusion of ideas on the whole subject, we will not attempt to say; they have certainly no more to do with the rule to which they are attached, than with the rule of three. Four of them were incautiously left in Mr. Jelf's way by Kühner, who had used them for a different purpose. The first example, if it is what Mr. Jelf imagines, is simply bad Greek; δώσειν ἄν would be a rare exception in Attic prose under any circumstances, and as an indirect quotation of δώσοι ἄν (which Mr. Jelf's rule would make it) it would be as great a solecism as δώσοι ἄν itself. The first two examples from Thucydides are probably authentic cases of ἄν with the future infinitive; but they represent the future *indicative* with ἄν, not the *optative*, and therefore have nothing to do with the remark that precedes them. They are simply irregularities in construction, which should be kept religiously concealed

from the learner until he is master of the rule which they violate, and should then appear in a note, like all exceptions. As examples under the rule itself, they can convey no other idea than that the future optative with ἄν is in good use in Greek, and that the future infinitive representing it is as common a construction as γενέσθαι ἄν for γένοιτο ἄν. The same remark applies to the example from Demosthenes, except that the ἄν here has barely the weight of manuscript authority in its favor, and is omitted in most modern editions. The example from Xenophon is unjustly left by Mr. Jelf in bad company; a glance at L. Dindorf's critical edition of the Cyropædia (published at Oxford four years before Mr. Jelf's work) would have shown that ἂν τῶν is merely the blunder of a single copyist for αὐτῶν, and that the manuscript authority is decidedly in favor of τῶν. In the example from Herodotus the ἄν is now generally omitted on manuscript authority (see Baehr's note); the strongest argument for retaining it is, in fact, the very harshness of the expression, into which a copyist could hardly have blundered. In any case, it can be defended only as one of the rarest of exceptions, like Aristophanes, *Nub.* 1130, βουλήσεται κἂν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τυχεῖν ὤν, which makes the absurdity of introducing it as an example here still more glaring. We will not insult our readers by soberly criticising Mr. Jelf's final comment on Thucydides. We prefer to leave it in all its native purity, commending it to the special attention of New England Freshmen, who will, we trust, be able to decide upon the "*possibility*" of any "*infinitival notion*" by which πολλὰ ἄν τις ἔχων εἰπεῖν can be tortured into ἃ ἂν εἴποι, *which he might say if he pleased!*

Will Mr. Jelf, in his next edition, be kind enough to add a few examples to § 429, 1, *a*?

Our last quotation from Mr. Jelf has the merit of clearness, on one point at least; let us now notice a specimen of obscurity. In § 394, 9, *Obs.* 1, we read: —

"The Infinitive and Participle express the time of the action as past, present, or future, (λέξαι, λέγειν, λέξειν,) merely in reference to the verb on which it [*sic*] depends, without defining it by referring it to the time present to the speaker or some other action, relatively to which it is past, present, or future; nor is the time of the action necessarily the

same as that of the verb on which it depends; so that the different forms of the Part. and Infin. past, present, or future, may be used indifferently with a past, present, or future verb, and mostly the secondary forces of the respective tenses (see § 395, *Obs.* 2)."

Then follow examples, which ought to give any one who reads them a clearer idea of the tenses of the infinitive and participle than Mr. Jelf seems to have gained from them. Let no one imagine that all this is the necessary obscurity of a difficult subject. It is a matter which any intelligent boy of fourteen who knows the elements of Greek can understand with perfect ease; and there is no conceivable excuse for publishing such nonsense as we have just quoted. Mr. Jelf makes no attempt to state the difference between the infinitive in indirect discourse (after verbs of *saying*, *thinking*, &c.), — where the distinction of tense is fully preserved, the aorist referring to the past, as in the indicative, — and the more common infinitive used merely as a verbal noun after a great variety of verbs (those of *wishing* and *commanding* for example), where no distinction of time is expressed by the tenses. The first clause of Mr. Jelf's remark may perhaps be intended to apply to the former of these two constructions; what the rest of it may possibly mean we shudder to contemplate.

Mr. Jelf gives a singularly one-sided statement of the meaning of the aorist infinitive in § 405, 4: —

"Thus the aorist infinitive is used to express merely a simple verbal notion, without the accident of time, whether past, present, or future."

He adds this sage observation, which we cannot characterize by any milder term than as a display of the grossest ignorance on a simple elementary subject: —

"The aorist infinitive is of course used in sentences which denote a past event; but the past time is signified rather by the principal verb, on which the Inf. depends, than by the aorist; and the present or aorist is used, as it is or is not intended to bring forward the notion of time."

We wish Mr. Jelf would explain, on his principles, the force of the aorist infinitive in one of the very first sentences of the Cyropædia: πατρὸς μὲν δὴ ὁ Κῦρος λέγεται γενέσθαι Καμ-

βύσου. Here is clearly an aorist infinitive referring to the past, but there is no leading verb in a past tense to give it that signification; it is simply a regular aorist (like the aorist indicative or optative in indirect discourse), denoting past time on its own account. There is no attempt in Mr. Jelf's entire book, except in the sentence just quoted, to explain this simple construction, which is found in almost every page of Greek. We are tempted to ask, whether this is the most approved statement of these principles which England can give us, and whether this is satisfactory doctrine to "Eton, King's College, and other public schools," not to mention "Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, and Durham."

Mr. Jelf is particularly unfortunate in his comments on Thucydides. The following remark, let us hope, has some meaning to his mind, although we are unable to see any: —

"In the difficult [?] passage of Thuc. IV. 9, *ἐπισπάσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἡγεῖτο προθυμήσεσθαι*, if the Aor. follows the future, the time is dropped, as being sufficiently brought forward by *προθυμήσεσθαι*: if the Aor. be taken before the future, the attractive character of the spot is stated, while its future effects are denoted by *προθυμήσεσθαι*." — p. 75.

The only difficulty here lies in the peculiar force of the middle voice of *ἐπισπάσασθαι, to allow themselves to be drawn on* (*sich dahin locken zu lassen*, Krüger); there is not the slightest irregularity, or even peculiarity, in the use of the tenses, or anything that requires comment; still less is there any possible doubt that the aorist *follows* the future. Mr. Jelf seems utterly unacquainted with the simple principle by which the infinitive preserves the distinctions of tense after *ἡγέομαι*, and loses them after *προθυμέομαι*. Does he presume upon a similar ignorance in all the schoolboys who may use his grammar?

In § 394, 8, *Obs.* 3, we find the important remark, that "the present infinitive performs as well the functions of the imperfect, as the perfect those of the pluperfect." But we strongly suspect that this principle is very dimly apprehended by Mr. Jelf; for on the very same page we find a long series of examples of the *imperfect* infinitive quoted as cases of the present infinitive used for the aorist! The imperfect infini-

tive has nothing in common with the aorist but its reference to the past, the two being related precisely like the imperfect and aorist indicative.

Mr. Jelf is somewhat weak on the tenses of the infinitive, as we have seen; but we were utterly unprepared for such an exhibition of carelessness (to use a mild term) as we find in § 672, *Obs* 1:—

"Ἔφη αὐτὸς ποιεῖν, *he said that he* (himself) *would do it; ἔφη αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, he said that he* (another person) *would do it.*"

We ask, in astonishment, whether such Greek as this would be allowed to pass at an Oxford examination, or even at an English public school.

In the following passage (§ 429, 4, *Obs.* 2) all that is true is unintelligible, and all that is intelligible is false:—

"Ἄν is frequently joined with a Participle standing in a gerundial or adverbial force with a verb already modified with ἄν; as, Xen. Cyr. I. 3, 11 στὰς ἄν, *if I stood* — ἔπειτα λέγοιμ' ἄν. So [?] with two participles expressing conditional action, Thuc. V. 105 εἰδότες καὶ ὑμᾶς ἄν — ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμῖν γενομένους (*if you were*) δρῶντας ἄν (*that you would do*) αὐτό. And sometimes ἄν is joined to a Participle which stands for a conditional sentence into which it may be resolved: as Soph. Œ. R. 446 συθείς τ' ἂν οὐκ ἂν ἀλγύναις πλέον: Hdt. VII. 139 ὁρῶντες ἂν ἐχρήσαντο ἄν."

We can here see into the geological structure of one of Mr. Jelf's wonderful rules. The first sentence, with the example from Xenophon, is a bungling translation from Kühner (§ 455, 3, *Anm.* 2), with the omission of the most important part of the original, in which it is stated that the ἄν does not belong to the participle, but to the following verb, with which it is repeated. Unfortunately, Kühner does not translate the example; Mr. Jelf is therefore thrown upon his own resources, and makes a blunder which few intelligent schoolboys would fail to detect. Instead of explaining the passage (which would seem ludicrous), we will merely quote it in full: Στὰς ἂν ὥσπερ οὗτος ἐπὶ τῇ εἰσόδῳ, ἔπειτα ὁπότε βούλοιτο παριέναι ἐπ' ἄριστον, λέγοιμ' ἂν ὅτι οὔπω δυνατὸν τῷ ἀρίστῳ ἐντυχεῖν. If στὰς ἄν (or even στάς alone) meant *if I stood*, as Mr. Jelf thinks, the example would have nothing whatever to do with

the rule, except so far as it opposed it. The succeeding remark of Mr. Jelf seems intended to illustrate still further the lucid idea evolved in the preceding. The example from Thucydides, where γενομένους (not γενομένους ἄν) has the force of a protasis, has nothing whatever to do with the preceding one, unless we adopt Mr. Jelf's strange rendering of στὰς ἄν, in which case both examples are alike irrelevant. The concluding sentence, with its first example, is again taken from Kühner, with the omission of his second warning against Mr. Jelf's blunder of taking the first ἄν with the participle, — a blunder into which we had supposed no one in this generation could fall. The last example from Herodotus, we confess, took us by surprise. If Herodotus ever coolly and calmly wrote such a sentence as ὁρῶντες ἂν ἐχρήσαντο ἄν, meaning *if they had seen it they would have used it*, the foundations of Greek syntax are indeed shaken, and Mr. Jelf's Greek at once becomes classic. A mere glance at the passage in Herodotus, however, relieved our anxiety; Mr. Jelf has merely omitted six words in the quotation, which reads, ὁρῶντες ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας μηδίζοντας ὁμολογίῃ ἂν ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς Ξέρξεα. Here, as in the three other examples, we have the ordinary repetition of ἄν, which is too common to need special illustration, especially as Mr. Jelf, on the next page but one, quotes no less than twenty examples of it, fifteen of which he found in Kühner.

It is hard to leave one of Mr. Jelf's pages after we have begun to examine it, and we must add a single specimen from the remark that follows our last quotation: —

"The Inf. and Part. of the Pres. or Aorist with ἄν have a semi-future sense, inasmuch as a conditional action is at the present time uncertain; . . . . . as, οἶδά σε πάντ' ἂν φοβηθέντα, *that you would* [*fear*]."

Here we detect traces of a remarkable mental process. In his first edition Mr. Jelf had said that these forms had a *future* sense, — which is very true, but only half of the truth. It seems to us that he must have had an indistinct recollection of some passage in which the example just quoted meant, *I know that you would have feared*, which made him unwilling to repeat so decided a word as *future* in his new edition, and

that he conceived the brilliant idea of combining all possible significations in his new phrase, *semi-future!* By whatever process he came to the idea, he certainly chose a most unfortunate phrase; for there is no half-way meaning possible in φοβηθέντα ἄν, which is either *past*, and means *would have feared* (being equivalent to ἐφοβήθης ἄν), or *future*, and means *would hereafter fear* (being equivalent to φοβηθείης ἄν). The context will always decide between the two. On the same principle, οἶδά σε πάντ' ἂν φοβούμενον, if we add the condition εἰ γένοιτο τοῦτο, must mean, *I know that you would (hereafter) fear;* while if we add εἰ ἐγένετο τοῦτο, it must mean, *I know that you would have feared* (or *would now be fearing*). Talking about words having a *semi-future* sense may be a very pretty amusement in ordinary books; but when it is used to conceal ignorance in grammars, we protest solemnly in behalf of the youth who are to study them.

We have been the more particular in exposing the errors of the last two passages quoted, because we see traces of Mr. Jelf's doctrines on these points in no less a work than the new edition of Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon (Oxford, 1861). There, in the article ἄν, we are sorry to find the statement that ἄν with the participle can represent a conditional sentence, fortified by the same example from Sophocles (Œd. R. 446) which Mr. Jelf employs. We have already noticed the fact that Mr. Jelf is constantly referred to as an authority by Liddell and Scott, and we fear that this addition may be due to his influence. We may add that Liddell and Scott still speak of the aorist participle with ἄν as having a "*sort of future* sense," — a careless expression, which we should hardly expect to find after so many careful revisions of the work in Oxford itself.

We add a final specimen from Mr. Jelf's truly marvellous attempts to obscure the meaning of the particle ἄν. Why he should wish to conceal the truth on this subject, we are at a loss to see. We will simply quote his words, which are in the very largest type, in § 424: —

"2. Ἄν therefore has a twofold force: the condition is supposed by the speaker to take place, and therefore the action is rendered more

likely — (positive use of ἄν) — *probably;* or the condition is supposed by the speaker not to take place, and the action is rendered less likely — negative use of ἄν) — *perhaps.*"

Again, just below, he tells us : —

"*a.* With the historic tenses of Ind. representing something as an absolute fact, it does not render the action thereof more likely, for the performance of a condition cannot make a fact more probable; but the addition of ἄν expresses that it is represented to have taken place only on a certain condition; as, ἡμάρτανες, *you were wrong:* ἄν — *but only supposing such or such a thing took place — but I know it did not take place, therefore you are not wrong in this case;* hence its derived sense, ἡμάρτανες ἄν, *you would have been wrong,* i. e. on such or such conditions."

We will ask the reader merely to compare the first few lines of these two statements with one another; as to the rest, we can simply exclaim, in the words of Mr. Jelf, "only *supposing* such a thing took place"!

We must now leave the candid reader to decide whether the charges which we made against Mr. Jelf's work have been fairly proved by the evidence which has been brought forward.

Art. III. — *Nach Jerusalem.* Von Ludwig August Frankl. Leipzig. 1858. 2 tom. 12mo. pp. 441, 516.

In August of the year 1855, it pleased a pious Jewish lady of Vienna, Eliza Herz, to set apart, as the appropriate monument for her father, the noble Simon von Lämel, the sum of fifty thousand florins, the interest of which, at four and one half per cent, should be applied to the support and education of the Jewish children in Jerusalem. In a permanent institution on Mount Zion, which should bear the name of the friend of the Austrian synagogue, she hoped to awaken a new life for the neglected and destitute of her race. The plan of the institution was carefully drawn out, in a spirit of the broadest charity, — provision being made in this Jewish school for the children of Christian and Mohammedan parents. The course

of instruction was to include secular not less than sacred knowledge, and the Arabic, German, and Italian tongues along with the Hebrew. The person selected to bear to the Holy City the message of this charity, and to set the plan in operation, was the well-known Jewish editor and poet, Louis Augustus Frankl, whose sagacious judgment, winning manners, and popularity with his brethren eminently fitted him for the honorable charge. Fortified with abundant testimonials from authorities in the state and from the leaders in the synagogue, in March, 1856, Dr. Frankl set out from Vienna upon his journey. Greece, Asia Minor, and Northern Syria were rapidly traversed, and scanned with the eye of a close observer; and on the 28th of May, the missionary of Israel found hearty welcome in the house of the Director of the Hospital on Mount Zion.

The reception of the bearer of such a message was not, it is sad to say, in all respects cordial. A portion of the Israelites arrayed themselves in fierce opposition to the proffered gift, denouncing it as a peril rather than a help to their faith. Dr. Frankl found himself unable to convince many of the Rabbins that any secular education could be a benefit, or that any charity was good except simple alms-giving. The majority of his brethren, nevertheless, sustained him. Meetings were held, committees were appointed, the Grand Rabbi sanctioned the scheme, and in less than forty days the missionary was enabled to depart on his farther journey through the Sacred Land, with the satisfaction of seeing his task accomplished, and knowing that the intention of his noble friend would be carried out. On the 22d of July, he left the port of Jaffa, on his voyage of return.

One result of this expedition is a work in two volumes, recording in graceful and finished style the traveller's observations and impressions. These are especially interesting, from the religious position of the writer. Though many Jews go to Palestine, very few publish their experiences of travel. The utmost that the wealthy pilgrims intrust to print is usually a letter or two in those Israelite journals which Christians rarely see. Since the journey of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela in the twelfth century, scarcely any good narrative of adventure in

Palestine has been furnished by a Jewish hand. The work of Dr. Frankl comes, therefore, even in the multitude of "Travels in Palestine," almost as a novelty, and it deals with topics which, even in the most thorough descriptions by Christian writers, are imperfectly treated. Frankl's position and lineage gave him access to sources of information which would be closed against a Christian writer; and his Jewish sympathies induced him to observe many things which Christian writers would regard as of no importance. The peculiar value of these volumes is in the revelations which they make of the condition of the Jews in the East, social as well as religious, — of their numbers, their resources, their culture, and their moral condition. These revelations are very full and interesting. They are characterized by an admirable moderation, and a candor which stamps them as truthful. Frankl's Judaism is strict enough to make him note and tell all the good that he can of his fellow-believers, yet liberal enough to do justice to opposing forms of faith, and to admit and criticise the defects and evils which he sees in Israel. He is not afraid to describe his visits to Christian churches and Moslem mosques, or his pleasure in the society of the teachers of another faith. Like Paul of old, though he always goes first to the synagogue when he enters the city, he addresses himself to Gentiles when he has saluted the Jews. He has not considered his standing with the house of Jacob, in the pleasant words which he ventures to speak concerning the faith of the alien races.

In the first volume, we have some curious details concerning the Jews in Constantinople, Damascus, and the Lebanon; but the second and larger volume, which is wholly devoted to Palestine, is the richer in interest. We now propose to condense the information given in this volume concerning the Jews in Palestine, — to present them as they are described by a trustworthy witness of their own blood and faith. We have more than once heard Jews in Jerusalem complain that the stories about them in Christian books are mostly falsehoods, derived from the slanders of enemies, and not from personal observation or knowledge. It is worth while to see what one of their own brethren, and one whose fairness and integrity

are unquestioned, will say about them, — to have the errors corrected, and the slanders refuted, by this veracious authority. It is, certainly, a remarkable fact, that those Christian writers who expatiate most confidently upon the future of the Jews in the Holy Land are the most ignorant of their present condition.

Frankl's journey extended to all parts of Palestine where any Jews are to be found. He visited Hebron, Tiberias, Safet, and a half-dozen of the smaller towns, where he could meet Israelite brethren. The estimates of numbers which he gives are not conjectural, but are the results of careful inquiry and comparison, and are to be received as very nearly correct. From these we learn that, in the year 1856, the whole Jewish population of Palestine — men, women, and children included — was 10,689, or thereabouts, a number smaller than most estimates of the Jewish population of Jerusalem alone. More than half of this number, or about 5,700, dwell in Jerusalem. In Safet, which is the next city in importance, and is inhabited entirely by Israelites, he reckons about 2,100; in Tiberias, 1,514; in Hebron, only 400, where some travellers have found two or three thousand; in Jaffa, 400; in Sidon, 150; in Acre, 120; in Khaifa, 100; and in four smaller places, respectively, 60, 50, 40, and 5. In several of the ancient cities of Israel — Bethlehem, Jericho, Nazareth, and others — he finds no Jews whatever.*

Frankl's estimate of the Jewish population of Jerusalem may be exact, but it is certain that he over-estimates the Moslem population when he sets this down as 9,300. We venture to affirm, that, whatever the number of the Jews in Jerusalem may be, they form *at least half* of the resident population of the city, including the soldiers of the Turkish garrison. Of the 5,700 Jews, not less than 1,700 are Austrian subjects and under Austrian protection, a fact which almost justifies the Austrian Kaiser in parading still his ancient title of "King of Jerusalem." The general division of the people is into "Sepharedim" and "Ashkenasim," or Jews of South-

* In Northern Syria, in Damascus, and the Lebanon, Dr. Frankl gives the number of Jews as 5,420.

ern descent and Jews of Northern descent. The former are by far the most numerous and influential, reckoning not less than 4,000 souls. They are descended mainly from that stock which was driven out from Spain by the persecutions of the Middle Age, and found refuge in the Turkish dominion. They have been recruited from the whole northern line of the African coast, from Egypt, from Persia, and from India. They use in their intercourse the Spanish idiom.

The organization of the Sepharedim is simple, but complete. At their head is the "Chacham" Baschi, chosen from the Rabbins, and confirmed by the Turkish government. This chief magistrate decides by his authority in all religious questions. For secular and economical matters, the Rabbins choose three "Pakidim," or *overseers*, under whom also are three others. To hold these Pakidim in check are three comptrollers, or "Maschkichim," chosen by the Baschi from his Rabbinical college. As the people have no voice in the choice of these rulers, disputes are perpetually arising, especially concerning the use and distribution of the moneys, of which the overseers take charge, and serious schism has been frequently threatened.

The Rabbins of the Sepharedim number about one hundred. They are chiefly occupied with the study of the Talmud. They are supported partly by the interest of funds contributed by foreigners. These religious "foundations" differ greatly in amount, the "Jeschiba Perera" having 16,386 piasters of capital, while the smallest foundation has only 1,000 piasters, or less than fifty dollars of our money. The community has no fixed estate, and levies no tax. New-comers must "buy in" with as much capital as they have income in a year. If they die, the community takes possession of their effects, which are sealed by the Pakidim, and sold at public auction to the highest bidder. Half of the revenues of the Sepharedim are derived from contributions from foreign lands, especially from the Turkish provinces and Africa. In good years these contributions amount to 500,000 piasters, of which Amsterdam sends 80,000. The other half of the income comes from fees of various kinds, as for burials, gravestones, marriages, imported goods, the wine duty, etc. This in favorable years

amounts to 500,000 piasters; so that the whole income of a favorable year may be reckoned at a million piasters, or somewhat less than 50,000 dollars.

The annual expenses of the Sepharedim, exclusive of the interest on loans and trust funds which they are obliged to pay, and of their permanent debt, are reckoned by Dr. Frankl to be 105,000 piasters, 30,000 of which is paid as "backshish" to the Turks for various favors, particularly for the privilege of the "Wailing-place" before the old wall of the Temple; 10,000 to the guard of the graveyard in the valley of Jehoshaphat; 5,000 for the liberty of visiting Rachel's tomb near Bethlehem; 5,000 for the salary of the Grand Rabbi; 5,000 for other salaries; 30,000 for the poor, for widows, and for orphans; and 20,000 for the Talmud school. The large surplus revenue, according to Dr. Frankl, is divided by the Rabbins among themselves.

The Sepharedim in Jerusalem have four synagogues, which are built together on Mount Zion, and are entered by a common stone staircase from the much higher level of the street. The tradition concerning the synagogue building (which corresponds with the Christian Church of the Sepulchre in being a collection of several places of worship under one roof) is, that at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem it was the house where Rabbi Jochanan ben Sakai expounded the law. These sacred houses, though somewhat dilapidated, and inconveniently small, are yet not without a certain dignity, and even elegance. The silken covering of the rolls is faded, but the antique furniture and the ornaments of silver and gold are kept clean and bright. Besides these four synagogues, there are six other "houses" belonging to the community. The synagogues are not rival or hostile, but are separate more for convenience than from jealousy. Those who would reach the inner three must pass through the vestibule of that which is nearest to the street. In addition to its Rabbins, this community has missionaries who go abroad to solicit alms.

The Ashkenasim, or Jews who use in their speech a corrupted dialect of German, number in the Holy City about 1,700. Some thirty or forty years ago they separated themselves from the Sepharedim, and have since parted still

further into six different sects, which are passionately hostile one to another.

These sects of German Jews, most of whom, however, are Russians, Hungarians, Moravians, and Bohemians, are united only by a common antipathy to their Spanish and Oriental brethren. They have but one synagogue, the "Churba" of Rabbi Jehuda Hachassid, which, after many changes of ownership and disasters by fire and dilapidation, has at last been confirmed to them by the Turkish rulers, and has been solidly rebuilt. Besides this synagogue, the Ashkenasim have numerous rooms for prayer, for religious discussions, and for the study of the Talmud. For the education of children they have no provision, and in fact they do not wish or care for this. Their whole system of education consists in learning by heart passages from the Talmud, which is really the source of all their Biblical knowledge. Of geography they have no accurate idea, and are wholly ignorant of the most common scientific facts. Dr. Frankl mentioned to a Rabbi famed for his learning, that he expected to reach Mounts Gerizim and Ebal on the second day from Jerusalem, and was met by the astonished rejoinder, "Are not these mountains a thousand miles from here?" Another Rabbi did not know what division of the earth he lived in, or that there was any such part of the earth as Europe. Even one of the superintendents learned to write his name in Hebrew characters only when he had become an old man, and then merely for the purpose of signing documents.

The most characteristic feature of Jewish life in Jerusalem seems to be the hatred of the sects for one another. The Ashkenasim denounce the Sepharedim as ignorant, infidel, and incapable. In return, the Sepharedim accuse the Ashkenasim of hypocrisy, of vindictiveness, and of impiety. Only the poorest of these hostile sects will intermarry, and the leaders have no friendly intercourse. Equally bitter are the antipathies of the various parties among the Ashkenasim. Nowhere, indeed, does religious animosity of every kind manifest itself with such fierceness as within the walls of the city of peace. The strifes around the sepulchre of Christ are paralleled by those around the synagogues on Zion.

There is a marked difference in the external appearance

and manners of the Sepharedim and the Ashkenasim. The costume of the former is more flowing, picturesque, and graceful; their gait is slower, and their composure is not unlike that of their unexcitable Turkish neighbors. The Ashkenasim, on the contrary, are quick in their movements; walk with the head stooping forward and the eye glancing from side to side; answer sharply, and in a tone of suspicion and impatience; and wear a dress at once coarse, ugly, and dirty. They avoid, as far as possible, any conversation with their Sepharedim brethren in the streets, and comparatively few of them visit on the Friday of wailing the place of meeting before the wall of the Temple. Even in the burial of the dead their hatred appears, and within a few years the various sects have separated among themselves the land for their graves. The "Peruschim" say, indeed, as a reason for this, that they are unwilling to contribute to the support of rivals who claim as a monopoly the right of selling graves; and they have in vain endeavored to deprive the Sepharedim of other monopolies, such as the exclusive right of slaughtering animals. In the contests concerning this monopoly of the shambles, the Moslem Kadi naturally preferred the Oriental to the European Jew; and although the Ashkenasim butcher turned the head of the beast to Mecca and prayed the prayer of Islam while he was cutting its throat, it did not avail to set aside the prejudice against these false Jews, or to induce the Moslems to buy their meat. All Jews are despised by the Moslems. But the Ashkenasim labor under the double burden of suspicion of their honesty and contempt for their religion. They are regarded by the Moslems as intruders even among the outcast Hebrews.

The chief source of trouble and misunderstanding among the Jews in Jerusalem is the division of the alms which are sent to them from abroad. This division is of two kinds, by the "Chaluka" and by the "Kadima." The Chaluka gives so much to every person, without regard to age or sex, and of course a numerous family of children will in this way secure a much larger share to the house. The Kadima, on the contrary, takes into consideration the rank and importance of the person, and makes distinctions. Among the "Ausche Hod,"

where the Chaluka is the only method, there are *no poor;* and this is the only Jewish community in Jerusalem of which such a remark can be made. In the other sects, there is very squalid poverty and a great deal of it. Few localities show more wretchedness to the eye of a passer-by, than the narrow streets of Mount Zion. It is not safe, however, to trust to these appearances. Much of this poverty is feigned for effect. The wives of some who go in rags in the streets, wear in the house jewels and gold and silken garments; and men who have received large bounties from foreign benevolence have been able to give costly dowry and extravagant feasts on the occasion of a daughter's marriage. By the Kadima, to many who have much already, more is given; and distinguished beggars become the wealthiest of the people. The office of begging is rather coveted than despised, and the privilege of going as messenger to Europe to solicit gifts is sold in Jerusalem to the highest bidder. An alms-collector has not only the third part of all that he can gather, but the use of the interest on the rest for all the time that his mission lasts, whether it be for months or for years. It is a very desirable duty.

The misery of the Jews in Jerusalem is greatly increased by their idleness. Comparatively few have any occupation. Only one of the race of Israel cultivates even a garden-patch on Mount Zion; and with the exception of the convert Meshullam, and the small colony at Jaffa, there is not a Jewish farmer in all Palestine. The whole number of Jewish mechanics and tradespeople in Jerusalem is 239, or one in 24 of the Jewish population. These few mechanics are mostly industrious and thrifty, and their enterprise contrasts strongly with the indolence and wretchedness by which they are surrounded. Most of the mechanical trades of the city are in the hands of Israelites. They are the masons, carpenters, smiths, tinkers, stone-cutters, tailors, cobblers, barbers, bakers, distillers, bookbinders, silversmiths, clock-makers, and painters, as well for Christians and Moslems as for their own people. There are a dozen merchants, a dozen pedlars, twenty keepers of shops, three moneychangers, five scribes, and forty "Melamdim," or teachers. But the mass of the people prefer an idle life, and accept with-

out shame the charity which nourishes them in their laziness. Scarcely any of the growing children are trained to useful labor; and the sentence, "By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread," has no significance in the city where it has been preserved as a Divine rule. Few are too proud to beg, but many are too proud to work. Those occupations in which women usually find pleasure are here neglected, and very few realize that description in the Proverbs of the virtuous housewife. In this general idleness there is very little difference between the sects; and whether it be the influence of climate or the contagion of example, the skilful mechanics who come from Europe soon lose their zeal, and become loiterers like the rest.

All attempts to remedy this obstinate aversion to labor on the part of the Jews in Jerusalem have thus far proved fruitless. Sir Moses Montefiore established and liberally endowed a school for the training of young girls in useful industry. As Dr. Frankl saw this school, nearly all the pupils and nearly all the teachers were stretched asleep upon the divans, and the pieces of work provided were piled up in a separate room. The maidens of eight to ten years of age were more proud of their condition as *brides*, than of any production of their nimble fingers. It was so in every school that Dr. Frankl visited. There was the same slackness in study as in labor, and only a very small portion of the children were gathered even to this house of ease. To a visitor fresh from the schools of Germany, such utter indifference was sad and mortifying to the last degree. Not more satisfactory are the schools of Tiberias and Safet; and in fact, in no Jewish school in Palestine is any useful knowledge imparted. Except in the memorized lessons of the Talmud, the culture of the Jews is but little better than that of the rude Fellaheen or the roving Bedouin.

Avarice, indolence, shamelessness, and jealousy are certainly not eminent signs of a pious spirit. Yet the Jews in the Holy City claim a superior piety, and ask respect for the religious motive which draws them to pray upon Zion and to seek a grave in the valley of Jehovah's judgment. They are very conscious of righteousness, and are more confident in their sloth and their want than others in abundance. They

believe themselves objects of envy rather than of pity to their brethren in less sacred lands, and feel toward other Jews somewhat as the green-turbaned descendants of the Prophet feel, even in their rags, toward other Moslems. Yet they are not remarkable for strict attention to religious duties. The synagogues, small as they are, as we remember, are by no means thronged upon the Sabbath morning, nor is that sad office of howling and cursing on the prayer-day of the Moslems observed by the larger portion of the people. There is reverence for the elders and for the Rabbins, and submission to the verdicts of this oligarchy; but Dr. Frankl was surprised to notice that on the "Feast of Weeks" they celebrated but a single day, and that no leaves or flowers were brought to adorn the synagogue. Some synagogue customs, however, struck him as peculiar and agreeable. The priestly benediction in Jerusalem is given on every day, and not, as in European synagogues, on feast-days only. The exception to this rule is the 9th of the month Ab, when the Jews mourn the destruction of the Temple. Four times, too, is the morning prayer repeated, so that every one may have a chance to join in it before he begins his day's work. The call to morning prayer is not unlike the call of the muezzin of Islam. When the oldest Rabbi of the Bethel institution, in which the Talmud has been studied all night, marks the first glimmer of morning twilight, he sends up a messenger to the roof of the house, who turns to the east, and cries aloud that it is "time for prayer." The breaking of the Sabbath day is announced by the Sepharedim in the call, "Light up," and at once all the windows are illuminated, and the lyric greeting comes up from the synagogues.

The only space which the women, hidden, like nuns in the Roman churches, behind their lattice, take in the synagogue service, is in *throwing kisses* to the roll of the Thora. Another peculiar custom is that of sons rising in their places when their fathers are called to assist in the reading of the Thora, and standing as long as the reading lasts. When a Rabbi rises in the synagogue, the whole assembly rises also; and as each member goes out, an attendant at the doorway hands to him a bunch of flowers or some fruit, to inhale its

fragrance while words of benediction are spoken. Of course, the inevitable rose-water has its use in the synagogues as much as in the churches of Jerusalem, and the faithful are sprinkled with this sweet shower. But with all the quaint signs of devotion which one marks among these Jews in the Holy City, the general impression is not of a very religious people. The prayers seem mechanical, the chant of the worship is hurried, as well as unmusical; and there is an evident lack of sentiment in the formality.

The most satisfactory Jewish establishment in Jerusalem is the hospital founded by the Rothschild family. In this hospital, in the year 1856, 542 patients were received, of whom 505 were cured, and only nineteen, less than four per cent of the whole number, died. The patients were from all parts of Europe, and some even from America. By rule, only Jews can be received and cared for; but Dr. Frankl noticed that Christians and Moslems were in the ambulances, receiving from the Director gratuitous aid and medicine. The chambers of this hospital are well ventilated, clean, and amply provided, and Dr. Neumann, the Superintendent, is a skilful and intelligent manager. Another hospital has been prepared for, outside the Jaffa gate, by Sir Moses Montefiore, unnecessarily, as Dr. Frankl thinks, as it doubles the cost of attendance and supervision, and involves the risk of jealousy and rivalry.

Early marriages are favored by the Jews of Jerusalem, and a large family is as desirable here as among the saints of Salt Lake City. The motive, indeed, is different. The Mormon honors fecundity as the means of peopling more rapidly a new territory, and of gaining a distinguished place in the coming kingdom; while the Israelite of Zion would increase his household that he may secure a larger share of the alms distributed. Many anticipate, in their marriage connections, the age of puberty, and it is not uncommon to see boys of fifteen who are husbands, and girls of ten who are wives. No one voluntarily remains unmarried. The celibate state is disgraceful. Yet, in the formation of marriage connections, but little heed is taken of dowry, and no one of either sex is too miserable to find a mate. So important is it that one should be the father of children, that in some instances men are the

husbands of two wives at once. This is allowed to Oriental Jews in two cases, when the first wife has no children, and when all her children are girls. The first wife has no right to prevent her husband from taking a second wife; but she may refuse to receive the intruder into her own house, in which case the husband must provide a second establishment. Dr. Frankl mentions six instances of this double marriage which came under his notice. In one instance, the first wife was fifty-five years old, while the second was only twenty-four, yet had already been *eleven* years married. In another instance, neither of the wives had any children, and the husband was intending to take a third if he could get permission, and if this were refused, he would divorce them both, in order to marry anew. Divorces are not uncommon. In the year 1856, there were sixteen instances, — for what reason we are not informed.

The melioration of the condition of the Jews in Jerusalem is not due solely to the benevolent efforts of their own religious brethren of France and Germany and England. Another agency, for which they are not so grateful, is the "Mission" of England and Prussia, which has its Gothic church on Mount Zion, and is not slack in its efforts to bestow upon the house of Israel, along with temporal relief, the blessing of the Christian faith. Dr. Frankl speaks of this mission and its operations without bitterness. He describes its church at length, and gives credit to its managers for good intentions and good capacity. He cannot, however, disguise his satisfaction that so few have been persuaded to forsake their ancient faith, or refrain from asserting that selfish interest may have had great influence in the conversions which have been made. The larger proportion of converts are from the Ashkenasim. Of the 131 baptized Jews who formed the congregation of the Zion Church in 1856, 71 were of Russian descent, and the remaining 60 were from very various lands. In the Appendix to his work, Dr. Frankl publishes a complete list of these apostates, their names, their business, their native country, and the number of their household. These are mostly of the tradesmen and better class. It is an undeniable fact, that several, in becoming converts, have secured a comfortable sup-

port; and one at least of those who figure in Frankl's black list, as we have reason to know, is not very scrupulous in his method of adding to his income, and has changed his Christian connection from the Episcopal to the Baptist mission since he first became a convert. The orthodox Jews look upon all apostates with contempt and scorn, and believe that apostasy is always the result of mercenary motives. Disobedient children threaten their parents with the menace of going over to the "Mission." Some who have been converted, after enjoying for a time the gifts and the privileges of their Christian connection, return to their first faith. In fact, religion with many of them is a matter of merchandise, and it was a Jew who said that the "only good business in Jerusalem" was the trade in "*baptisms*." Dr. Frankl even asserts, that in some instances parents rather favor the conversion of their children, with the understanding that it is a contrived plan, and that when they have received assistance they will come back to Judaism again.

Conversions from Christianity to Judaism are extremely rare. They are not much desired, and it is enjoined by the Talmud upon the Rabbins to put all possible obstacles in their way. The Jews want no proselytes, and do not try to make any; preferring always that the religion of Israel should be the property of the race of Israel. Nevertheless, if any are determined to accept the law and the ritual of Moses, and are able to pass the ordeal and meet the requirements, they cannot be refused. Dr. Frankl mentions two instances of this kind, one of them an American, born in Philadelphia, whose Christian name was Warder Gresson, but whose new Jewish name is Israel Boas. The other, Peter Rumpf, was a Prussian by birth, but was converted in America by Rabbi Schwarz, through whose persuasion he was induced to take up his residence in Jerusalem.

Almost equally rare are the cases in which a Jew has renounced the religion of Moses to swear upon the Koran and accept the faith of Islam. In eight years only four Austrian subjects were guilty of this apostasy, and in one of these cases repentance followed, and the wanderer was allowed to return to the home of her Jewish spouse and to the religion of her

fathers. It was love for a fascinating Turk that had drawn her away, but when she had learned to read the Koran, and found what she must assent to, she shrank from the sacrifice and renounced her Moslem lover. In the case of a Turkish subject such a return would not have been allowed, certainly not under the old order of Mussulman things. A Jew once vowed to Islam would be reclaimed with as much difficulty as the son of the Mortara from the hands of the Jesuits.

In the lack of all political power, the Jews are unable to hinder by force the conversions of their brethren either to Christ or to Islam. They have, however, a weapon which they do not hesitate to use, the "Ban," which has all the terror and mystery of a Papal excommunication. A Jew under the Ban is prohibited from all trade with his brethren; no one may sell to him or buy from him, — not even the necessaries of life; he is forbidden to enter the synagogue; his touch is impurity; and his wife and children must abstain from intercourse with him. He is for the time an outcast. This Jewish excommunication is pronounced by the Chacham Baschi, the chief Rabbi of the Sepharedim, apparently on his own responsibility; and Dr. Frankl was happy in being able to save by his intercession an unfortunate victim who was visited with this penalty for insulting language which he had used to the Jewish ruler.

In Jerusalem there is also a small community of Karaites, to whom Dr. Frankl made a friendly visit. These Karaites are a sect of Jews who wholly reject the Talmud and the traditions, affirming that the Bible alone is holy, and that the text of the Sacred Word alone is to be studied. Their name signifies "Literalists." They are quite numerous in European Turkey, and have in Constantinople a flourishing synagogue; but in the Holy City a house of moderate dimensions is large enough for home and hall and altar. The synagogue is in the cellar, receiving the light of day only through an opening in the roof. The book of the law which it contains is not here, as in Jewish synagogues, a series of *rolls*, but is a substantial folio of parchment in the usual book form, with initial letters in colors and gold. On the last page is a history of the manuscript and its writer, which is touching in its simplicity.

"I, Moses, son of the holy Menachem Dalbures, this book, which is called 'Maknisch,' have written and given as a worthy gift to the honored Rabbi Mordechai, son of the holy Isaac, in the month Siwan, in the year 82 of the sixth century. God give to him to meditate upon this book, him and his children and his children's children to all generations. Amen! And let the word be kept that is written. Let not the volume of this doctrine fail from thy mouth, but meditate thereon day and night. If thou heedest to do all that is therein written, then wilt thou in all thy ways be happy and wise. Be strong. Amen! Selah!" The house of the community is neat, well-ordered, and adorned with tables of marble and with light-colored carpets. From the master of the house Dr. Frankl learned some interesting facts concerning the condition and history of the small fraternity. At the end of the sixteenth century there were two hundred Karaites in Jerusalem, but a pestilence dispersed them so effectually, that in twenty years not one was to be found there. About the beginning of the eighteenth century they came back again, and have since kept, with very slender support, their separate existence. At present they number thirty-two souls, with four heads of families. The Ashkenasim will hold no intercourse with them; and though they visit with the Sepharedim, yet there is no intermarriage, and the place of burial is separate. The Turkish government regards them as subject to the Chacham Baschi, and they are required to observe, outwardly at least, the feast-days of the Jews. In other respects they are entirely independent. They live by their labor, receiving from their brethren in the Crimea only a very small contribution, of which the recent war deprived them. They are few and poor, but cheerful and satisfied in the treasure of their one ancient book.

The leading motive of Jewish emigration to Jerusalem is commonly supposed to be religious. These men and women are longing to pray where David prayed, and to find a resting-place in the valley of Jehoshaphat. Dr. Frankl, unfortunately, is not ready to indorse this opinion. He maintains that more of the European Jews go to Palestine to escape from servitude and to find relief from labor, than to worship God or to honor the fathers. He has but small respect for these watchmen of

Zion, and he laments that so many who have come to regret the land which they have left show no readiness to return to it, and no willingness to use the privilege of returning when this is offered. Christian pilgrims to the Holy City come, visit the shrines, and, when their pious desire is fulfilled, properly turn their steps homeward. The Jewish pilgrim, on the contrary, fixes himself in this land of desolation, where he has no prospect of success, but is doomed to misery. Almost none of the race of Israel return from the sacred land. Occasionally some rich pilgrim comes to visit his brethren, and goes home after leaving his money, but the poor pilgrim never thinks to seek again the shores of Europe. Dr. Frankl suggests as a remedy for this evil a more stringent law of immigration, requiring some guaranty of industry from all who undertake this duty of ostensible piety. It is no credit to Israel that the representatives of the ancient faith in the city of David should be a swarm of lazy and ignorant beggars. It is remarkable, moreover, in regard to these Jewish immigrants, that they forget their nationality when their feet touch the sacred soil. The Jews, indeed, are a nation apart, and yet in the history of France, of Germany, and of England they have shown themselves to be good citizens and patriotic lovers of their native land. They take very active interest in national affairs. Two of the leading spirits in this American Southern rebellion — one of them the War Secretary — are Jews. In Jerusalem, on the contrary, though they receive from the land of their nativity continual bounty, they lose all attachment to it, and all interest in its affairs, and take no pains to inform themselves concerning its fate. They do not assume new citizenship, though they relinquish the old. The Jew of Jerusalem does not, like the Jew of Smyrna, feel that he belongs to the Turkish empire. He claims a foreign protection, while he cares not what happens to his protector. The Jewish societies in Jerusalem, indeed, show the most signal instance of a law of disunion. They belong to nobody, not even to one another.

The condition of the Jews in other parts of Palestine is no better than in the Holy City. In Safet, the city of the northern hills, there are only 41, out of a population of 2,100, who

have any regular business. Here the Ashkenasim are greatly in the majority, numbering 1,300, of whom 900 are Russians, while 400 are from Galicia and Hungary. In spite of the terrible earthquakes which have repeatedly laid this city in ruins, and of the marauding incursions of the tribes of the Lebanon, the race of Israel still gather to this holy place, of which they have sole possession. It is singular that a city which is not named in the Scriptures, and the antiquity of which is not proved by any document, should keep its sanctity in the face of such disasters. The people are miserably poor, and complain that they are deprived of the portion of gifts which ought to come to them. They plead their unity as a counterpoise to the claim of their kindred in the holier city. The rival sects are here on friendly terms, and the brethren of the Sepharedim visit the synagogues of the Ashkenasim. In Safet there are at present seven synagogues, four of which belong to one sect, and three to the other. One of these synagogues is new, spacious, and elegantly furnished. The others are mostly small, dilapidated, and dusty. In one of them, as Dr. Frankl observed, the light before the altar had been allowed to go out. Besides these are numerous praying-places and dark rooms, where children are huddled together to learn by rote the sentences of the Talmud. In the neighborhood of Safet, beyond the ancient limits of Palestine, is a community of fifty Sepharedim who live by farming and cattle-raising; but their example has no effect in inducing their brethren in the city to cultivate the soil.

Tiberias is another town which belongs chiefly to the Jews. Here the two sects are more nearly equal, the Ashkenasim having 881, and the Sepharedim 633, out of a population of 1,514. They form one community, with seven synagogues, five belonging to the German, and two to the Spanish brotherhood. Most of the Ashkenasim are of Russian descent. Nowhere among the Jews of Palestine is labor more despised than here. There are but seventeen who have any other occupation than the study of the Talmud. With the lake before them, inviting their industry by its redundant wealth, there is only a single fisherman, and no Jew has a boat on the sea where once were the ships of many cities. All are sup-

ported by foreign charity. In this former home of the Sanhedrim, education is at the lowest ebb. There is not a school in Tiberias where the children are taught to read or write the tongue of the country. Proud as they are of the memory of Rabbi Akiba, and his twenty-four thousand disciples, the continual admonition of the burial-place and the pilgrimages made to it has not aroused any emulation of the ancient Rabbinical learning. The gestures of these mechanical students seem to a spectator only signs of idiocy, and he finds nowhere in Tiberias any evidence of learning in any kind. The only intelligent resident whom Dr. Frankl seems to have met there was a Dr. Weismann, at once hotel-keeper, physician, apothecary, and notary. Though the Jews of Tiberias are too proud to fish in the sea, they are not unwilling to bathe in it, even on the Sabbath day. Both sexes avail themselves of the dispensation granted by the Rabbi, and in the enjoyment of this luxury break without scruple the fourth commandment.

In Hebron, the ancient city of David, and the burial-place of the Patriarchs, the number of the Jews remaining is only 400, three fourths of whom are Sepharedim. The number diminishes rather than increases. There are three synagogues, all of them small, mean, and bare. Hebron, however, has a treasure in its library of two thousand volumes of copies of the Scripture, the Talmud, and the Liturgy, ranged along the wall of the school-room. One conspicuous "secular" volume is pointed out, a French-Arabic Dictionary, the gift of a French Rabbi. The Jews in Hebron have exclusive possession of a semi-agricultural branch of industry, the manufacture of wine from the grapes of Eschol. While the making of glass ware, introduced in the twelfth century by a Jew from Venice, has passed wholly into the hands of the Moslems, the strict rules of the Koran allow the Israelites to retain their control of the fruit of the vine. The wine of Hebron is the best in Syria, and is sent to Jerusalem in large quantities. But for this branch of industry, and the privilege of praying on feast-days in one corner of the doorway of the great mosque of the buried Patriarchs, the Jews would probably forsake a city where they are so much oppressed. Dr. Frankl relates several instances of the extortions to which the race of

Israel here have been subjected. One instance which he mentions seems, nevertheless, to tell in the opposite direction. As he was returning with his Jewish attendant from the circuit and examination of the walls of the mosque, a Turk, with a green turban, marking him as of the race of the Prophet, demanded a backshish, which the Doctor gave to him. This, as usual, was not satisfactory in its amount, and a dispute arose between the Turk and the attendant, which ended by the Jew's giving a thorough thrashing to his adversary, directly in front of the tomb of the prophet Abram. Fortunately, no evil came of it; but it seemed, after the stories of oppression, to be an act of surpassing boldness.

If the Jews of Hebron are hindered from access to their holiest tomb, they can console themselves by a free admission to the tomb of Abner, the captain of Saul's host, where at every new moon they come to pray. So, too, they can go out to the tomb of Jesse at morning and evening of the month Elul, and pray that their sick may be made whole, casting in locks of the sufferer's hair. The tree of Abraham, also, is left to them, and they care little for the pretended proofs that it is a modern growth, and not the oak of Mamre of which the Scripture testifies. Not very distant is that grave of Rachel so intimately associated with the patriarchal story; and of this the Jews buy the privilege of exclusive possession, by paying to the Moslems an annual tribute of 5,000 piasters, or about 240 dollars. Neither the beauty of this shrine nor its historical attraction would seem to warrant such an outlay; and some of the brethren complain, like the Jews of the Saviour's time when they saw the costly ointment poured upon the feet of Jesus, that this expense is wasted, and that the money should be given to the poor. The general sentiment of the Syrian Jews is not favorable to the multiplication of shrines, and it is doubtful if they would be willing to pay largely for an entrance even to the tomb of David on Zion, or to the sacred rock on Mount Moriah.

In Jaffa, the Jewish community numbers 400 souls in 65 families, of whom three families only are Ashkenasim. The annual revenue from charity is somewhat more than $200. Most of the members are very poor, and only four have

houses of their own. Some nine or ten are mechanics, and quite a number earn their living as boatmen, porters, and laborers. Within a few years, twenty of them have been employed upon the farm purchased by Sir Moses Montefiore, two miles distant from the city, the director of which is a Christian converted to Judaism, — once Peter, but now David, Clasen by name. For greater convenience, Clasen has established a synagogue in one of the garden buildings, where he holds daily religious services. His sister, also a convert to Judaism, became afterward the wife of a Protestant Christian, without for that reason going back to her early faith. We do not remember to have seen elsewhere a case of this kind, of a Christian turning Jew, and afterward marrying a Christian without loss of Judaism.

In Khaifa, the seaport at the foot of Mount Carmel, which has taken the trade once belonging to Acre on the opposite side of the bay, the number of Jews is less than one hundred. One of them touchingly described their condition to Dr. Frankl: "We barely live from our small traffic. No one cares for us, while such rich gifts flow in upon our brethren in Jerusalem, Hebron, Safet, and Tiberias. And what good does so much money do them? To support them in eating and drinking and laziness, which they only vary by their prayers. God gives nothing to men, however much they pray: unless they labor, he does not help them. Our synagogue is narrow and wretched; our children have no school, and learn nothing. They cannot be mechanics, since we dare not intrust them to Turkish teaching. Better poverty than crime!"

In Acre, a town now nearly deserted and in ruins, the stay of Dr. Frankl was too short to enable him to see much of the condition of his fellow-believers. All that he mentions is, that they are 120 in number, that they have a synagogue, and that they support themselves by fishing and trade. Saida, or Sidon, which he did not visit, has a Jewish population of 150, whom he reckons with the Jews of Palestine. In Nablous he found a small community of Sepharedim, forty in all, living together in one windowless, filthy, and unventilated house. This house serves at once for nursery, shop, storehouse, and

synagogue. The miserable company crowded around their visitor, women with children in their arms; but when they heard him confess that he had previously visited the Samaritans, they started back with a shriek of disgust and horror. The Jews of this region have still "no dealings with the Samaritans." One of the women advised Dr. Frankl to take a purifying bath after his act of pollution, — an advice by no means untimely, in view of his experience in their own filthy habitation. The head of this Nablous community is at once the overseer, the circumciser, the butcher, the doctor, and the amulet-writer of the fraternity. The cakes steeped in oil which he gave to Dr. Frankl for his farther journey were too disgusting to be eaten.

Much more satisfactory was the interview with the Samaritans of Nablous, which Dr. Frankl, in spite of the hazard to his orthodoxy, did not hesitate to seek. This Samaritan community has been so often visited and described by Christian travellers, — its gray-haired, white-robed high-priest, its ancient synagogue, and its more ancient manuscript, — that Dr. Frankl has not added much to what was already known of it. His conversation with the high-priest was interesting. According to the old man, the number of the Samaritans is 150, all of them now in Nablous, unless, as he seemed to think, there are some Samaritans in *Genoa*. A hundred years ago they were found in Damascus, Jaffa, Ashkelon, and Gaza; but in these cities they have now become extinct. They are poor, receiving only occasional aid from travellers and from England, and earning but little by their labor. Dr. Frankl was privileged to see, to touch, to kiss, and to hear read the venerable parchment of the Pentateuch, which is deemed the oldest writing now existing in the world. The reading was by a grandson of the high-priest, of whose linguistic acquirements the old man was inclined to boast, but whose dialect was to the visitor as an unknown tongue. By a simple experiment Dr. Frankl convinced himself that the high-priest of the Samaritans could not read Hebrew. The boy exhibited a writing-book in which both Hebrew and Arabic were neatly inscribed, but his learning seemed to surpass that of his venerable ancestor. The Samaritans will not read the Talmud, although

they are willing to read Arabic books, regarding the Talmud as an impious addition to the sacred law. In vain Dr. Frankl sought to buy from the high-priest a prayer-book. The Samaritans are as choice of their sacred books as the Druses. All that he could get as a token of his visit was a silver armlet of singular shape from the arm of one of the women. He praises the Samaritans, as the only community in Palestine in which his visit seemed to be regarded as a favor. One of them, indeed, volunteered to be his guide in the ascent of Mount Gerizim. In the neighborhood of Samaria, a woman, whom he calls a "Samaritan," gave him to drink of the jar of water which she carried, and refused any backshish; but she was probably not of the Samaritan sect.

One fact concerning the Samaritans is mentioned which we do not remember to have seen elsewhere, that they *do not bury their own dead*, believing that contact with a corpse defiles the person. The Mohammedans carry the body to the burial-place and inter it, and some hours after the Samaritan brethren come out and hold their lament over the grave. The community, nevertheless, have their own burial-place.

Of the sixty Jews in Sehafamer (a town which is not pointed out in the itineraries), and the five Jews in Rama, we have no account in the text, although they are reckoned in the footing in the Appendix. On the way from Rama to Safet, Dr. Frankl met a Jew, named Heirschel, *living alone*, the only instance of a solitary Jew which he found in his travels.

Such, in substance, is the account which this learned Israelite gives of his brethren in the land of the Bible. It seems to agree in the main with the more superficial observations of Christian travellers, and it certainly offers no encouraging view of the condition and prospects of the Hebrews in the home of their fathers. From the poetic temperament of Dr. Frankl, we might expect some vision of future glory to the people, some meditation on prophecy fulfilled and the Messiah's kingdom established on the mountain of the Lord. But he wisely refrains from any speculations upon the future, and contents himself with the more useful duty of pointing out real evils, and their possible remedy. The only effectual

remedy, as we think, will be the change of rulers in the land, and the establishment of a new civilization. So long as Syria remains a neglected province of the Ottoman Empire, and there is no concern in the rulers, and no interest in the people, to make the land yield its increase, or develop its resources, so long will the immigrants remain thriftless, indolent, and wretched. But under a Protestant sway, like that of England, there is no reason why the Jews should not find here as real a field for their enterprise as elsewhere where their rights are guaranteed and an open field is given them. They are not by nature indolent. Few races have more patience, ingenuity, and persistence in toil, when they can see gain as the probable result of toil. If Palestine were given to the Jews as a possession, and protection were confirmed to their industry, in time the abuses which are now so marked would disappear, the quarrels would subside, and the show of prosperity in Jerusalem would be as fair as in the synagogues of Vienna, Amsterdam, Paris, and London. The truest benevolence to the Syrian Jews will be that political change which shall lift off from them the *pariah* disgrace, and give them the rights of citizens. While they are only tolerated in the land, all foreign help is a curse to them rather than a blessing, promoting iniquity while it seems to relieve suffering. Until Palestine ceases to be the appendage of a despotism, whether Moslem or Christian, all efforts to improve the Jewish race within its borders will fail. The Mission may keep its showy church, the noble and rich may establish their schools, model farms may be set apart, but none of these things will reach the evil. The house of Israel must *own* the land which they inhabit, before they will be honorable or prosperous within it.

ART. IV. — MADAME SWETCHINE, *sa Vie et ses Œuvres.* Par M. LE COMTE DE FALLOUX. Paris: Didier. 1860. 2vols. 8vo.

AMONG the remarkable women of our time there is perhaps none whose character and attainments have made her more worthy of notice than she the record of whose life is contained in the pages before us. A foreigner by birth, her sympathies and her long residence in France had made her almost a Frenchwoman; the nobleness of her character, her cultivated mind, and her enlightened piety, caused her society to be sought by some of the most distinguished Roman Catholics of our time; while her ardent charity and active benevolence endeared her no less to the poor and the unfortunate. In the midst of the bustle and gayety of Paris, she lived a life of holiness and good works, ever ready to give sympathy where it was needed, and losing no opportunity of stimulating the young of both sexes to exertion in the cause of truth and religion. Although, perhaps, not a woman of genius, her influence over others was great and lasting; no life could be more useful in the sphere in which she moved, and no example more worthy of imitation can be offered to women of education, wealth, and leisure.

Madame Swetchine was born in Russia, in 1782. Her father, M. Soymonof, the private secretary of the Empress Catherine II., was a man of serious and cultivated mind, and of noble face and bearing. His position at court did not prevent him from bestowing much time and pains on the education of Sophie, for many years his only child. She was taught music, dancing, and languages, for all of which she evinced considerable taste. At the age of sixteen, she became the maid of honor of the Empress Marie, a beautiful and virtuous princess, whose patience and gentleness won the hearts of all around her, and enabled her to obtain a salutary influence over the singular and violent prince to whom she was united. But even she had to suffer sometimes from his capricious tyranny, and, although she suffered in silence, Sophie Soymonof had thus an early opportunity of learning

the useful lesson, that neither rank nor greatness can suffice for happiness. Sophie was not what is commonly called handsome; but her complexion was fine, her carriage graceful and easy, her blue eyes intelligent and gentle in expression, and her every word and action simple, natural, and lady-like. Her residence at court, and the part which the office she held compelled her to take in its frivolities, did not prevent her from continuing to improve her talents and cultivate her mind. She already spoke the Russian language, which many of the men and women of her country disdained to acquire, as suited only to the lower classes, as also French, English, and Italian, and had studied Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Some of her drawings are still shown, which would do credit to any amateur. Her voice was full, flexible, and sonorous, and she read music with unusual ease. Her father, fearing that, like so many other of Catherine's old servants, he might incur the displeasure of the Emperor, and be dismissed from office, was anxious that she should marry early, in order to secure to her a suitable home and a protector for life. His friend, General Swetchine, then forty-two years of age, a man of amiable disposition and excellent sense, as well as of pleasing personal appearance, offered Sophie his hand, and she, accustomed to consult every wish of her father, did not hesitate to accept his proposals. She had lost her mother several years previously, and was happy to think that, in forming this connection, she could continue to bestow on her little sister the same care that she had lavished on her since their mother's death.

M. Soymonof had been wise in thus anticipating his disgrace. Soon after his daughter's marriage, he was ordered to leave St. Petersburg. He obeyed, and went to Moscow, but the consciousness of having been treated with injustice, the separation from his beloved daughter, and the indifference of a friend on whom he had relied in the hour of misfortune, were a blow so severe, that he soon sunk under its effects, and a stroke of apoplexy terminated the life which had no longer any charms for him.

Until that moment, Madame Swetchine had never felt the power of religion. Naturally amiable and kind, it had cost

her no effort faithfully to discharge the various duties which devolved upon her; she had attended regularly to the showy services of the Greek Church in the imperial chapel; but she had never been taught to feel her dependence on a higher power, nor the duty and efficacy of daily prayer. The loss of the father whom she so tenderly loved was the turning-point in her life; in so great an affliction, she resorted to the only true source of consolation, and devoted her leisure hours to the study and meditation of the highest truths.

The society of St. Petersburg was at this time more brilliant than almost any other in Europe. The French Revolution had caused many emigrants of high birth and talent to take up their abode there, and the house of General Swetchine, the military commandant and afterward the governor of St. Petersburg, was always open to them. Among the frequent visitors of Madame Swetchine was the Chevalier d'Augard, who was named Sub-Director of the Imperial Libraries, and who from the grace of his conversation and the depth of his religious convictions may first have attracted her toward the Roman Catholic Church. Her friendship for the celebrated Count de Maistre afforded her an opportunity of hearing what so remarkable a man thought on the subject of his faith, and must have contributed to enlighten her, although his influence over her mind was probably not so great as it might have been, had not his extreme dogmatism repelled the natural independence of her character. Her conversion, which did not take place till several years afterward, was the result of deep investigation and of the workings of her own mind.

The Emperor Paul, who had always been capricious and violent, was fast becoming still more so. He issued the most absurd ordinances; in some cases the most barbarous. The slightest infringement of etiquette was punished severely; and even the princes and princesses of the imperial family were not exempted from this strict discipline. Officers were arrested at a moment's warning, dragged before a council of war, and subjected to the severest punishments. General Swetchine, although a faithful subject and a brave officer, was suddenly deprived of his post as governor of the capital. But a conspiracy, which he had been in vain solicited to join, was

even then formed for the purpose of dethroning the Emperor. Among the conspirators were, as is well known, some of the chief men of the Empire, who, humiliated by the position now held by Russia, displeased at the alliance which Paul had concluded with France, and exasperated by a tyranny which could at any moment deprive them of life and fortune, had determined to surround the Emperor's palace, to demand his immediate abdication, and to place his son, Alexander, a prince of amiable disposition and fair promise, on the throne. It is probable that Alexander knew of the conspiracy, but supposed that his father's life would be safe, and that he would be treated with the respect due to his rank. History ought to have taught him that such good fortune rarely attends a dethroned monarch. The death of his grandfather, the husband of Catherine II., had been sudden and terrible; that of his father was not less so. On the 12th of March, 1801, Paul had ceased to live, and Alexander, shocked at the catastrophe which at once deprived him of a parent and the empire of its head, was hurried by torchlight to the cathedral, there to be proclaimed Emperor in his turn.

General Swetchine and his wife remained in St. Petersburg after the accession of Alexander, their estates being at so great a distance from the capital that to have forsaken it would have been to retire altogether from society; but the General was not ambitious, and neither sought office nor obtained it. Madame Swetchine was no less indifferent to worldly honors, and from that time the only tie between herself and the imperial court was her grateful affection for the Empress Marie. This excellent princess, on the death of her husband, retired to the palace of Paulowski, where a choice collection of books, medals, and drawings bore evidence to her elegant tastes, and served to occupy the hours which she did not devote to good works. She continued to direct several of the principal benevolent institutions of the capital, and on one occasion, when the superior of a convent, where orphan girls of noble family were educated, fell ill, she took the place of this lady, and discharged the duties of her office till she was able to resume them.

Madame Swetchine did not fail to profit by the additional

leisure which her husband's retirement into private life gave her, and, while bestowing more attention than ever on her young sister and on General Swetchine, — for the gratification of her own tastes was never the first object with her, — she continued to cultivate her mind in every possible way. She never read any book without writing her comments on it, and copying those passages which particularly struck her. This habit, which she adopted at the age of nineteen, she never laid aside, and, considering the great delicacy of her health, it is surprising that she should have thus persevered in it. The volumes in her handwriting, and which were written solely for her own pleasure and improvement, are now in the possession of M. de Falloux, and amount in number to thirty-five. We cannot but wish that this practice might be adopted by young persons in our own country, where the cheapness and the multiplicity of books occasion a careless habit of reading for mere amusement, and, as has been well said, "enjoying the luxury of letting new thoughts into their minds, without the trouble of weighing their truth and value."

Notwithstanding her love of study, she always found time to attend to the wants of the poor and to console the afflicted. A number of notes addressed to her friend, M. Tourguenif, then employed in the Ministry of Public Instruction, shows how warmly she espoused the cause of the unfortunate, without distinction of religious belief, of country, or of sex. She also adopted a little girl, named Nadine, on whom she bestowed a mother's care; and, her sister having married Prince Gagarin, she found new objects of affection in her little nephews and nieces. Her loving heart could never be void, and her life flowed smoothly and happily on till 1811, when, a war between France and Russia having become imminent, General Swetchine deemed it his duty to return to active life. Madame Swetchine's patriotism was aroused by the idea of the invasion of her native country, and her warm sympathies were all enlisted in behalf of its defenders, of whom her husband was one. Like most of her people, she entertained a strong feeling of admiration for Alexander, who owed this devotion to the graces of his person and manner, and to the contrast which he offered to his predecessors, more than to

great talents or statesmanship. Her letters to her intimate friend, Mademoiselle Stourdza, the daughter of a Moldavian nobleman who had left his country after the treaty of Jassy, in 1791, in order to place himself and his family under the protection of a Christian power, and who was the lady of honor of Alexander's wife, show the sincerity and warmth of her patriotic feelings, and are at the same time a valuable spontaneous evidence of the religious faith which governed all her actions and colored all her views of life. In one of these she says, after speaking of her ill health, which compelled her to pass many of her days in inaction, — days on which, to use her own expression, she could "neither sow nor reap," — she adds: —

"After all, I do not complain of that or of anything else. I feel deeply the complete ignorance in which we are of that which is best for us; I have seen so many hopes when realized cause bitter tears to flow, more bitter far than those drawn from the eyes by disappointed hopes, that, if I were invested with full power over my own destiny, I should not hesitate an instant to entreat that I might be delivered from it. It is well to depend on the Supreme Being only, and, if anything could make human beings more miserable than they are, it would be one more degree of independence. These sentiments are not new to me; the first germ of them was conceived at a time when the air was balmy, and all around me sparkled with beauty and with freshness, and when my heart, although it had some sorrows, still felt all the charms of existence."

It must not be supposed from this extract, however, that Madame Swetchine's religion rendered her in the least gloomy or ascetic; on the contrary, she was always cheerful, entering with readiness into the plans and hopes of others, eager to give innocent gratification, and full of patience and sweetness toward the vicious, the ungrateful, and the worldly.

The events of 1814 and 1815 are too well known to need recapitulation here. Of all the conquerors of Napoleon, Alexander showed himself the most magnanimous. French literature and history are so familiar to all polished Russians, and they are so prepossessed in favor of French manners and customs, that it was doubtless easier for him than for the monarchs who shared his triumphs to acknowledge gracefully

the merit and the talents of the men of whom France was justly proud. He had no sense of personal wrong or humiliation with which to struggle; he had been successful in repelling the invader from the soil of Russia, while his fellow-princes had all suffered from invasion and conquest; he could afford to be generous; and, always greedy of popularity, he sought it as eagerly in Paris as in St. Petersburg, — more eagerly, perhaps, because less certain at first of obtaining it. Madame Swetchine, delighted with his successes, characteristically exclaims, "He is raised above other men now by his glory; he will be so also by the influence of religion."

To a certain extent she was right. Alexander, notwithstanding the school in which he had been educated, had always been accessible to religious impressions. He was naturally of a melancholy temperament, or, as some have imagined, the violent death of his father may have thrown a gloom over his life, and caused him to dwell on the transitory nature of human greatness, and the need of something beyond the grave to console us for the disappointments we endure here. Whatever the cause may have been, he was predisposed to listen willingly to the pious exhortations of the celebrated Madame de Krudner; and, during the remaining part of his life, he showed that religion had acquired an unwonted power over his mind and actions. It has been thought that the contact of the Roman Catholics, among whom he passed the years 1813, 1814, and 1815, and the virtues displayed by Pope Pius VII. in his misfortunes, may have inclined Alexander toward the Roman Catholic faith; but in Russia, where every influence was opposed to it, it was impossible for him to acknowledge such a preference. Himself the head of the Greek Church, and reverenced as such by millions who clung with all the fervor of fanaticism to that Church, it would have been positive self-destruction for him to have forsaken it for any other. Despotic as is the rule of the Emperor of all the Russias, his power, like that of all despots, is of uncertain tenure; the earth trembles beneath his throne, and more than any other monarch in Europe he has to consult the prejudices of his people. There is in Russia a constant struggle going on between the enlightened portion of the nobility and the old

Muscovite or national party; and it requires great skill on the part of the monarch to meet the demands of the age, represented by the one, without utterly and irretrievably alienating the other. Alexander acted as most men would have done under the same circumstances. He yielded to the exigencies of his position; stifled all leaning toward the Roman Catholic faith; with the mobility peculiar to his character, was soon induced to listen to the representations of those who wished the expulsion of the Jesuits from the empire; and in 1816 he had already issued a ukase banishing them from St. Petersburg and Moscow. It was in vain that the Count de Maistre, then Ambassador of Sardinia at St. Petersburg, espoused their cause with his accustomed ardor; the eloquent and famous letters addressed by him to Count Razoumofski, the Minister of Public Instruction, only delayed their fate for a short time. In the course of that year, their schools were closed, their missions, which had given so much consolation to the exiles of Siberia, prohibited, and they themselves banished from the empire. As a proof that in this act Alexander yielded rather to the representations of others than to his own convictions, we may mention that every Jesuit received from the Emperor's private purse a sum of money, and furs to protect him from the inclemency of that Northern climate during his journey.

The destinies of individuals are sometimes curiously interwoven with the policy of states; and the expulsion of the Jesuits became the eventful epoch of Madame Swetchine's life. The influence of the French Catholics whom she had known, some of whom, like the Princess de Tarente, were models of Christian heroism and virtue, had long before given her a strong bias in favor of the faith which could produce such fruits. In 1815, she determined to examine for herself the comparative merits of the Roman and Greek Churches. For this purpose, she thought it necessary to retire for a time altogether from the world, in order to devote herself exclusively to the studies necessary to her purpose. She hired the house of Prince Bariatinski, which was near St. Petersburg, and pleasantly situated on the shores of the Gulf of Finland, and retired thither in June, 1815, accompanied only by her adopted daughter. She had already satisfied herself that the

question between the Latin and the Greek Church was historical rather than dogmatical. She therefore read and carefully analyzed Fleury's Ecclesiastical History, giving special attention to the acts of the principal Œcumenical Councils held in the East, and to all in these acts which seemed to prove the supremacy of the Pope. No other work which she then studied convinced her and enlightened her so fully. She read Bossuet much, and thenceforward entertained so lively an admiration for that great genius, that it made her, as she herself said, unjust toward Fénelon. It is not possible, nor is it necessary, for us to ascertain the precise moment when all her doubts were removed. She always shrank from speaking of her religious experiences, or citing her own example. It is sufficient to know, that on her return to St. Petersburg, at the close of the year, she abjured her former faith, and made her first confession to a French priest, M. Rosaven. Owing to the odium in which the Roman Catholics were held at that time at the court of St. Petersburg, Madame Swetchine considered that her duty to her family required that her conversion should remain a secret; but when the edict against the Jesuits appeared, her strong sense of honor and justice would not suffer her to abandon those whose faith she shared, and, relinquishing all idea of concealment, she hastened, regardless of personal risk, to acknowledge herself a Catholic, and to do all in her power to soften the misfortunes of M. Rosaven and the other proscribed men.

Since his return to Russia, the Emperor Alexander had bestowed on Madame Swetchine so many marks of esteem and respect, that some of the courtiers, fearing the influence which such a woman might acquire over him, and unable to find a flaw in so pure and noble a character, determined, if possible, to injure General Swetchine. The hatred felt toward him by those who had in vain urged him to join in the conspiracy against Paul, could now be secretly gratified; and the machinations employed against him were so successful, that the General, deeply wounded by them, determined to leave Russia. Alexander, pained by this determination, but unable or unwilling to oppose it, showed his interest in Madame Swetchine by requesting her to write to him. She obeyed, and the corre-

spondence was kept up till the time of his death. The Emperor Nicholas, on his accession to the throne, courteously forwarded to her her own letters; but neither these, nor those of Alexander, which she was known to have preserved for many years, were found among her papers, and it is supposed that she must either have destroyed them during the Revolution of 1848, or sent them to Russia, where they may, at some future time, appear in print.

It may be imagined how much pleasure Madame Swetchine derived from her first visit to Paris. Her previous intimacy with so many French immigrants prevented her from feeling that she was in a strange land, and six months were passed by her in delightful intercourse with the most distinguished men and women of the Royalist, or, as would now be said, the Legitimist party. Of the diplomatic corps then in Paris, Baron William Humboldt and the celebrated Pozzo di Borgo, then Russian Minister in France, were her most assiduous visitors. The interest she took in charitable institutions gave her an opportunity of frequently seeing Baron de Gérando, whose philanthropical exertions and amiable character she was calculated to appreciate as they deserved.

At the end of the winter of 1816–17, General Swetchine found it necessary to return to St. Petersburg, in order to defeat the machinations of his enemies by his presence. Madame Swetchine accompanied him, but their sojourn in St. Petersburg gave to neither of them the satisfaction they had hoped to derive from it. Alexander, although personally their friend, was under the influence of those who did not wish that justice should be done to them. Besides, Madame Swetchine's sister was at Rome; the Count de Maistre had returned to his own country; other of her intimate friends were absent; and Madame Swetchine rejoiced when, after making the necessary arrangements, she and her husband could return to France for an indefinite period. At the end of the autumn of 1818 they left Russia, to which General Swetchine never returned, and which Madame Swetchine revisited but once, and that in order to obtain permission from the Emperor Nicholas to remain abroad permanently, — a favor so seldom obtained by Russian subjects from their master, that

we recollect seeing a Russian Countess who had nearly reached the age of seventy compelled to undertake the journey from Paris to St. Petersburg, in order to solicit in person the privilege of remaining abroad a year longer.

From 1818 till 1823 Madame Swetchine remained in Paris, where the friendships she had previously formed continued to strengthen. Her excellent disposition, her superior understanding, and her ready sympathy made her society invaluable to her friends, and it was a source of great regret to them when they found that she had determined to spend two years in Italy. Her sister was then in that country, and the pleasure of seeing her and her children, her religious fervor, and her thirst for improvement, all combined to make her residence there delightful. With her various gifts, it is not surprising that Rome should have had an especial charm for her, nor that she should have felt intensely the unrivalled grandeur and beauty which have appealed so powerfully to the greatest writers and artists of modern times. Her letters and the extracts from her journal written in that city are pleasing from the simplicity and truth with which they are expressed. As was her custom, she sought to profit by all she saw. She attended regularly the lectures of the celebrated Professor Visconti, carefully writing them out, and adding her own remarks. Her pleasure in the services and in the exquisite music at St. Peter's was great, as may be imagined; but, like all truly religious persons, she could not but be shocked at the want of reverence evinced by the crowd, who presumed to consider these solemnities as a mere show, and annoyed, as much as so amiable a being could be, by the levity and sarcasms of the Protestants who mingled with the sincere worshippers.

In the spring of 1825, Madame Swetchine and her husband returned to Paris, and established themselves in the Rue St. Dominique, in the quiet and aristocratic Faubourg St. Germain, inhabited chiefly by the representatives of the old nobility of France. As is the case with most of these ancient residences, the *hôtel* she occupied had a small garden in its rear, communicating with other gardens, so that from her windows she could enjoy the bright sunshine and the sight

of green grass and trees. She sent to St. Petersburg for some of the pictures and bronzes which her father had collected, and the sight of which recalled her happy childhood, and with these she tastefully ornamented her drawing-room, and a small room adjoining it, which she used as a library. She gave no evening parties and no ceremonious dinners; but her friends were always welcome at her table. She required little sleep, and before eight in the morning had heard mass, and visited some of the numerous poor families in which she was interested. The forenoon she passed alone, unless interrupted by persons who sought her assistance or sympathy. From three to six she received visitors; then came her dinner hour, and from nine till midnight visitors other than those of the afternoon kept her engaged in conversation. Although extremely simple in her attire, which varied little either in form or in color, she had exquisite taste in dress, and took pleasure in seeing the beautiful and elegant young women who often on their way to some magnificent fête passed an hour in her *salon*, which was always lighted by a profusion of wax tapers, the only luxury in which she indulged. The young always attracted her and excited her interest, and many were the useful lessons they received from her in an indirect way. It was characteristic of her that she never gave advice unasked; but she had the rare gift of leading others to reflect, of encouraging their good resolutions, of soothing their troubled minds, and of inspiring them with patience under their trials. In all this she never thought of herself: charity, in its broadest sense, was at the root of all her actions; to do good and to contribute to the happiness of others, the constant object of her life. Her time was always at the disposal of her friends.

As soon as her adopted daughter became the wife of Count Ségur, she took under her care the daughter of her old friend, Countess Nesselrode, whose health required the milder climate of France. The position of Count Nesselrode, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, prevented his wife from leaving St. Petersburg, and this young girl, who was then only fourteen years of age, remained in Madame Swetchine's family till her education was finished and her health restored. Nothing can be more

admirable than the letters constantly addressed to the anxious mother by Madame Swetchine, and it is a satisfaction to think that the unwearied attention bestowed on this young person's moral and intellectual development should have been repaid, as it was, by her almost filial affection and respect. Although occupied in studies which might have taxed the powers of the most eminent men, there seems to have been not a particle of pedantry about Madame Swetchine; her tastes, her manners, and her language were essentially feminine. Her political views were all moderate; she thought a constitutional monarchy the best and safest government for France; she sympathized with the Greeks in their effort to recover their national independence, and wept over the fate of Lord Byron, whom she had not known personally; but the Republican party in France and elsewhere seemed to her, and not unnaturally, perhaps, considering the crimes committed during the Revolution of 1789, synonymous with the party of irreligion and immorality. The Revolution of 1830 grieved her, (although she had not been blind to the faults of those who governed France during the Restoration,) because it placed the fate of the country she loved so well once more in uncertainty, and also because the blow fell heavily on many of her personal friends. But even then she was just toward the men who surrounded the new government, and felt, notwithstanding her respect for Charles X., and for the Dauphiness, the unfortunate daughter of Louis XVI., that, if the elder branch of Bourbons had failed to make the nation happy and prosperous, it was a duty to submit to the will of Providence, and patiently to await the course of events.

The Revolution of July changed the religious as well as the political situation of France entirely. "The Catholic religion," said the *Charte* of 1830, "is," not that of the state, but "that of the majority." During the later years of the Restoration, the clergy had become odious, because they were supposed to direct, either openly or secretly, every act of the government. The want of a newspaper which would defend the interests of Catholicism, and free the Church from its dependence on the state, while it adhered to the representative government inaugurated by the Bourbons on their return

from exile, and to the general principles in vigor in modern society, was felt by all sincere Catholics. The journal *L'Avenir* was started for the purpose of supplying this want. The nature of the questions raised and discussed in it, and the noble character and distinguished talents of the writers engaged in it, all contributed to give it great influence, and will keep it in remembrance so long as one of the most momentous problems of human destiny, namely, the exact limits between church and state, remains unsolved. The celebrated Lamennais, the eloquent Dominican Lacordaire, and Count Montalembert, then as now one of the most zealous and indefatigable defenders of the Catholic religion and the Papacy, as well as of the Polish cause, were the founders of this journal. All three were friends of Madame Swetchine, and were in the habit of discoursing freely with her on those vital questions which interested them all alike. Her truly Christian spirit induced her to exercise the influence she possessed over them to repress the tendency to ultra liberalism which has led so many of the promising young men of that period to utter unbelief.

The journal *L'Avenir* had been in existence but one year when it awakened the displeasure both of the French government and of the court of Rome. More anxious to satisfy the latter than to make their peace with the former, MM. Lamennais, Lacordaire, and Montalembert determined to continue the publication of *L'Avenir* till they had had an interview with the Pope. The result of this journey was made known to the world by the encyclical letter of Pope Gregory XVI. in which he condemned their paper, and by the celebrated work of Lamennais, *Affaires de Rome*. Instead of submitting, like his colleagues, to the head of the Catholic Church, he broke off his allegiance to that Church, and, after writing his admirable "Essay on Religious Indifference," himself became by slow degrees a sceptic. Lacordaire went into retirement to pursue those studies which made him the eloquent orator he was, and Montalembert resorted to Germany, where he first conceived the plan of his Life of St. Elizabeth. During his absence, Madame Swetchine's interest in him never failed; her letters to him are full of almost maternal

solicitude and affection, and the relations then established between them lasted as long as she lived. With M. Lacordaire she was also in the habit of corresponding, and the respect he entertained for her is shown by the fact of his sending to her the manuscript of a reply to M. de Lamennais's *Affaires de Rome*, requesting her to read it before she sent it to the Archbishop of Paris, who was to decide whether it should be published or not, and who, in order not to reawaken discussion on the subject of which it treated, decided that it should remain unpublished.

In 1834, Madame Swetchine was painfully surprised by an order from the Emperor Nicholas to leave Paris, with her husband, and return to Russia, there to reside in an obscure town at a distance from Moscow and St. Petersburg. It was then mid-winter; but Madame Swetchine did not hesitate as to the course she ought to take. She had always refused to listen to the advice of her friends, to dispose of all the property she possessed in Russia, and transfer her funds to France; and she was unwilling to dissolve the last tie which bound her to her native country, or to abandon the peasants on her estate, which she intended to leave to her sister's children. Besides, she dreaded confirming the Emperor's prejudices against the Roman Catholic faith. She resolved to obey, although convinced that the change of climate, if not fatal, would at least shorten her husband's life as well as her own. The intercessions of her friends obtained a reprieve of a few months, and it was not till August that she left Paris for St. Petersburg. Two months were spent there in obtaining permission to return to Paris to reside, and then an attack of severe illness prevented her from leaving St. Petersburg till February. The inclemency of the weather caused her much suffering during her journey, and on her return to the Rue St. Dominique she became so ill that for three months her recovery was doubtful. During the whole of this trying year she had exhibited wonderful fortitude and resignation, soothing General Swetchine, who felt deeply the indignity with which he had been treated, by kind words and attentions, concealing from her friends in Paris all the anxiety she suffered, and never allowing a murmur against the Russian gov-

ernment to escape her. Her submission, as she herself said in writing to a friend, had nothing servile in it; it was freely given, and from a sense of duty only.

In 1836, Madame Swetchine was called upon to bear two severe afflictions, — the death of the Countess Ségur, her adopted daughter, and of her brother-in-law, Prince Gagarin. As her sister from that time resided in Moscow altogether, the separation from her was added to these afflictions; but every disappointment and trial led her thoughts upward, and increased the fervor of her piety; and yet so free from all ostentation was the austerity of her religious practices that, among those who visited her frequently, few were aware of them. In the same way her charities were concealed as much as possible from all except those on whom they were bestowed; but she visited the poor constantly, and was most ingenious in supplying their necessary wants, and at the same time in endeavoring to afford them innocent gratification, as by giving them flowers, books, or cheap prints. "No generous thought," says her biographer, "ever entered her mind, without being translated into a generous action." A servant who had lived thirty years with her says, in a letter to M. de Falloux: "I am convinced that she shortened her days by wishing to make herself useful to her fellow-creatures in every class of society, by making herself the slave of all."

When she left Paris for the country, or for some watering-place, her first thought was to become acquainted with the Sisters of Charity, and to hear from them of some poor family which she might assist. It was once said of her, that the more unhappy one was, the more she loved the sufferer. The rich came to her to unburden their domestic griefs, as the poor to tell their misery; and she had the gift of saying something consoling to each one. She never lost sight of the peasants on her estates in Russia; and the letters from her friends concerning them show how deeply she to whom they wrote entered into their wants, desired their comfort, and sought to further their moral improvement. No one who knew her can doubt how much pleasure she would have felt at the measures taken by the Emperor Alexander for the emancipation of the serfs throughout his empire.

The Revolution of 1848 did not take Madame Swetchine by surprise. She had foreseen that another change of government in France was probable, although she had not supposed that it would take place so soon. But now, as at every other period of her life, she was neither depressed nor elated unduly. She did justice to the authors of the Revolution, as well as to those who suffered from it. She had never been partial to Lamartine, and believed that his work on the Girondists had fostered evil passions and hastened the Revolution; but she praised his firmness, his courage, and his humanity in the hour of trial, as much as his warmest friends. Her constant endeavor was to calm the political passions of those about her, instead of seeking to excite them, as some women possessed of her influence might have done.

In the succeeding year, Madame Swetchine lost the friend of her youth, Mademoiselle Stourdza, the wife of Count Egdling, and another friend, no less dear, Countess Nesselrode. She kept up a constant correspondence with both, and had usually passed a few days every summer with the latter at some German watering-place. She felt their loss deeply, and had hardly had time to recover from it, when she was called upon to mourn the death of General Swetchine, who died of apoplexy at the age of ninety-two. He was a man of amiable disposition, delicate and generous in his feelings, and well informed. Although his deafness during the latter years of his life prevented him from enjoying general conversation, he always had a gracious welcome for his wife's visitors, and showed a special regard for her particular friends, MM. Lacordaire and Ravignan, while he never relinquished his adherence to the Greek Church. His death was a severe blow to Madame Swetchine, who from that time retired more and more from the world, spending the months of November and December of each year in entire seclusion within the walls of some convent. It was during these last years of her life that she became acquainted with M. de Tocqueville. A few charming letters of this distinguished man are given in the volume before us, as well as in his Life and Letters, recently republished here. Two such persons could not fail to appreciate each other. Tocqueville, as every one who has read his Life must perceive,

differed essentially from Madame Swetchine in one respect. The number of his friends was as small as that of hers was large. The refinement of his nature, his fastidious taste, and his somewhat melancholy temperament, prevented him from giving his heart or his approbation very readily, and perhaps there is, for this reason, no one whose opinion of Madame Swetchine is more valuable. His respect for her character and his admiration for her talents are warmly expressed in his letters, both to herself and to others.

Madame Swetchine's health had been undermined for years. Scarcely a day passed without her suffering physical distress; but she resisted pain and sickness with wonderful firmness, and to the last was more thoughtful of others than of herself. Her taste for study never forsook her, and she never ceased advising her young friends to devote some of their morning hours to the pursuit of knowledge. Moral improvement she considered a paramount duty; and her biographer remarks, that he was much touched by reading the scattered notes, often written in pencil on scraps of paper or in her pocket-books, in which she who was possessed of so many virtues speaks of the duty of overcoming certain faults, or bad habits, which a rigid self-examination enabled her to discern in herself.

Her physicians having insisted on her passing the summer of 1857 in total retirement, she had gone to the Château de Fleury, at some distance from Paris, intending to remain there till late in the autumn, when she received letters from two of her nephews, informing her that they and their families were coming to France, and wished to be allowed to come to Fleury to see her. With characteristic unselfishness, she declared that she would not bring two young women and their children into solitude like hers, and wrote that she would meet them in Paris. Here she rapidly grew worse, the dropsy from which she had long been a sufferer causing her limbs to swell, and her breathing to become at times very difficult; but her faculties remained unimpaired, and she appeared to derive pleasure from the society of her nephews and nieces. M. de Falloux, having heard of her illness, had come to Paris on purpose to see her, and, on finding how critical was her situa-

tion, determined not to return to the country while she lived. With the utmost composure, she dictated to him her wishes with regard to her burial, and the arrangements she wished to make for her servants, and for some poor persons in whom she was interested. She had already disposed of the bulk of her fortune in favor of her sister's children. To M. de Falloux she confided the papers from which the work before us has been compiled, and from which, as we are glad to learn, he has just given two other volumes, containing her letters, to the public.

Throughout her whole illness, which lasted nearly three weeks, and which caused her great suffering, she was constantly serene and patient, ready to converse, whenever the effort was not too painful, with those intimate friends who surrounded her, and at all times full of faith and resignation. One evening, she requested to have her arm-chair moved near the window, and, after expressing her admiration of the beauty of the sky, the purity of the air, and the smiling aspect of the garden, she said, "If God should leave me here, I could still enjoy life; but if he calls me hence, what other feeling could I have but gratitude?"

On the 8th of September she breathed her last, rewarded, even in this world, for a life of purity and good works, by

> "that which should accompany old age,
> As honor, love, obedience, troops of friends,"

and leaving behind her an example of moral and intellectual worth such as has rarely been surpassed.

ART. V. — 1. *The Seven Sisters of Sleep. A Popular History of the seven prevailing Narcotics of the World.* By M. C. COOKE, Director of the Metropolitan Scholastic Museum. London: James Blackwood.

2. *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater, and Suspiria de Profundis.* Boston: Ticknor and Fields.

3. *The Hasheesh-Eater: being Passages from the Life of a Pythagorean.* New York: Harper and Brothers.

THE Seven Sisters of Sleep are by Mr. Cooke somewhat fancifully styled Morphina, Virginia, Gunja, Sisaboa, Erythroxylina, Datura, and Amanita. By these euphonious titles — hybrids, born of botany and chemistry — are meant the seven principal narcotics used and abused by the human race. In more homely English, they are called Opium, Tobacco, Hemp, the Betel, Coca, Stramonium, and the Siberian Fungus. While all of these narcotic substances are largely used by certain races, yet there are three more prominent than the others, from their power, or their almost universal employment by many semi-barbarous and some civilized nations, namely, Opium, Hemp, and Tobacco. To these three we propose to devote our chief attention. It may even be objected that two of them are of little direct consequence to this people and time, and that we should confine ourselves to tobacco, if we would treat practically of things near home. This, however, is but a narrow view of so important a subject; and statistics and authenticated individual cases warrant us in asserting, that the abuse of such powerful narcotics as opium and hemp concerns us more closely than we may be willing to acknowledge.

In 1857, England imported between 80,000 and 90,000 pounds of opium, of which 42,000 pounds were retained for home consumption; while during the same year she raised in India, and carried to her best customer, China, 70,000 chests of opium, equal to 10,800,000 pounds. In 1858, the United States imported 71,839 pounds of opium, worth $304,910; and retained of this within her borders about 65,000 pounds. It is impossible to obtain exact data of the consumption of

hemp; but it must be very large. The annual crop of opium is estimated at 20,000,000 pounds, and that of tobacco, throughout the world, at 4,480,000,000 pounds. We are told, also, that it may be questioned whether many more people are employed in raising the common necessaries of life, than in cultivating and preparing these apparently unnecessary indulgences. Certainly no other crops, except corn and cotton, represent more capital, employ more shipping and other means of transportation, are the subject of a more extended and unfailing traffic, and the source of greater commercial wealth.

From a careful estimate by the best authorities, it is believed that tobacco is used by 800,000,000 persons throughout the globe, opium by 400,000,000, and hemp by from 200,000,000 to 300,000,000 souls. Thus about two thirds of the whole human race employ tobacco; one third, opium; and one fourth, hemp, as narcotic indulgences.

We may well feel ourselves concerned in such a consumption; for if it be not absolutely our own interest which demands our consideration, it is the nearly allied interests of our common race, for whom we should, as Christians, feel at least an equal sympathy with that which the Roman expressed in his broad maxim of philanthopy, *humani nihil alienum.* But we have also more selfish and personal incentives. The quickened locomotion and facilitated intercourse of the present day bring us weekly to the doors of the Eastern nations; increased familiarity is producing its natural effects in the imitation of Oriental habits; the Caucasian races, no longer content with tobacco, coffee, and tea, are beginning to crave and use the stronger narcotics; books of personal experience are written by enlightened Christians on these pagan delights; and, finally, the over-wearied brains, as well as the corrupt hearts, of this busy world of competition demand them, or something analogous to them.

The love of narcotics is universal. A survey of the whole world shows that no nation is so poor, barbarous, or obscure as not to have found and adopted its favorite and peculiar luxury of this sort. The Chinese sink under the soft but adamantine chains of opium; the races of India, the Persians, and the Turks stimulate the imagination to frenzy with hemp;

other Asiatic nations, as well as the Malays and Pacific Islanders, chew the Betel-nut; the South American ascends the weary slopes of the Andes with lighter step and freer breath under the influence of Coca; the same tribes, as well as some castes in India, make an intoxicating beverage with the thorn-apple, or Stramonium; and even the poor Siberian, or Kamtchatkan, gratifies his longing for narcotic indulgences with an humble toadstool, the Siberian Fungus. The hop is the narcotic distinctive of England, coffee the nervous stimulant of France, tea of Russia, and all three of the United States. Tobacco is so common a narcotic, that it is used also by those who resort to more powerful substances of the kind; and so far do these soothing habits penetrate unsuspected into our daily diet, that the dozing matron has her afternoon nap prolonged, if not occasioned, by a narcotic principle — Lactucarium — which she absorbs from the lettuce of her salad.

Whence this universal passion for sedatives or narcotics? We know no better explanation of the *rationale* of this proclivity than the following: —

"In ministering fully to his natural wants and cravings, man passes through three successive stages. First, the necessities of his material nature are provided for. Beef and bread represent the means by which, in every country, this end is attained. And among the numerous forms of animal and vegetable food a wonderful similarity of chemical composition prevails. Second, he seeks to assuage the cares of his mind, and to banish uneasy reflections. Fermented liquors are the agents by which this is effected. Third, he desires to multiply his enjoyments, intellectual and animal, and for the time to exalt them. This he attains by the aid of narcotics."

Be the reasoning as it may, the fact remains of an almost instinctive craving for narcotics, nervous stimulants, and sedatives, and of their consequent immense consumption and abuse by all races of men. Alcoholic stimulants will not satisfy this longing; and stimulants are not only inapplicable to many delicate feminine organizations, but they are openly employed and deemed consistent with good morals by but a few. Tobacco supplies the needed sedative to very many; yet many, also, among the tobacco consumers, practically deny

that it is enough, by itself. In civilized countries, indeed, coffee and tea are largely used to fill the constant vacuum incident to the waste of nervous power, and its imperfect reparation by an enfeebled vitality and morbid habits of life. But coffee and tea are nervines, rather than narcotics, in the real sense of the word. And although we must remember that narcotics like opium are taken for their primary stimulant or exhilarant effect, and not for their somniferous or anodyne qualities, yet the peculiar admixture of mild stimulative and sedative influences caused by coffee, tea, and tobacco differs in kind, as well as degree, from the effects produced by opium or hemp. It seems, indeed, as if man might be content with these gentler stimulants to his brain; and so, perhaps, the majority of the most civilized people are. But the number is immense, who, from barbarous habits of thought, from tropical and sensuous imaginations, or even, as we are told of the Chinese, from mere want of occupation, lapse almost insensibly into the dangerous use of the true narcotics.

The antiquity equals the universality of their employment among mankind. All history bears witness to this. The poppy was sacred to Ceres, and was one of her emblems. This was because its seeds were first used as food, equally with the grains of wheat, to which that deity has given the name of Cereal. There is nothing strange in this. The capsule enclosing the seeds contains the narcotic principle, and the seeds themselves hold stores of starch and gluten, like other vegetable germs. The same seeds yield much of the oil used as olive oil in France at this day. But the other name of the poppy (*Papaver somniferum*) proves that its narcotic properties were as well known as its nutritive uses. Under this title it was sacred to Somnus, the god of sleep; and such terms as the "drowsy poppy" were used by the earlier Latin poets, whence they have descended, like many a richer legacy of unconscious plagiarism, to modern verse. The properties of the tropical hemp, too, seem to have been fully understood. The much-abused and but lately credited father of history tells us: —

"The Scythians having taken some seed of hemp, they creep under cloths, and put the seed on red-hot stones; but this, being put on, smokes, and produces such a steam that no Grecian vapor-bath would surpass it. The Scythians, transported with the vapor, shout aloud." *

It is even thought very probable that the *nepenthes* of Homer was Indian hemp. Undoubtedly it was either this or opium. And our decision as to the composition of the ambrosia or nectar of the gods can reasonably vary only between a narcotic potion and a fermented and intoxicating mead. In the Odyssey, Helen administers a soothing potion to Telemachus, whose effects seem equally allied to either of the great narcotics.

"Meanwhile, with genial joy to warm the soul,
Bright Helen mixed a mirth-inspiring bowl;
Tempered with drugs of sovereign use to assuage
The boiling bosom of tumultuous rage;
To clear the cloudy front of wrinkled care,
And dry the tearful sluices of despair;
Charmed with that virtuous draught, the exalted mind
All sense of woe delivers to the wind:
Though on the blazing pile his parent lay,
Or a loved brother groaned his life away,
Or darling son, oppressed by ruffian force,
Fell breathless at his feet a mangled corse;
From morn to eve, impassive and serene,
The man entranced would view the deathful scene." †

Homer speaks, too, of the poppy growing in gardens; and opium was employed by Hippocrates so extensively as to be condemned by a contemporary physician. Many of the ancient poisonings at Rome were doubtless committed with this drug.

The ravings of the Pythia of the oracle at Delphi, which have been ascribed to some exhilarating natural gas proceeding from the earth in that volcanic region, are attributed, with equal show of reason, to the influence of hemp. This priestess of Apollo was seated on a tripod over a hole or fissure of the rocks on Mount Parnassus, whence issued a vapor which was supposed to fill her with inspiration, and under whose influ-

* Herodotus, Lib. IV. cap. 74, 75.

† Pope's Translation.

ence, with sparkling eyes, dishevelled hair, and semi-convulsed, she delivered her ambiguous and crazy verses to the awe-struck listener. It has been believed that these fumes were produced by the burning of some narcotic herb, like hemp. This certainly seems not unlikely. The eloquence of the other famous sibyls may have had a like origin, unless they received direct dictation from the priest, from one of those hidden passages behind the oracle, such as can be seen in the ruins of the temple at Pompeii.

The author of "The Hasheesh-Eater" does not scruple to ascribe the philosophical reasonings and theories of Pythagoras, and the mysteries taught his followers, to hemp. This he does, professing to judge by the similarity of some of his own hasheesh visions to the no less visionary views of the great philosopher. If this supposition be true, it can be easily extended so as to embrace all the other ancient mysteries and orgies or Saturnalia, and particularly the greater ones of Eleusis. There is much plausibility in the theory that the bewildered candidate who emerged from the mystic cavern of the Eleusinia, having seen and heard things unseen and unknown before, was the victim of hallucinations produced by artful mechanism and ingenious stage effects upon a mind under narcotic influence.

Etymology, as well as other evidence, points clearly to the analogy between such influences and the views and conduct of another and more criminal sect, — the Assassins. These Mohammedans were settled in Syria and Persia in the twelfth century. Their chief was called "Ancient of the Mountain." They blindly obeyed his commands, and bore considerable resemblance to the Thugs of India. Some authorities tell us that these men were called *Haschischins*, because the use of haschisch was common among them in the performance of their rites, and that this name became corrupted into the English *Assassin*. During the wars of the Crusades, certain of the Saracen army, while in a state of intoxication from the use of this drug, rushed madly into the Christian camp, committing great havoc, without themselves having any fear of death. They were called *Hashasheens*, and hence *Assassins*. This conduct is precisely the same as that of the Javanese

hasheesh-eaters, who, when mad with hemp, sometimes plunge into the streets, and *run amok*, as it is called, killing all whom they meet. With such blind fury do they make their attacks, that, a soldier having caught one of them upon his pike, he pressed forward upon it, driving it into his body, until he could reach his adversary with his knife, and both fell dead together. The chief of the Assassins recruited his ranks by the aid of hemp.

"In the centre of the Persian, as well as the Assyrian, territory of the Assassins, — that is, both at Alamut and Massiat, — were situated, in a space surrounded by walls, splendid gardens, — true Eastern paradises. There were flower-beds and thickets of fruit-trees, intersected by canals; shady walks and verdant glades, where the sparkling stream bubbles at every step; bowers of roses and vineyards; luxurious halls and porcelain kiosks, adorned with Persian carpets and Grecian stuffs, where drinking-vessels of gold, silver, and crystal glittered on trays of the same costly materials; charming maidens, black-eyed and seductive as the houris of Mohammed's paradise, soft as the cushions on which they reposed, and intoxicating as the wine which they presented. The music of the harp was mingled with the songs of birds, and the melodious tones of the songstress harmonized with the murmur of the brooks; everything breathed pleasure, rapture, and sensuality.

"A youth who was deemed worthy, by his strength and resolution, to be initiated into the Assyrian service, was invited to the table and conversation of the grand master, or grand prior. He was then intoxicated with haschisch, and carried into the garden, which, on awakening, he believed to be paradise. Everything around him contributed to confirm his delusion. After he had experienced as much of the pleasures of paradise, which the prophet has promised to the blessed, as his strength would admit, — after quaffing enervating delight from the eyes of the houris and intoxicating wine from the glittering goblets, — he sank into the lethargy produced by debility and the opiate, on awakening from which, after a few hours, he again found himself by the side of his superior. The latter endeavored to convince him that corporeally he had not left his side, but that spiritually he had been rapt into paradise, and had then enjoyed a foretaste of the bliss which awaits the faithful, who devote their lives to the service of the faith and the obedience of their chief. Thus did these infatuated youths blindly dedicate themselves as the tools of murder, and eagerly sought an opportunity to sacrifice their terrestrial, in order to become the partakers of eternal life."

As an instance of the blind submission of these devoted followers to the will of their chief, it is narrated that Jelaleddin Melekshah, Sultan of the Seljuks, having sent an ambassador to the Sheikh of the Assassins, to require his obedience and fealty, the latter called into his presence several of the initiated. Beckoning to one of them, he said, "Kill thyself," and he instantly stabbed himself; to another, "Throw thyself down from the rampart," and the next instant he lay a mutilated corpse in the moat. On this the grand master, turning to the envoy, who was unnerved by terror, said, "In this way I am obeyed by seventy thousand faithful subjects. Be that my answer to thy master."

To the author of "The Hasheesh-Eater" belongs the credit of having first pointed out the probability that the peculiar imaginative turn of the Arabian Nights was due to the influence of a narcotic. Upon mature reflection, this must appear to every one highly probable. Those stories seem to every reader like the vast, interminable, and half-connected imagery of a dream. Not that their style is obscure; on the contrary, it is eminently simple, clear, and direct, as to the language itself. But the inimitable tone of assured veracity in which the most improbable events and impossible incidents are narrated, is exactly like the process through which the mind passes in a dream, — seeing, believing, and connecting together experiences the most opposite in time, quantity, and nature, — while all appears as vivid and true as the most simple event of the waking hours. The vast enlargement of time and space is another point of resemblance between the author of the Arabian Nights and the mental state of the hasheesh-eater. Centuries of sleep and a thousand leagues of distance are as a moment and a step in the plausible story of the Arabian; while, to the dreamer under hemp, a street is an endless journey, to be undertaken with any hope of completion only because a moment is an equally interminable length of time. That the normal brain is actually capable of this more than electric speed over the current of ideas is proved by the simple fact, that a nap, so brief as to be literally only forty winks, or less than sixty seconds by the watch, has repeatedly spread out before a sleeper's dreaming mind

a whole panorama of lifelike scenes, which it would require hours of waking attention to review.

Another point of resemblance between these Eastern tales and the influence of narcotics is in the infinite, yet orderly complexity of the visions, or histories, which spring so independently and yet so naturally one from the other. There is no end to the fertility of the author of the thousand and one nights. No brain in a natural state ever exercised so far the higher faculties of invention, or was gifted with such a train of visions. It can be compared only to the infinity of nature, which preserves identity in each member of her chain of resemblances. One story calls up another equally probable and equally interesting, in a seemingly interminable series. Happy, indeed, was Haroun Al Raschid in the possession of such an *improvvisatrice*. No works of fiction and no visions of his waking hours could have so artfully beguiled his three years' *ennui*.

But while all have admitted the wonderful and unflagging charm of these unequalled stories, and have been at a loss to account for the existence and mysterious anonymousness of so rare an author, no other theory has been advanced of their origin so plausible as that of a narcotic influence. No one who reads the confessions of an opium or hasheesh eater can fail to be struck with this new ray of light which these forbidden visions impart to the subject. The matter is different, but the manner the same. And if we are met by the common assertion, that these peculiarities were due in the Arabian Nights to the Eastern luxuriance of imagination and love of simile, we reply, that invention is different from all these, and that no subsequent Oriental has given the world anything analogous, although the circumstances surrounding the Eastern nations and their mental culture have remained very much the same during all the centuries since. Eastern literature is a literature of metaphor and anecdote, it is true; but these are far different from the wonderful persistency and endless incidents of the Arabian Nights. We come to the conclusion, then, that these stories are the product of an Eastern mind under the influence of hemp probably, but perhaps of opium. This was no common mind indeed, but one

possessing a brain equal to De Quincey's for the narcotic to act on, and having, like him, the rare power of committing his narcotic visions to paper.

In one of these tales, two ladies are in conversation, and one inquires of the other, "Is the queen not much in the wrong not to love so amiable a prince?" To which the other replies, "Certainly: I know not why she goes out every night and leaves him alone. Is it possible that he does not perceive it?" "Alas!" says the first, "how would you have him perceive it? She mixes every evening with his drink the juice of a certain herb, which makes him sleep so sound all night, that she has time to go where she pleases." So, too, it is said that the great Caliph indulged in "bang," which means either hemp or henbane.

Narcotics give also the power of enduring long and exhausting physical labor to the body, as well as new and enlarged action to the mind. They sustain the strength longer than alcohol, and enable men to undergo fatigue under which they would otherwise sink. The native bearers in India, who carry litters and run with messages, if provided with rice, a vessel to draw water in, and a small piece of opium, perform almost incredible journeys. The Tartar couriers, also, travel for many days and nights continuously with the use of opium. With a few dates, they will cross the desert amid privations which could be supported only under the influence of this drug. Travellers in the Ottoman dominions generally carry opium with them in the form of lozenges, or cakes, stamped with the Turkish legend, "Mash Allah," the gift of God. Even the horses in the East are sustained by it; and the horseman shares his store of opium with his flagging steed, who thus accomplishes an incredible distance. Like properties are possessed by hemp, cocoa, and even by arsenic. It seems probable that this is the secret of many of the wonderful feats of patient endurance performed by the fakirs, or jugglers of India, such as their seemingly long suspension of the vital functions, simulating real death, which was described in the article on "Burial," in the number of this journal for July, 1861. Hemp is known to produce actual catalepsy.

We are told that the use of the common white poppy as a

soother of pain and a giver of sleep, has been familiar from the earliest times; and an ingenious attempt has been made to derive the name poppy, or *papaver*, from *papa* or *pap*, because the plant was commonly mixed with the food of young children, to secure their sleep. This is one of those etymological postulates more ingenious than probable. The dried, concrete juice of the poppy-head is used as the narcotic. This is called by the Persians *afioun*, by the Arabs *afioum*, and hence by the Europeans *opium*. It is obtained by making incisions into the capsules, or seed-vessels, of the poppy-plant, when they are nearly ripe, allowing the milky juice which exudes to thicken for twenty-four hours, and then scraping it off. The best opium is a soft, unctuous mass, of a reddish or blackish-brown color, a waxy lustre, a strong odor, and a bitter, acrid taste. It is chiefly collected in Asiatic Turkey, in Persia, and in India. The Turkish opium is the most esteemed in Europe; but that from India is the most used in Eastern countries. The greatest yield of opium in India is stated at forty-one pounds to the acre; and the average, at twenty-five pounds.

As a narcotic indulgence, opium is used in either of three ways. It is swallowed in the solid state, in the form of pills; drunk in a fluid tincture, as laudanum; or smoked in small pipes, like tobacco. It is used in the solid form in Turkey and Persia; in the liquid form among Christian nations; and smoked in China and the islands of the Indian Archipelago. In preparing it for smoking, the Chinese extract all that water will dissolve, and then evaporate to dryness, and make it into little pills. One of these they put into a short, tiny pipe, inhale a few puffs at a time, or one single, long puff, and return the smoke through the nostrils. This they repeat until the necessary dose has been taken.

According to the officinal account of this drug in the United States Dispensatory, opium is a stimulant narcotic. Taken by a healthy person, in a moderate dose, it increases the force, fulness, and frequency of the pulse, augments the temperature of the skin, invigorates the muscular system, quickens the senses, animates the spirits, and gives new energy to the intellectual faculties. Its operation, while thus extending to all

parts of the system, is directed with peculiar force to the brain, the functions of which it excites sometimes even to intoxication or delirium. In a short time this excitation subsides; a calmness of the corporeal actions, and a delightful placidity of mind, succeed; and the individual, insensible to painful impressions, forgetting all sources of care and anxiety, submits himself to a current of undefined and unconnected, but pleasing fancies, and is conscious of no other feeling than that of a quiet and vague enjoyment. At the end of half an hour or an hour from the administration of the narcotic, all consciousness is lost in sleep. The soporific effect, after having continued for eight or ten hours, passes off, and is generally succeeded by more or less of nausea, headache, tremors, and other symptoms of irregular nervous action, which soon yield to the recuperative energies of the system. Other important effects are a diminution of all the secretions except that from the skin, the lessening of the peristaltic motion of the bowels, the allaying of pain and muscular contraction, and the composing of nervous irritation. It is probable that the active principle of the drug is conveyed into the circulation, and operates upon the brain, and upon the nervous system at large, by immediate contact.

In doses insufficient to produce the full soporific effect, the stimulant influence upon the mental functions continues longer, and the subsequent calming effect is sustained for hours; sleep being not unfrequently prevented, or rendered so light and dreamy, that, upon awaking, the patient will scarcely admit that he has slept at all.

The effect, then, varies with the dose. Opium is primarily stimulant; secondarily, narcotic. Now it is the prolongation of the first effect, and the abbreviation of the second, which the opium-eater desires; and he obtains this result by graduating the dose. He sleeps somewhat, but his opium dreams are waking, or semi-conscious. The visions and the imagery are not unlike the delirium of fever. Kingsley, in his "Alton Locke," has given the hallucinations of his hero during a severe fever, strikingly like those described by the Opium-Eater in his Confessions. Many varieties in the subject, too, influence the result. Some idiosyncrasies reverse the usual

effects of opium, so that a small dose is poisonous. Race has a powerful influence in determining the nature of the delirium, which is fierce in the Malay, sensual in the Turk, abject in the East Indian, or intellectual in the Caucasian. Temperament, even, may give character to the action of the brain. Previous education and habits of thought guide and control, by the association of ideas, all the train of imagery in opium dreams. Social surroundings have a wonderful effect. And, finally, talent makes more difference than all the rest, in the high character of the ecstasy which opium gives. He, therefore, who wishes to try the mad experiment of making himself happy with opium, must consider that the chances are balanced that he may have uncomfortable, and even devilish visions, if he escape without greater inconvenience and peril.

Opium is not a cumulative poison, like certain minerals; and its continued use renders larger doses necessary to attain the same effects. The ordinary medicinal dose for an adult is one grain of solid opium, — equivalent to about twenty-five drops of laudanum. The dose may be soon and rapidly extended, if use and circumstances demand. It seems almost providential that pain is a perfect antidote to its poisonous effects. While severe pain lasts, the dose may be safely augmented. Pain is not an antidote to other narcotics. The smallest dose of opium known to have produced death in an adult is four grains. Children are very susceptible to its narcotic influence. This drug and arsenic are those most frequently resorted to for suicidal purposes. Very large amounts are sometimes given to the sick. We know one instance, also, where upward of twenty grains were taken by a young man in health, in the course of six or eight hours, with the intention of producing opium visions; but without the fatal effect which was to have been expected, and without dreams, which were not indeed to be expected, from such an excessive dose. Of course, the habitual opium-eater requires large quantities. Thus, the dose of fifteen opium-smokers in Singapore ranged from 24 to 42 grains daily. De Quincey surpassed all other opium-eaters as much in the amount of his potations of laudanum, as he did in talent and in highly intellectual visions. After some years' use, his daily dose was nine ounces of lauda-

num, equal to the incredible amount of *one ounce* of solid opium! He did well to keep his laudanum in decanters on his table, as other people do their wine. It does not appear that the long-continued use of opium causes the same habits of constipation, and lack of the other secretions, as its first doses occasion. But the lamentable effects which it produces on the mind are effected, of course, through the body; and a gnawing dyspepsia, want of relish for food, tremors, and general *malaise* are among the mildest consequences of its abuse. But of these we shall have more to say in speaking of the painful results of opium-eating. We turn now to the pleasures of opium.

"I took it," says the English Opium-Eater, speaking of his first indulgence, "and in an hour — O heavens! what a revulsion! what an upheaving, from its lowest depths, of the inner spirit! What an apocalypse of the world within me! That my pains had vanished was now a trifle in my eyes; this negative effect was swallowed up in the immensity of those positive effects which had opened before me, in the abyss of divine enjoyment thus suddenly revealed. Here was a panacea for all human woes; here was the secret of happiness, about which philosophers had disputed for so many ages, at once discovered."

The author is also desirous of convincing the world, on his own ample experience, that two other commonly received opinions of the effects of opium are erroneous, when the dose is rightly graduated. These are: —

"That the elevation of spirits produced by opium is necessarily followed by a proportionate depression; and that the natural and immediate consequence of opium is torpor and stagnation, animal and mental. The first of these errors I shall content myself with simply denying; assuring my reader, that for ten years, during which I took opium at intervals, the day succeeding to that on which I allowed myself this luxury was always a day of unusually good spirits. With respect to the torpor supposed to follow, or rather accompany, the practice of opium-eating, I deny that also. Certainly, opium is classed under the head of narcotics, and some such effect it may produce in the end; but the primary effects of opium are always, and in the highest degree, to excite and stimulate the system: this first stage of its action always lasted with me, during my novitiate, for upwards of eight hours; so that it must be the fault of the opium-eater himself, if he does not so time his exhibition of the dose, as that the whole weight of its narcotic influence may descend upon his sleep."

Dr. Madden describes more soberly his sensations under the influence of opium in a Turkish coffee-house.

"I took in all two grains in the course of two hours. After two hours and a half from the first dose, my spirits became sensibly excited; the pleasure of the sensation seemed to depend on a universal expansion of mind and matter. My faculties appeared enlarged; everything I looked at seemed increased in volume; I had no longer the same pleasure when I closed my eyes which I had when they were open; it appeared to me as if it was only external objects which were acted upon by the imagination, and magnified into images of pleasure: in short, it was the faint, exquisite music of a dream in a waking moment. I made my way home as fast as possible. In walking, I was hardly sensible of my feet touching the ground; it seemed as if I slid along the street, impelled by some invisible agent, and that my blood was composed of some ethereal fluid, which rendered my body lighter than air. I got to bed the moment I reached home. The most extraordinary visions of delight filled my brain all night. In the morning I rose pale and dispirited, my head ached, and my body was so debilitated that I was obliged to remain on the sofa all day."

Again, an eminent physician, who has studied well the results produced by all such influences upon the brain, thus enumerates the true effects of this drug.

"The imagination appears to be acted upon, independent of the peculiar torpor, accompanied by sensations of gratification, and the absence of all communication with the external world. The senses convey no false impressions to the brain; all that is seen, heard, or felt is faithfully delineated, but the imagination clothes each object in its own fanciful garb. It exaggerates, it multiplies, it colors, it gives fantastic shapes; there is a new condition arising out of ordinary perception, and the reason abandoning itself to the imagination does not resist the delight of indulging in visions. If the eyes are closed, a whole train of vivid dreams are presented. Memory is generally asleep; all the passions, affections, and emotions have lost their sway. It is all an exquisite indolence; with order, harmony, and tranquillity, combined with brilliant and exhilarating dreams."

"Many a time it has happened to me," says De Quincey, "on a summer night, when I have been seated at an open window, — from which I could overlook the sea at a mile below me, and could at the same time command a view of some great town standing on a different radius of my circular prospect, but at nearly the same distance, — that from

sunset to sunrise, all through the hours of night, I have continued motionless, as if frozen, without consciousness of myself as of an object anywise distinct from the multiform scene which I contemplated from above."

The same author wishes to impress upon his readers the important fact, that the delirium of opium bears no resemblance to alcoholic intoxication. The two are falsely confounded together by all the uninitiated, but no amount of opium can intoxicate; for the solid drug is incapable of producing any state of body at all resembling that which is caused by alcohol, and not in degree only incapable, but also in kind. He thus draws the distinction between them: —

"The pleasure given by wine is always mounting, and tending to a crisis, after which it declines; that from opium, when once generated, is stationary for eight or ten hours: the first, to borrow a technical distinction from medicine, is a case of acute, the second of chronic pleasure; the one is a flame, the other a steady, equable glow. But the main distinction lies in this, — that whereas wine disorders the mental faculties, opium, on the contrary, introduces among them the most exquisite order, legislation, and harmony. Wine robs a man of his self-possession; opium greatly invigorates it. Wine unsettles and clouds the judgment, and gives a preternatural brightness and a vivid exaltation to the contempts and admirations, to the loves and the hatreds of the drinker; opium, on the contrary, communicates serenity and equipoise to all the faculties, active or passive; and with respect to the temper and moral feelings in general, it gives simply that sort of vital warmth which is approved by the judgment, and which would probably always accompany a bodily constitution of primeval health."

Ancient mythology, which symbolized so many things which we now recognize, and drew such clear and just distinctions between many of those relations which are the same in all ages, well designated Sleep, Dreams, and Death as children of Night. Sleep dwelt in Cimmerian darkness, and bore the poppy as his emblem. The god of Dreams was also called Morpheus, from the various images or *forms* seen in such visions. Death was no skeleton among the ancients, but a fair bodily form like the rest, bearing an inverted torch. The use and influence of narcotics seem to vivify for us these old

resemblances. Physiology, at any rate, teaches us that their effects are very nearly allied to those of natural dreams.

Carpenter considers that dreaming is a mark of imperfect sleep, and that in profound, ordinary sleep the cerebrum, as well as the sensory ganglia, is in a state of complete functional inactivity. When dreaming takes place, there is usually a less complete exclusion of sensory impressions, although the perceptive consciousness may be entirely suspended; so that the course of the dream may be influenced by them, although the mind is not conscious of them as such. If this be true, we may consider that, in profound sleep, the functional activity of the cerebrum and that of the sensory ganglia are alike suspended; that, in dreaming, the cerebrum is partially active, and that the sensorium is in such a condition of recipiency for cerebral impressions, that the mind becomes *directly* conscious of them. It is, in fact, by their influence upon the current of *ideas*, and not by their power of exciting *sensations*, that we recognize their operation under such circumstances; and thus, if they are not recognized as proceeding from external objects, they may still affect the character of dreams. This is especially true of dreams produced by some narcotics, especially by hasheesh; for those who give themselves up to the *fantasia* caused by this drug are careful to withdraw themselves from all external circumstances which could convey unpleasant impressions, and hence tinge the character of their visions. It has been well remarked, that nothing surprises us in dreams. All probabilities of time, place, and environments are violated; the dead pass before us alive and well; and occurrences, such as in our waking state would excite the strongest emotions, may be contemplated without the slightest feeling of pain or pleasure. One other remarkable peculiarity in the state of dreaming is the rapidity with which trains of thought pass through the mind.

Enough has been said, then, to prove certain strong analogies between natural dreams and those visions, during the waking state, produced by narcotics. Now it has been supposed that during sleep the vessels of the brain are more congested than during the waking hours; and that this pas-

sive congestion, varying in degree from various causes, has much influence in determining the amount and character of dreams. It seems equally plausible that the effect of narcotics may be produced in a like way, — through the circulation, upon the nerve tissue. This is hypothesis alone. But there is one other morbid state, which, we fear, bears a very close analogy to the artificial excitement produced by hemp, and that is *mania*, — ranging all the way from hallucinations, illusions, and delirium, to sheer insanity. The hasheesh-eater, too, complains of a heat and a feeling of increased circulation in the head; so much so as to make this a prominent and painful symptom of his narcotic state. Those who wish will find more of interest on this subject in the treatise of M. Moreau, — who personally experimented with hemp, — *Du Haschisch et de l'Aliénation Mentale*, *Etudes Psychologiques*. One other fact must be borne in mind by the would-be opium dreamer, and that is, that opium will not give brains, but that the beauty, and above all the intellectual nature of all narcotic visions, depend on the mental power, even more than on the associations, of the subject.

The sufferings of the opium-eater who omits his daily quantum, or who deliberately attempts to suspend the habit, are so terrible, that few have the energy to persevere. Nor are the dreams of him who continues the indulgence forever charming. Horrible visions, mournful remembrances, and all the agonies of a low form of delirium tremens, may attack him when his health has begun to fail. In De Quincey's case, when he renounced the drug, his sufferings bore no resemblance to those caused by lack of a customary alcoholic stimulant. He was afflicted with an unutterable irritation of stomach, accompanied by intense perspiration. This was followed by a palsy of the intellectual faculties, so that his studies were long interrupted, and he could not read with a moment's endurance. The opium-eater, he tells us, loses none of his moral sensibilities or aspirations; he wishes and longs as earnestly as ever to realize what he believes possible, and to fulfil what he deems his duty; but his intellectual apprehension of what is possible infinitely outruns his power, not of execution only, but even of attempt. He lies under the

weight of incubus and nightmare, in sight of all that he would fain perform, just as a man forcibly confined to his bed by the mortal languor of a relaxing disease. The first important change of De Quincey's physical economy was a revival of an irritable state of the eye incident to childhood. By this, spectra were constantly appearing upon all objects, moving and still, and of every definable or undefined shape, just as sick children see various figures on the walls of their chambers. Four other phenomena then presented themselves. Whatever the irritable retina called up into the form of spectra was repeated in his dreams. "When they were once traced in faint and visionary colors, like writings in sympathetic ink, they were drawn out by the fierce chemistry of my dreams into insufferable splendor that fretted my heart." All this was accompanied by a deep-seated anxiety and gloomy melancholy, that seemed to descend into chasms and sunless abysses, depths below depths, from which it appeared hopeless to reascend. Time and space expanded into infinity. He felt as if he had lived a hundred years in one night. And, finally, the minutest incidents of childhood, or forgotten scenes of later years, were recalled. In these four respects there were certainly as many elements of purgatory presented, as one human being, with shattered health and gnawing dyspepsia, could endure, and survive. "Think of me," he says, "as of one, even when four months had passed, still agitated, writhing, throbbing, palpitating, shattered; and much in the situation of one who has been racked." And on a renunciation, after seventeen years' use and eight years' abuse of opium, he still suffered; his "dreams are not yet perfectly calm; sleep is tumultuous, and, like the gates of Paradise to our first parents, when looking back from afar, it is still

'With dreadful faces thronged, and fiery arms.'"

Dr. Medhurst thus describes the opium-smoker of China: —

"The outward appearances are sallowness of the complexion, bloodless cheeks and lips, sunken eye, with a dark circle round the eyelids, and a haggard countenance. There is a peculiar appearance of the face of a smoker not noticed in any other condition; the skin assumes a pale, waxy appearance, as if all the fat were removed from beneath the skin. The hollows of the countenance, the eyelids, fissure and

corners of the lips, depression at the angle of the jaw, and the temples, take on a peculiar dark appearance, not that resulting from chronic diseases, but as if some dark matter were deposited beneath the skin. In fine, a confirmed opium-smoker presents a most melancholy appearance, haggard, dejected, with a lack-lustre eye, and a slovenly and feeble gait."

Dr. Ball writes: —

"Throughout the districts of China may be seen walking skeletons, — families wretched and beggared by drugged fathers and husbands, — multitudes who have lost house and home dying in the streets, in the fields, on the banks of the river, without even a stranger to care for them while alive, and, when dead, left exposed to view till they become offensive masses."

A Malay, who was apprehended on some criminal charge, when locked up, was, as a matter of course, deprived of opium for some days; but he pined away so rapidly, that, although only four or five days in confinement, he could not leave the jail when released, but was carried out; having entered the place as strong and muscular a man as could be met with. Another inveterate opium-smoker makes his confession that, after his quantity is consumed,

"he feels no desire for sleep until twelve or two in the morning, when he falls into disturbed slumbers. When he awakes, his head is giddy, confused, and painful, his mouth is dry, he has great thirst, he has no appetite, can neither read nor write, suffers pains in all his bones and muscles, and gasps for breath; he wishes to bathe, but cannot stand the shock. This state continues until he gets his morning pipe, when he can eat and drink a little, and after that attend to his business. 'Look,' he says, appealing to himself, 'I was, ere I gave way to this accursed vice, stout, strong, and able for anything. I loved my wife and children, attended to my business, and was happy: but now I am thin, meagre, and wretched. I can receive enjoyment from nothing but the pipe; my passions are gone; and if I am railed at, and abused like a dog, I return not an angry word.'"

The irresistible power which opium acquires over the minds of its votaries, is not less wonderful than the pleasure it confers during the exciting stage of its action. Of the slavery to which it reduces the strongest minds we have a remarkable example in Coleridge. He struggled desperately to break

the habit. At one time he hired porters to guard the doors of the druggists' stores, with orders to prevent his entrance, for replenishing his stock of opium. But when they strove to obey his orders and force him away, this poor slave of narcotics would countermand his directions, and imperiously bid them to admit him, for that was his will, and that he paid them to obey. Subsequently he put himself into the hands of a medical man, but here again he failed. For while he pretended to be gradually lessening the dose under medical instruction, and while his friends were congratulating themselves that he was in the process of cure, he was all the while buying laudanum secretly, and drinking it in as large doses as before. A deception so base and degrading as this well illustrates the state to which his moral sense was reduced. Yet he was fully conscious of his condition, and had not lost his desire for relief; for he writes: —

"There is no hope. O God, how willingly would I place myself under Dr. Fox, in his establishment! for my case is a species of madness, only that it is a derangement, an utter *impotence of the volition*, and not of the intellectual faculties. You bid me rouse myself. Go, bid a man paralytic in both arms, to rub them briskly together, and that will cure him. 'Alas!' he would reply, 'that I cannot move my arms is my complaint and my misery.'"

Even greater misery he describes in another letter.

"Conceive a poor, miserable wretch, who for many years has been attempting to beat off pain, by a constant recurrence to a vice that reproduces it. Conceive a spirit in hell, employed in tracing out for others the road to that heaven from which his crimes exclude him! In short, conceive whatever is most wretched, helpless, and hopeless, and you will form as tolerable a notion of my state, as it is possible for a good man to have." *

It is probably rare for the Chinese to discontinue opium-smoking until death releases them. They resort to any shifts to obtain it; for without it they perish. Dr. Medhurst speaks of two respectable young men, sons of an officer of high rank, well informed, having received a good education, and accustomed to good society. So inveterate was their habit of opium-smoking, and so large the quantity necessary to keep up the

* Cottle's Recollections.

stimulus, that their funds were exhausted. Friends relieved their necessities again and again; but it was impossible to give them bread and opium too, and they died in the most abject and destitute condition. As soon as these poor creatures are unable to obtain the opium on which their very life depends, they droop, and perish by the road-side.

An Englishman at Hong-Kong, desirous of seeing opium as it passes in commerce, was shown, by a Parsee friend in his opium warehouse, two chests filled with balls of the size of a Dutch cheese. These are globes of jelly-like opium, enclosed in a crust or rind.

"The Parsee tapped one, and drew forth about a spoonful of the drug. It was not the opium which engaged the traveller's attention; it was the effect it produced upon the surrounding coolies. He had never seen before excitement in a Chinaman's face. He had seen them tried for their lives, and condemned to death. He had seen them laugh heartily at a gesture at a sing-song; and he once saw a witness grin with great delight, as he unexpectedly saw his most intimate friend among a crowd of prisoners in the dock. But these coolies, when they saw that opium, opened their horizontal, slit-shaped eyes, till they grew round and starting; their limbs, so lax and limpid when not in actual strain of labor, were stiff from excitement; every head was pressed forward, every hand seemed ready to clutch. There was a possibility that it would be put down upon the window-sill, near which the stranger and his Parsee friend were standing, and there could be seen the shadow of fingers ready to slide in. It was almost certain that it would be thrown aside, and there was the grand hope of an opium debauch gratis, and this was the state of mind that hope created."

Well may the Chinese compare the English with that race of white men whom their traditions assert to have introduced opium among some neighboring islanders, for the purpose of subduing them. When the natives had contracted the fatal habit, they lost their manliness, and were unable either to resist their invaders or to live without them, since they supplied them with opium. Yet, although much of the misery of the opium-smoking Chinese is traceable to English avarice, which derives an annual income of some *six million pounds sterling* from the labors of the East India Company in raising opium in India, and smuggling it into China for sale, yet the English are not now the only persons at fault. Undoubtedly

they first fostered the evil habit, which has grown so powerful that the restrictive laws against the importation and use of opium are practically a dead letter, — so much so, that M. Huc mentions seeing opium smoked openly in all the Chinese tribunals of justice. More than this, opium is grown in China itself. We are told that any one who penetrates into the amphitheatre of mountains which bounds the Ningpo plain will see valleys upon valleys of fine, rich land covered with poppies. The official reports deplore this, but cannot prevent it; and it is estimated that sixty thousand chests are annually raised there.

The Turks and Hindoos manifest the pernicious effects of opium consumption in indolence, ignorance, and degeneracy. Yet a moderate indulgence, even long continued, is not as immediately and universally deleterious and fatal as some would represent. Says Dr. Eatwell, of the East India Company's service, whose knowledge of this subject is very extensive: —

"The proofs are still wanting to show that the moderate use of opium produces more pernicious effects upon the constitution than the moderate use of spirituous liquors; whilst, at the same time, it is certain that the consequences of the abuse of the former are less appalling in their effects upon the victim, and less disastrous to society at large, than the consequences of the abuse of the latter." *

As with all other bad habits, in this it is chiefly the excess which is hurtful. We have here the testimony of the very intelligent special correspondent of the London Times from China, in 1857. He tells us that the Chinaman detests beer and wine, and his tobacco is very poor, while tea is an insufficient narcotic; but as there was never found, in any age or clime, a people without some stimulant in which they indulged, and as the Chinese have not attractions enough at home to make them domestic, nor any means of cheap moral excitement, they fall into the habit of opium-smoking. In giving his own experience as to what he saw of the habit, he continues thus: —

"At Ningpo I accepted an invitation to visit the opium-dens. I had seen the opium-eaters of Constantinople and Smyrna, and the haschisch-

* Pharmaceutical Journal.

eaters of Constantinople, and I was prepared for emaciated forms and trembling limbs. The Chinese exhibition was sufficiently disgusting, but was otherwise quite a failure. These opium-dens are ordinary Chinese cottages, with a room about twelve feet square, furnished with a bed, a table, and a sofa. In the first we entered, three men sat upon the bed, and two upon the sofa. There was the opium-pipe, the lamp, and the small porcelain cup of treacly-looking opium. One of the customers takes the pipe and the lamp, then dips a pin into the opium, turns it round and round till he has the proper quantity of the jellified drug, inserts the pin in the pipe, applies the pipe to the flame of the lamp, and at the same time draws up the vapor by two or three long inhalations, — not whiffs, for he draws it into his lungs. Then he passes on the pipe, the opium being consumed, and gradually lets the vapor slowly return through his mouth and his nose. The members of this convivial society were good-humored and communicative. One was a chair coolie; a second, a tradesman; a third, a runner: they were all of that class of urban population which is just above the lowest. They were, however, neither emaciated nor infirm. The chair coolie was a sturdy fellow; the runner seemed well able to run; and the tradesman, who said he was thirty-eight years old, was remarked by all of us to be a singularly young-looking man for that age. He had smoked opium for seven years.

"I only take the experiment for what it is worth. There must be very many most lamentable specimens of the effects of indulgence in this vicious practice, although we did not happen to see any of them that morning. They are not, however, so universal, nor even so common, as travellers are pleased to say they are. But if our visit was a failure in one respect, it was fully instructive in another. In the first house we visited, no man spent, on an average, less than 80 cash (8 cents) a day on his opium-pipe. One man said he spent 120 cash. The chair coolie spends 80 cash, and his average earnings are 100 cash a day. English physicians, unconnected with the missionary societies, have assured me that the coolie opium-smoker dies, not from opium, but from starvation. If he starves himself for his pipe, we need not ask what happens to his family."

Many persons who use opium attain a fair age. Christison, in his work on poisons, refers to numerous cases of excessive opium-taking, in which the subjects reached the usual term of life. A well-known literary character, about fifty years old, has taken laudanum for twenty-five years. A lady of fifty-five, who enjoys good health, has taken opium many years.

Another woman, who had been in the practice of taking two ounces of laudanum daily for many years, died at the age of sixty. A gentleman, dying at sixty-three, drank laudanum to excess from the age of fifteen, and his daily allowance was a quart of a mixture consisting of three parts laudanum, and one of alcohol. A lady, living at seventy-four, has taken laudanum for forty years; and another, of like habits, lived to be eighty years old. Coleridge reached the age of sixty-two; and, finally, De Quincey died between seventy and eighty years old, confessing to an experience of opium of fifty-two years.

Some years ago a suit-at-law took place in consequence of the death of the Earl of Mar, who having been an opium-eater, the life-insurance company refused to pay the amount of his insurance, on this ground, to his representatives. Dr. Christison testified that the facts would certainly tend to show that the practice of eating opium is not so injurious, and an opium-eater's life not so uninsurable, as is commonly thought. The result of the trial was that the company were obliged to pay the full amount.

Now all this proves only that opium, used carefully as a narcotic indulgence, is not a direct poison. It does not remove one particle of the curse which it inflicts as a degrading habit, dangerous in the excess it induces, horrible in the agonies it sometimes causes, fatal to all active life and energy, and hardly to be relinquished but with life itself.

No man has so glowingly eulogized the bliss of opium as De Quincey. It is only fair, in looking at all sides of the question, to repeat his description, before leaving this part of the subject.

"O just, subtle, and all-conquering opium! that, to the hearts of rich and poor alike, for the wounds that will never heal, and for the pangs of grief that tempt the spirit to rebel, bringest an assuaging balm; eloquent opium! that with thy potent rhetoric stealest away the purposes of wrath, pleadest effectually for relenting pity, and, through one night's heavenly sleep, callest back to the guilty man the visions of his infancy, and hands washed pure from blood. O just and righteous opium! that to the chancery of dreams summonest, for the triumphs of despairing innocence, false witnesses, and confoundest per-

jury, and dost reverse the sentences of unrighteous judges; thou buildest upon the bosom of darkness, out of the fantastic imagery of the brain, cities and temples, beyond the art of Phidias and Praxiteles, — beyond the splendors of Babylon and Hekatompylos; and from the 'anarchy of dreaming sleep' callest into sunny light the faces of long-buried beauties, and the blessed household countenances, cleansed from the 'dishonors of the grave.' Thou only givest these gifts to man, and thou hast the keys of Paradise, O just, subtle, and mighty opium!"

There is one relation in which this drug deserves all the praise that the most ardent fancy can heap upon it; and that is its relation to sickness and pain. Here it may indeed be called "the Gift of God." Sydenham said that he would not practise medicine without opium; and no modern sceptic has been bold enough to exclude it from his barren list of indispensable drugs. No other narcotic is so trustworthy, and so sure, in the average of constitutions, to produce sleep, soothe pain, relax painful spasm, and support the vitality under the most terrible strains of severe injury, or the slow drainage of chronic disease. The multitude who have gone before us, and those over whose thousand sick-beds in every civilized land the angel of death is hovering, uncertain where to strike, could they speak, would but repeat the same thanks for the comfortable intervals and the calm nights afforded them in their anguish by this divine benefaction. So, too, might many a stricken soul refer to it as the giver of calmness, self-possession, and peace in its dying moments, and thus promoting its *euthanasia*. To the physician who has thus watched its influence it seems certain that this was the only and the unique use for which Providence intended it; and that its employment as an indulgence by those in health is but a base perversion of its higher powers.

While we have long been accustomed to regard the Oriental nations as a race of opium-eaters, we have congratulated ourselves that such vile habits did not concern us of Europe or America. But serious, though vague, rumors from time to time reach our ears, that in England, and even in this country, the practice is not unknown, but is increasing yearly in extent. It is certainly true of England, that the importation of opium has *tripled* in the last fifteen years, — a ratio of

increase far exceeding that of the population. How far this may be due to increased exportation, to new uses of the drug, or to the manufacture of its alkaloids, and how far to opium-eating, it is impossible, in the absence of statistics, to determine definitely. England imports 80,000 pounds of opium annually; retains 42,000 pounds for home consumption, and manufactures and exports 112 pounds of morphia. The United States imported and retained for domestic use 66,000 pounds, in 1859, or one third more than England, though the population is about the same. This is less than one tenth of the amount used per head in China. To obtain the exact difference between the amount imported and the amount lawfully consumed in medical use, is difficult, if not impossible.

De Quincey long ago pointed out many suspicious circumstances, which would imply a pretty large amount of opium-eating. Counting up the number in one small class of society, his own literary or eminent contemporaries, he easily collected a very considerable number of opiophagi. We may argue from one class to the rest, if we recollect two other facts which the same author ascertained. Three London druggists, remote from one another, assured him that the number of amateur opium-eaters was immense, and that they had great difficulty in distinguishing this class from those who purchased the drug for suicide, — both requiring large quantities. He was also informed by several cotton manufacturers of Manchester, that their operatives were rapidly getting into the practice of opium-eating, because it was a cheaper indulgence than the use of alcoholic spirits, in hard times.

We venture to say, that there is hardly an apothecary's shop in this city which has not at least one habitual purchaser of large quantities of opium, while we very often hear of individuals buying a bottle of laudanum, drinking several ounces in the presence of the affrighted clerk, and walking away unharmed, since it is their regular allowance. It is to be feared, too, that this seductive habit prevails among females to a very considerable degree. In our brief experience we have known of two female opium-eaters, and

heard of others. There is a large class also, not included in this list, who habitually use heavy doses of opium, to render endurable a life which is consuming away by painful chronic disease.

In the marshy and malarious districts of England, opium is taken as a protection from fever and ague. This is a specious excuse for those who wish to indulge in a narcotic. More opium is sold in Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, and Manchester, than in other parts of Great Britain.

Alton Locke, riding with a yeoman of the Fen country, has this conversation with him: —

"'Love ye, then! they as dinnot take spirits down thor, tak' their pennord o' elevation, then, — women folk especial.'

"'What 's elevation?'

"'Oh! ho! ho! Yow goo into druggist's shop o' market-day, into Cambridge, and you 'll see the little boxes, doozens and doozens, a' ready on the counter; and never a Ven-man's wife goo by, but what calls in for her pennord o' elevation, to last her out the week. Well, it keeps women folk quiet, it do; and it 's mortal good agin ago pains.'

"'But what is it?'

"'Opium, bor' alive, opium!'"

The uses of opium in medicine are many. It is given both alone and combined; and it enters as an ingredient into many officinal preparations. It is also largely consumed in the manufacture of its alkaloid, morphine. As this does not contain more than *ten per cent* of the crude opium, it follows that nine tenths of the whole bulk are lost in the manufacture. Besides this lawful consumption, which is large, opium is used secretly in patent medicines and quack preparations, to an enormous extent. In point of fact, two drugs form the grand "stand-bys" of the maker of secret nostrums. For all purgatives, laxatives, and liver-regulators, aloes is used. For all anodyne, anti-spasmodic, anti-neuralgic combinations, for cough-mixtures, diarrhœa-mixtures, infant carminatives, and "soothing syrups," opium, in the form of morphine, laudanum, or paregoric, is the *sine qua non*. Other ingredients may vary, but the certain and cheap narcotic never. We are sorry to say that those very remedies which are advertised and puffed as free from

opium or paregoric, and hence adapted to the tenderest infancy, often contain large amounts of this drug. Thus, Godfrey's Cordial contains half a grain of opium to the ounce, and Dolby's Carminative one eighth of a grain to the ounce. An infant was narcotized and killed by forty drops of this remedy. This is a rare case, to be sure; but all these preparations vary in strength, from the doubtful quality of the opium; and infants are peculiarly susceptible to the influence of narcotics. While these remedies are openly employed in the nursery, and perhaps clandestinely by indolent or sleepy nurses, there is another use of them which is both large and frightful. Opium is not inaptly called the "poor child's nurse." It serves instead of a human attendant, and hence the temptation it presents to poor women, who must leave their children to perform household labor, or are confined in factories. In the English manufacturing towns such practices are exceedingly prevalent. In 1843, it is stated on the authority of the public missionary, there were in the town of Preston, England, upward of sixteen hundred families in which Godfrey's Cordial, or some analogous compound, was habitually employed. In one section of the town sixty-four per cent of the mortality was of children under five years of age. "The child sinks into a low, torpid state; wastes away into a skeleton, except the stomach, producing what is known as pot-belly. One woman said, 'The sleeping-stuff made them that they were always dozing, and never cared for food. They pined away; their heads got big, and they died.'" Not long since, an inquest was held in New York over an infant slowly poisoned by opium, by a brutal dry-nurse. We have seen a specimen of the opium-fed child in Boston, also.

The opium which cannot be accounted for in the above ways must be eaten. In leaving this part of our subject, we would suggest the inquiry, whether the narcotic confessions of opium and hasheesh eaters have not done more harm than good, by making known the seductive properties of these powerful drugs, which, for humanity's sake, had better been kept concealed, or confined to their Eastern homes.

The intoxicating narcotic which is called Hasheesh is

the product of the hemp-plant. Though passing by different names, the *Cannabis Sativa* and the *Cannabis Indica*, or native and Indian hemp, are essentially the same plant. Climate seems to make all the difference between them. By that influence the fibres of the one harden into flax and cordage; while from the other exudes a fragrant green resin, which is powerfully narcotic. This resin is collected in a way similar to that employed in the case of opium. In the crude state, it is called *churrus:* the whole plant, gathered while in flower, and dried, is *gunjah;* the larger leaves and seed-capsules are called *bang;* and a decoction, prepared by boiling the leaves and flowers with water to which fresh butter is added, and then evaporating to a thick syrup, is *hasheesh.* Hemp is consumed on the plains of India; on the slopes of the Himalayas; in Persia; in Turkey; in Northern Africa among the Moors; in Central and Southern Africa, even by the Hottentots; and also by the native Indians of Brazil.

Dr. O'Shaughnessy, experimenting on an Indian with the extract of hemp, thus describes its effects.

"At two P. M. a grain of the resin of hemp was given to a rheumatic patient; at four P. M. he was very talkative, sang, called loudly for more food, and declared himself in perfect health. At six P. M. he was asleep. At eight he was found insensible, but breathing with perfect regularity. His pulse and skin were natural, and the pupils acted freely under light. Happening by chance to lift the patient's arm, one can judge of my astonishment when I found it remained in the posture in which I placed it. We soon found that the patient had been thrown by the narcotic into that rarest of nervous states, catalepsy. We raised him to a sitting posture, and placed his arms and limbs in every imaginable attitude. A waxen figure could not be more pliant, or more stationary in each position, no matter how contrary to the natural gravity of the part. To all impressions he was meanwhile almost insensible. After a time this passed off, and left him uninjured."

M. Moreau made many experiments with hemp on his own person. He found that, when taken in small doses, it simply produced exhilaration of spirits. In doses sufficient to induce *fantasia*, it is followed by an intense feeling of happiness.

"It is really happiness which is produced by it; and by this I mean an enjoyment entirely moral, and by no means sensual, as might be supposed. For the haschish-eater is happy, not like the gourmand, or the famished man when satisfying his appetite, or the voluptuary in the gratification of his amative desires, — but like him who hears tidings which fill him with joy, or like the miser counting his treasures, the gambler who is successful at play, or the ambitious man who is intoxicated with success."

A good authority, Dr. Johnston, in his "Chemistry of Common Life," tells us that the extract of hemp differs from opium, not only in its sensible properties, but also in its effects upon the system. It does not lessen, but rather excites, appetite. It does not occasion nausea, dryness of the tongue, constipation, or diminished secretions, and is not usually followed by that melancholy state of depression to which the opium-eater is subject. It differs also in causing dilatation of the pupil, and sometimes catalepsy, in stilling pain less than opium does, in less generally producing sleep, in the peculiar inebriating quality it possesses, in the phantasmata it awakens, and in its aphrodisiac effects. It does not produce an apathy to external impressions, like opium, but adds a sensitiveness and activity of all the feelings and senses, external and internal, to the intellectual activity imparted by opium. The latter shuts up the mind within itself, while the former throws it open to the most lively influence of every bodily sense. So the mental activity occasioned by hemp resembles more that of the waking than the sleeping man. The action of opium, too, is interrupted by disturbance and bodily motion, while that of hemp is diminished by stillness and repose.

Hemp, too, as well as opium, has its panegyrists, who can describe it thus: —

"O kind and blissful mockery, when the manacled felon, on his bed of straw, is transported to the home of his innocent boyhood, and the pining and forsaken fair is happy with her fond and faithful lover, and the poor man hath abundance, and the dying man is in joyous health, and despair hath hope, and those that want are as though they wanted not, and they who weep are as though they wept not. But the fashion of these things passeth away."

The author of "The Hasheesh-Eater" seems to have first

indulged in this narcotic while still in his youth, and a member of some American college. His whole book has an air of truth, but of immaturity. We are not among those who believe it a fiction, based on the reading and admiration of the "Confessions of an English Opium-Eater." We shall consider and treat the book as a *bona fide* and most extraordinary experience, opening up a new world, to English readers, in the psychology of narcotics. Neither do we think it an imitation of De Quincey in style or incident. The author specially disclaims any conscious plagiarism of thought or matter, although the similarity of the subjects treated of rendered some resemblances inevitable. The Hasheesh-Eater continued for several years in the practice, and he alludes to quite a number of acquaintances who also ate hemp, and whose delusions varied from mad mirth to coma.

The Hasheesh-Eater began cautiously to experiment with the new narcotic, and it was not until after some days of tentative dallying that he took a dose large enough to produce any effect. The resinous extract of hemp is of very uncertain strength, and, although one or two grains are enough for a beginner in the East, it took thirty grains seriously to affect our author. This quantity he swallowed one evening, after tea, and remained until ten o'clock in the house of a friend. At that hour his strange sensations began.

"A shock, as of some unimagined vital force, shoots without warning through my entire frame, leaping to my fingers' ends, piercing my brain, startling me till I almost spring from my chair. I could not doubt it. I was in the power of the hasheesh influence. No pain anywhere, — not a twinge in any fibre, — yet a cloud of unutterable strangeness was settling upon me, and wrapping me impenetrably in from all that was natural or familiar. . . . . Now for the first time I experienced that vast change which hasheesh makes in all measurements of time. The first word of the reply occupied a period sufficient for the action of a drama; the last left me in complete ignorance of any point far enough back in the past to date the commencement of the sentence. Its enunciation might have occupied years. I was not in the same life which had held me when I heard it begun. And now, with time, space expanded also. At my friend's house one particular arm-chair was always reserved for me. I was sitting in it, at a distance of hardly three feet from the table around which the members of

the family were grouped. Rapidly that distance widened. The whole atmosphere seemed ductile, and spun out endlessly into great spaces surrounding me on every side. We were in a vast hall, of which my friends and I occupied opposite extremities. The ceiling and walls ran upward with a gliding motion, as if vivified with a sudden force of resistless growth. . . . . I advanced towards the centre-table. With every step its distance increased. I nerved myself for a long pedestrian journey. Still the lights, the faces, the furniture receded. At last, almost unconsciously, I reached them. It would be tedious to attempt to convey the idea of the time which my leave-taking consumed. Finally I was in the street. Beyond me the view stretched endlessly away. It was an unconverging vista, whose nearest lamps seemed separated from me by leagues. I was doomed to pass through a merciless stretch of space. A soul just disenthralled, setting out for his flight beyond the farthest visible star, could not be more overwhelmed with his newly acquired conception of the sublimity of distance than I was at that moment. Solemnly I began my infinite journey."

M. Moreau experienced very similar sensations while returning to his home, in Paris, under the influence of hemp. The *Passage de l' Opéra*, familiar to him for years, expanded into like colossal proportions before him, on this occasion.

After various hallucinations, the Hasheesh-Eater began to experience a sense of active congestion of the brain, and an exaggerated consciousness, so to speak, of all the vital actions.

"My sensations began to be terrific, — not from any pain that I felt, but from the tremendous mystery of all around me and within me. By an appalling introversion, all the operations of vitality which, in our ordinary state, go on unconsciously, came vividly into my experience. Through every thinnest corporeal tissue and minutest vein I could trace the circulation of the blood along each inch of its progress. I knew when every valve opened, and when it shut; every sense was preternaturally awakened; the room was full of a great glory. The beating of my heart was so clearly audible, that I wondered to find it unnoticed by those who were sitting by my side. So, now, that heart became a great fountain, whose jet played upward with loud vibrations, and, striking upon the roof of my skull as on a gigantic dome, fell back with a splash and echo into its resorvoir. Faster and faster came the pulsations, until at last I heard them no more, and the stream became one continuously pouring flood, whose roar resounded through all my frame. I gave myself up for lost, since judgment, which still sat unimpaired above my perverted senses, argued that congestion must

take place in a few moments, and close the drama with my death. But my clutch would not yet relax from hope. The thought struck me, Might not this rapidity of circulation be, after all, imaginary? I determined to find out."

He was greatly comforted by finding that his pulse was only ninety a minute. After various hallucinations, including the constant recurrence of the enlargement of space and time, he went to bed, and experienced dreams, alternately splendid and deliciously quiet, all night. In the morning he awoke, feeling no bad effects from the indulgence, but fresh and well. Of course what was first tried for experiment, was repeated for the pleasure it afforded, and he gradually became the slave of the habit. After a continued use he began to have pain, craving, and horrible visions, like those of the opium-eater, which rendered it almost impossible for him to discontinue the indulgence. He struggled hard, he tells us; renounced the habit, relapsed, and finally reformed altogether.

Hasheesh visions seem to be more active than those induced by opium, and quite as fantastic. Tremendous and awful apparitions alternate with scenes of mirth and tranquillity. Race, talent, temperament, and association make the same differences that they do to the opium-eater. External influences, as those of scenery, cheerful rooms, and even light, are powerful accessories of the enjoyment. The introversion of consciousness to the internal vital acts is no more strange and incredible, than the like introversion which takes place in disease. Even in so functional a malady as dyspepsia, the sufferer becomes conscious of the presence, the shape, the motions, and pangs of an organ which he could not have sworn he possessed before.

The Hasheesh-Eater says that there are only three ways of escape from the drug, — insanity, death, or abandonment. If he succeeded in the last, we must be permitted to say, that we think he came very near the first. He seems more crazy in his visions than the Opium-Eater. His hallucinations are often mystical; and he avows himself a transcendentalist; of which, indeed, there is sufficient internal evidence in the style of his later chapters. He dabbles also in Mesmerism and Braidism to some degree. He fancies, in his visions, that

he has an intuition of the philosophy of Pythagoras, and that the views of that great philosopher were due to hemp. He even maintains the same ideas in his sober moments, and calls himself, in his Preface, "the son of Pythagoras." Now we do not deny his claims to all this, and to talent and strong perceptions besides; nor do we, inexperienced as we are in narcotics, pretend to unveil the mysteries of hasheesh. But we submit the query whether the following circumstance is not much more like the hallucinations of a mild lunatic, — or those early stages of insanity which we oftener see at home, in private life, than in asylums, which it is not advanced enough to reach, — than the reasonings of a sound philosophy?

"One thing related of Pythagoras and his friends has seemed very striking to me. There is a legend that, as he was passing a river, its waters called up to him, in the presence of his followers, 'Hail! Pythagoras.' Frequently, while in the power of the hasheesh delirium, have I heard inanimate things sonorous with such voices. On every side they have saluted me, from rocks and trees and waters and sky; in my happiness filling me with intense exultation, as I heard them welcoming their master; in my agony heaping nameless curses on my head, as I went away into an eternal exile from all sympathy. Of this tradition of Jamblichus I feel an appreciation which almost convinces me that the voice of the river was indeed heard, though only by the quickened mind of some hasheesh-glorified esoteric."

The Hasheesh-Eater is a scholar and a fine writer; but he has not the direct pathos, power, and pomp of diction of De Quincey. His jokes and puns strike us as poor, as he fears they may, when viewed apart from hasheesh. He thinks he has an intuitive power of tracing derivations in etymology. But we fancy that every hard student has felt the same at times. It seems like intuition, but is really only the unconscious maturing of previously acquired knowledge. Yet this author has many excellences, and is deserving of our thanks for the only English treatise on Hasheesh, as well as for the terrible warning his personal experience affords us. Like other hemp-eaters, he was afflicted with painful visions and apparitions in his dreams long after he had renounced the drug. He closes the history of his abandonment of hemp with the following touching paragraph: —

"The progress into recovery has been by slow degrees, yet a progress after all. Ever and anon a return of the former suffering has made it necessary to spend half the night in walking; but the sense that every step forward was also a step, however infinitesimal, upward, is a greater relief than the possibility of once more journeying through the rosiest realms of the former hasheesh happiness. At least, for the present, — as a proviso to the proposition, let this be added, — for he who has once looked upon great glories cannot but hope to behold them again, when Nature is freed from all the grossness which makes them painful in the present state, and they shall come to him, not through walls which they must melt to make a passage-way, but like the sunlight, which, falling joyously and harmlessly, bathes the forehead of the little child asleep."

Next to salt, tobacco is the article most universally used by man, with the exception of the cereal grains. The tobacco zone girdles the globe. From the equator, through fifty degrees of latitude, it grows, and is consumed on every continent. With a partial exception in favor of the hop, tobacco is the sole recognized narcotic of civilization. Opium and hemp, if indulged in, are concealed by the Western nations. Not so with tobacco, which the majority of civilized men use, and the minority rather deprecate than denounce. It is at once the most common and the most innocent of the narcotics. More people consume tobacco than all united that use opium, hemp, and the betel; or, in other words, nigh three fourths of the whole human race. Tobacco, too, is the feeblest narcotic, and does not give rise to the palpable bad effects of the others.

The honor of introducing it to England is divided between Raleigh, Drake, and Hawkins. It became at once popular; and, in spite of restrictive laws, its use has steadily and very largely increased. A century and a half ago the import of tobacco into England did not exceed one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, but now they reach thirty million pounds, or a pound per head of the population; and government derives a revenue from it of twenty millions of dollars. The consumption of Austria in 1856 was eighty-five million pounds. And the United States are nearly as bad, as they raise two hundred million pounds, export one hundred and twenty-two,

and reserve seventy-eight millions for home consumption. In 1851, the city of New York spent 3,650,000 dollars for cigars, and only 3,102,500 dollars for bread. The United States, to be sure, furnish one twentieth of the estimated production of tobacco in the whole world. All the States, with five exceptions, share in the growth of this great staple. Confining our attention to those which raise a million pounds and upwards, we find Connecticut and Indiana cited at one million each; Ohio and North Carolina at from ten to twelve millions; Missouri, Tennessee, and Maryland, from seventeen to twenty-one millions; and Kentucky and Virginia, about fifty-six million pounds. As for other countries, M. Huc estimates the number of smokers in China at 300,000,000 persons. It has been estimated by those curious to reduce such matters to statistics, that the human family spends annually 250,000,000 pounds sterling, or about 1,250,000,000 dollars, in the gratification of this one habit. Nor does this begin to represent the amounts paid for extraneous necessities to the consumption of tobacco; such as pipes, for instance, of which the French town of St. Omer alone produces yearly 30,000,000.

The tobacco-leaf is consumed by man usually in three ways: by smoking, snuffing, and chewing. It is smoked in the East Indies, China, Siam, Turkey, Persia, over Europe generally, and in America. Women smoke habitually in China, the East and West Indies, and to a less extent in South America, Spain, and France. The latter country is the home of snuff, though it is used all over Europe and the United States. The women of some of the Southern States consume snuff in a more disgusting way, as described in a Virginia paper.

"Eighty per cent of the women of our State may be safely set down as snuff-dippers. In this number are included all ages, colors, and conditions. This practice is generally prevalent in the pine districts of North Carolina, and in many parts of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and Eastern Tennessee. It may be thus described. A female snuff-dipper takes a short stick, and, wetting it, dips it into her snuff-box, and then rubs the gathered dust all about her mouth, into the interstices of her teeth, and so forth, where she allows it to remain until its strength has been fully absorbed. Others hold the stick thus loaded with snuff in the cheek, like a quid of tobacco, and suck it with

decided relish, while engaged in their ordinary avocations; while others simply fill the mouth with snuff, and thus imitate, to all intents and purposes, the chewing propensities of the men. In the absence of snuff, tobacco in the plug or leaf is invariably resorted to."

The women of Paraguay chew tobacco habitually and openly, and with their fair fingers take the tobacco out of their mouths before saluting one. Perhaps a Yankee would have little right to complain of such practices.

Now men will not resort to such practices and to such expense without a sufficient reason; and we may therefore conclude that an article so widely used must possess some peculiar quality producing a desirable effect; also, since so many races use tobacco without any great physical deterioration, that it cannot produce any marked deleterious effect. The leaves of this plant owe their properties to certain invariable active principles, which are two in number, — a volatile alkali and a volatile oil, called nicotin and nicotianin, respectively. A third powerful constituent is developed by combustion, which is named the empyreumatic oil. But from various chemical researches, we are forced to believe that the only constituent worthy of much attention, as the very soul and essence of the plant, is the organic base, nicotin or nicotia. But this is a violent poison, — a few drops of it will kill quite large animals, as a cat or dog. It varies in amount in different kinds of tobacco, from two to eight per cent, but is present in all: undoubtedly a certain amount of it is introduced into the system with every cigar, or quid, or pinch of snuff. It is just as certain that it produces the narcotic or sedative effects of the herb, as it is that it would kill, if pure. But poisons are to be judged by their effects; for this is the only means we have of knowing them to be such. And if a poison is in common use, we must embrace all the results of such use in a perfect generalization, before we can decide impartially. We do not hesitate to eat peaches, though we know that they owe their flavor to prussic acid. The breath of chlorine is deadly, but we daily eat it with impunity, wrapped in its poison-proof envelope of sodium, as common salt. Nay, carbonic acid is, among the gases, the most hostile to our lungs, but we drink it in soda-water or champagne

unharmed. Hence we conclude that the evil results of the use of tobacco are to be determined by its proved physiological effects, and not by general arguments based on the fact that it contains a poison.

What is absolutely known is not much. There are two chief charges against it, which require notice. The first is, that tobacco wastes and vitiates the saliva, and thus prevents it from performing its office in digestion, — that of turning starch into sugar. The waste of saliva, in excessive spitting, is certainly a serious evil. But the later physiologists have renounced the theory of a sugar-making function of the saliva, and confine its intended use to the mere lubrication of the food. And even if it did make sugar of the starchy food, and tobacco prevented this change, yet this would not have so very deleterious an effect, since the secretion of the pancreas is fully capable of completing that change alone, in the second stomach.

The second charge is, that tobacco shatters the nervous system, as well as produces dyspepsia. In excess, it undoubtedly does this, but so will coffee and tea, or even common food if the stomach be constantly overloaded and overworked. In moderation, we do not believe that it thus works. Nothing proves it. Nervousness is due, often, to a thousand other causes, as temperament, constitution, habits, and particularly excessive work, in a slender organization. Tobacco is a sedative or nervine. Many men make it the *vis a tergo* of their daily tasks, just as others use coffee and tea. Students, men of sedentary professional habits, or those subject to much excitement in business and politics, sometimes show debility and languor, or agitation and nervousness, while they smoke or chew tobacco. Are want of exercise, want of air, and want of rest to be eliminated as causes, while tobacco is made the scapegoat of all the injury they do? The minor, rarely the graver, affections of the nervous system follow the use of tobacco in excess. We admit this willingly; but we deny that those effects attend its moderate use by persons of ordinary health. This second charge is more vague and indefinite than the other, and the answer is also less susceptible of proof. Both sides can avail themselves of circumstantial evidence alone, and we must judge by experience among the world of

smokers. That this class of tobacco consumers constitutes so large a proportion of every people, and that nations still remain in normal health and vigor, is a strong point in our argument against any marked deleterious effects being produced by the ordinary use of tobacco.

We do not know that, even if space permitted, we should come any nearer to a conclusion of the argument, so utterly impossible is it to procure exact data of effects which cannot be eliminated from those of a thousand other anti-hygienic influences of civilized life, or to judge of facts which do not admit of direct numerical analysis. Both Pereira and Christison agree that "no well ascertained ill effects have been shown to result from the habitual practice of smoking"; and M. Duchatelet, as the result of his researches among four thousand workmen in the tobacco manufactories of France, who were constantly exposed to and impregnated with its narcotic influence, found no evidence of its being unwholesome.

Two sets of experiments were made with tobacco by Dr. Hammond, who was not in the habit of using it in any form. During these experiments, he smoked four hundred and fifty grains of tobacco daily. The first series was made when a sufficiency of food was taken to keep up the weight and vigor of the body; and the second, when an insufficient quantity was taken. He found that, —

1. Tobacco does not materially affect the excretion of carbonic acid through the lungs, but that it lessens the amount of aqueous vapor.

2. It diminishes the amount of the excretions, and, while lessening the quantity of urea and chlorine, it increases the sum of the uric, phosphoric, and sulphuric acids given off.

The fact that the amount of carbonic acid was not diminished would indicate that the consumption of the fat of the body is not lessened by the use of tobacco. The general metamorphosis of the tissues would seem to be retarded, seeing that both the urea and the chlorine excreted are diminished in amount; but, as the phosphoric and sulphuric acids are increased, we can explain the apparent inconsistency in these results only by assuming that there is an increased oxidation of the phosphorus and sulphur of the brain and the nervous

tissues, although the metamorphosis of the other nitrogenous tissues is lessened.

Tobacco, like alcohol, coffee, and tea, arrests metamorphosis, and hence, in one sense, it is a food, since we are virtually nourished by what we save. When the food is sufficient to preserve the weight of the body, tobacco increases that weight; and when the food is not sufficient, and the body in consequence loses weight, it restricts that loss. But it differs from alcohol in being unattended with any unpleasant effects upon the circulatory system, though its action on the brain is apparent in increased nervous excitement, followed by a pleasant feeling of ease and contentment.

A writer of high authority says of its physiological action: "That its greater and first effect is to assuage and allay, and soothe the system in general. That its lesser and second, or after effect, is to excite and invigorate, and at the same time give steadiness and fixity to the powers of thought." Either of these effects will predominate, we conceive, according to the intellectual state of the individual, as well as in accordance with the amount used. The pleasure derived from tobacco is very hard to be defined, since it is negative rather than positive, and to be estimated more by what it prevents than by what it produces. It relieves the little vexations of life, soothes the harassed mind, and promotes quiet reflection. This it does most of all when used sparingly, and after labor. But if incessantly consumed, it keeps up a constant, but mild, cerebral exhilaration. The mind acts more promptly and more continuously under its use. After a full meal, if it does not help, it at least hides digestion, and gives it that feeling of quiet ease which would probably exist naturally in a state of perfect health. Smoking is eminently social, and favors domestic habits. In this way, we contend, it prevents drinking, rather than leads to it. The need of alcoholic stimulus is not more, if so much, felt by those who use it as by others. Although some still associate the cigar with the bar-room, this idea is, or should be, obsolete. The poor man's pipe retains him by his own fireside, while it softens for him domestic asperities.

In the words of eulogium of Salvation Yeo, in "Amyas

Leigh": "For when all things were made, none was made better than this; to be a lone man's companion, a bachelor's friend, a hungry man's food, a sad man's cordial, a wakeful man's sleep, and a chilly man's fire, sir!" We cannot subscribe fully to this, and we believe that excess is bad. But we may well yield a little, lest more be taken. For we cannot assume the highest stand-point of the reformers, and inculcate a total abstinence from all narcotics. Men will have something of this kind; all history, past and contemporaneous, proves it. And, if not allowed coffee, tea, and tobacco, they will the more surely have recourse to opium or hemp. Even the poor Siberian, cut off from other narcotics or sedatives, digs from beneath the snows a humble toadstool, which supplies his craving for a nervous stimulant.

In all the lower orders of creation, the normal state is preserved. Health is the rule, and sickness the rare exception. Demand and supply are exactly balanced. The contraction of the voluntary muscles, and the expenditure of nervous power consequent on locomotion, the temperate use of the five senses, and the quiet, regular performance of the great organic processes, limit the life and the waste of the creature. But when the brain expands into the dome-like cranium of the human being, a new and incessant call is made on the reparative forces. The nervous system has its demands increased a hundred-fold. We think, and we exhaust; we scheme, imagine, study, worry, and enjoy, and proportionately we waste. In the rude and primitive nations this holds good much less than among civilized people. Yet even among them, the faculties whose possession involves this loss have been ever exercised to repair it by artificial means. In the busy life of to-day, how much more is this the case? Overworked brains and stomachs, underworked muscles and limbs, soon derange the balance of supply and demand. We waste faster than enfeebled digestion can well repair. We feel always a little depressed; we restore the equilibrium temporarily by stimulation, — some with coffee and tea, others with tobacco. How much resort to the more powerful and fascinating narcotics these innocent stimulants prevent, we can only judge by the weakness of human nature and their vast consumption.

ART. VI. — *North America.* By ANTHONY TROLLOPE, Author of "The West Indies and the Spanish Main," "The Three Clerks," "The Struggles of Brown, Jones, and Robinson," "Doctor Thorne," "Framley Parsonage," "Orley Farm," &c., &c., &c. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1862. 12mo. pp. 623.

JOHN BULL has a great passion for writing travels. He does not appear to have travelled more or farther than his neighbors; but he has more to say about his "wanderings" than all of them together. Nor does he appear to be impelled by any laudable desire of instructing his countrymen about the geography and customs of the countries he visits. Certainly he has not succeeded, and his Transatlantic brethren are still asked, by the most refined and best-educated Englishmen, whether pine-apples do not grow in Boston, and whether the Anglo-Saxon race has not dwindled in America. Read any one of the books of travel which are issued every month from the London press, with such titles as "Six Weeks in Canada," "Vacation Tourists," "A Run to Malta," "Rambles in the East," (the short time spent in the country seems always to be put forward as a special recommendation,) and you will find that three fourths of the book are filled with complaints of hotels, ridicule of manners, and criticisms of institutions. John is so continually growling, that his national oath has become as his patronymic on the other side of the Channel, and his chief purpose in travelling seems to be to give his opinion about his neighbors' affairs. He has one standard, to which he brings everything, and whatever does not square with that must be bad. Fortunately for John, most of his neighbors cannot read, or do not take the trouble to read, his effusions, or he would be more unpopular than he is. His American cousins, on the contrary, using the same language, can read, and do read, everything he writes, especially about them; and no matter how insignificant the author, or how contemptible his opinions, they are wounded to the quick. This sensitiveness is very silly. John abuses everybody else, himself included, just as much as he does us. In-

deed, living three thousand miles off, we hardly get our share. It is his way, and, however unpleasant it may be, there is generally underneath it a vast deal of good-nature and kind feeling. Moreover, our very touchiness is the mark of a national foible quite as unpleasant to our neighbors as John's testiness. We have been a most superlatively self-conceited people, and our egregious vanity has appeared in no respect more markedly than in our impertinent demands on the admiration and applause of the world. Unlike the Englishman, we do not keep our opinions to ourselves. John Bull looks glum, and scolds and frets over the Continent; but, unless his equanimity is especially ruffled, he keeps his thoughts to himself, and his opinions first appear in two volumes, tastefully printed and elegantly bound. The true Yankee has no such retentiveness. He intrudes himself everywhere, and no hints will drive him off. He vents his opinions on all occasions, and in the loudest nasal tones. "The Rhine is a brook compared to the Hudson"; "The Alps cannot hold a candle to Niagara"; and "There is nothing in London or Paris which will compare with Stewart's, the Fifth Avenue, or Central Park." This is no exaggeration. Every educated American who has travelled in Europe has been made to blush by this gasconade of his countrymen, if he has not been driven to avoid them as he would a pestilence. As for ourselves, after a good deal of experience of both types of national manners, we must say, that, if we are to be afflicted with either, we greatly prefer the English; and if foreign criticism can give us a juster opinion of our country, and a more real independence of character, we do not care how severe it is, or how often it comes. That half of it will be false, and the other half exaggerated, is to be expected; but that is of no importance, if it only leads us to examine ourselves, not by any European canon, but by that standard which our wisest and best men have held up to us. We can have no really great or independent national character until we distinguish our faults from our merits, and diligently seek to avoid the former, while we cling with manly self-respect to the latter.

Mr. Trollope's work is decidedly above the average of ordinary "Vacation Rambles." He devoted six months to the

United States and Canada, which is five months more than most of his countrymen think sufficient "to do" the country; and he has the candor to confess, at the end of his book, "that a man might well engage himself for six years, or perhaps for sixty, in obtaining materials for it." Moreover, he has not been a mere superficial observer of geographical and popular customs, but has carefully studied our domestic institutions and our politics, always with candor, and generally with success. He is almost the only English popular writer, so far as we are aware, who has carried away a clear understanding of the intimate relation of our States to one another and to the national government, or who has taken the trouble to investigate our school system and its important bearing on the character of the people. He has also appended to his book, in full, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States; and, if he has succeeded in enlightening any considerable portion of the educated among his countrymen on these points alone, we owe him a debt of gratitude. Of course, he meets with many absurdities, and makes the most of his stories; but that is his trade, and he tells them in such a good-natured way, and with such a fascinating style, as to render his work one of the most readable books of travel we have ever met with. He seems anxiously solicitous, moreover, that his stories should not offend his American readers, for he volunteers the information at the outset that he could tell equally good stories against Englishmen, and gives some specimens in illustration; but, after all, his illustrations only set off more strikingly his Yankee stories. Any traveller who has been much in England can tell stories enough against Englishmen; but, as a rule, they are merely specimens of the profound ignorance, even of the best-educated scholars, about American affairs, and have but little fun or raciness in them. Not so, however, with your true Yankee conceit. There is a sublimity about it which defies all comparison. "Sir," said Mr. Plaistead, "I have everything here that a man ought to want; — air, sir, that ain't to be got better nowhere; trout, chickens, beef, mutton, milk, — and all for a dollar a day. A-top of that hill, sir, there 's a view that ain't to be beat this side of the Atlantic, or, I be-

lieve, the other. And an echo, sir! We've an echo that comes back to us six times, sir, — floating on the light wind, and wafted about from rock to rock, till you would think the angels were talking to you. If I could raise that echo, sir, every day at command, I'd give a thousand dollars for it. It would be worth all the money to a house like this."

We have read with much interest Mr. Trollope's criticisms of our educational establishments, and we think them generally just. He praises in the highest terms the excellences of our common schools, and returns again and again to express his wonder at the almost universal diffusion of an elementary education among the common people. Like all of his countrymen, he is somewhat inclined to find fault with the assurance and independence of manners among the working classes, which this universal education has produced; but, unlike most Englishmen, he is very ready to acknowledge that what may be unpleasant to him is very good for them. "For myself, I do not like the Americans of the lower orders. I am not comfortable among them. They tread on my corns, and offend me. They make my daily life unpleasant. But I do respect them. I acknowledge their intelligence and personal dignity. I know that they are men and women worthy to be so called; I see that they are living as human beings in possession of reasoning faculties; and I perceive that they owe this to the progress that education has made among them." And again: "I am not saying that the man who is driven in the coach is better off because his coachman reads the paper, but that the coachman himself who reads the paper is better off than the coachman who does not and cannot. . . . . The political coachman is perhaps less valuable to his master as a coachman than he would be without his politics, but he with his politics is more valuable to himself." This is certainly an appreciation of the fundamental idea of American society. In regard to the New York schools, he writes: —

"It is almost impossible to mention them with too high a praise. . . . . I do not know any contrast that would be more surprising to an Englishman, up to that moment ignorant of the matter, than that which he would find by visiting first of all a free school in London, and then a free school in New York. If he would also learn the number of

children that are educated gratuitously in each of the two cities, and also the number in each which altogether lack education, he would, if susceptible of statistics, be surprised also at that. But seeing and hearing are always more effective than mere figures. The female pupil at a free school in London is, as a rule, either a ragged pauper, or a charity girl, if not degraded at least stigmatized by the badges and dress of the Charity. We Englishmen know well the type of each, and have a fairly correct idea of the amount of education which is imparted to them. We see the result afterwards when the same girls become our servants, and the wives of our grooms and porters. The female pupil at a free school in New York is neither a pauper nor a charity girl. She is dressed with the utmost decency. She is perfectly cleanly. In speaking to her, you cannot in any degree guess whether her father has a dollar a day, or three thousand dollars a year. Nor will you be enabled to guess by the manner in which her associates treat her. As regards her own manner to you, it is always the same as though her father were in all respects your equal. As to the amount of her knowledge, I fairly confess that it is terrific. When, in the first room which I visited, a slight slim creature was had up before me to explain to me the properties of the hypothenuse, I fairly confess that, as regards education, I backed down, and that I resolved to confine my criticisms to manner, dress, and general behavior." — p. 200.

Then, again, in regard to the schools of Boston: —

"Here, as at New York, I was almost startled by the amount of knowledge around me, and listened as I might have done to an examination in theology among young Brahmins. When a young lad explained in my hearing all the properties of the different levers as exemplified by the bones of the human body, I bowed my head before him in unaffected humility. We, at our English schools, never got beyond the use of those bones which he described with such accurate scientific knowledge. In one of the girls' schools they were reading Milton, and when we entered were discussing the nature of the pool in which the Devil is described as wallowing. The question had been raised by one of the girls. A pool, so called, was supposed to contain but a small amount of water, and how could the Devil, being so large, get into it? Then came the origin of the word pool, — from "palus," a marsh, as we were told, some dictionary attesting to the fact, — and such a marsh might cover a large expanse. The 'Palus Mæotis' was then quoted. And so we went on till Satan's theory of political liberty,

'Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven,'

was thoroughly discussed and understood. These girls of sixteen and

seventeen got up one after another and gave their opinions on the subject, — how far the Devil was right and how far he was manifestly wrong. I was attended by one of the directors or guardians of the schools, and the teacher, I thought, was a little embarrassed by her position. But the girls themselves were as easy in their demeanor as though they were stitching handkerchiefs at home.

"It is impossible to refrain from telling all this, and from making a little innocent fun out of the superexcellences of these schools; but the total result on my mind was very greatly in their favor. And indeed the testimony came in both ways. Not only was I called on to form an opinion of what the men and women would become from the education which was given to the boys and girls, but also to say what must have been the education of the boys and girls from what I saw of the men and women. Of course it will be understood that I am not here speaking of those I met in society, or of their children, but of the working people, — of that class who find that a gratuitous education for their children is needful, if any considerable amount of education is to be given. The result is to be seen daily in the whole intercourse of life. The coachman who drives you, the man who mends your window, the boy who brings home your purchases, the girl who stitches your wife's dress, — they all carry with them sure signs of education, and show it in every word they utter." — pp. 265, 266.

At Cambridge, also, the only one of our collegiate towns which Mr. Trollope appears to have visited, he finds much to praise. "There is, of course, none of that old-fashioned, time-honored, delicious mediæval life, which lends so much grace and beauty" to the English colleges of Cambridge and Oxford. Moreover, the College buildings, with a few exceptions, are "very ugly red-brick houses," and the lawn is not kept well mown; but he adds, and one would hardly ask higher praise: "Taking the University of Harvard College as a whole, I should say that it is most remarkable in this, — that it does really give to its pupils that education which it professes to give. Of our own Universities other good things may be said, but that one special good thing cannot always be said."

In most respects Mr. Trollope's criticism on the American collegiate system as seen at Harvard is just; but he is entirely mistaken in saying that "the greatest incentives to high excellence are wanting." It is true there are no "prizes of fellowships and livings to be obtained"; but al-

though Harvard cannot offer to her successful students "the reward of money," she does give "the reward of honor," and her first places are striven for with as much zeal as the "double-firsts" at Oxford, or the "wranglers'" at the English Cambridge. Moreover, to a poor student, ambitious of literary or scientific distinction, successful scholarship is an opening to lucrative employment at Harvard quite as surely as it is to a fellowship or tutorship at the English Universities. Mr. Trollope also gives a somewhat false impression in regard to the requirements for a degree at Cambridge. A young man cannot spend his four years of residence at Harvard in entire idleness, and receive his degree as a matter of course if his conduct has been satisfactory, as Mr. Trollope would seem to imply. He must keep up to a certain standard in his work, as shown by daily recitations and frequent written examinations, or he cannot remain in College at all. Moreover, at the end of each year he must pass an examination on the whole work of the year, and failure to pass this examination is followed by dismission or degradation into a lower class. This is true of the Senior year, and the last examination of the course, although confined to the studies of this year, still covers quite as much ground (different ground it is true) as the final pass examination at the English Universities. If the student keeps up to the required standard, and passes the examinations satisfactorily to his instructors, he receives his degree as a matter of course; and in practice very few who remain in College during the full period fail to get their degree, simply because the incompetents have been dropped off before the end of the first two years. At the English Universities, on the contrary, everything is made to turn on the final examination, and a student may pass his terms of residence in almost entire idleness, and still secure his degree by a little exertion at the end; or his parents may get their first intimation of his incompetency when he is "plucked." We cannot but think that, so far as concerns the mere pass men, the Harvard system is the best for the students, and the most just to the parents. It secures constant attendance during four years on literary exercises covering all the im-

portant branches of human knowledge, with a modicum, at least, of regular study; and we are certain that the result for the large majority of students is as good as could be reasonably expected, and much better than it is either at Oxford or Cambridge. The average scholarship is higher, and the poorest is not so low, — our lowest pass men know much more, and know what they do know much better, than the same class in England. But when we have said this, we have said all we can in our favor, and Mr. Trollope gives us our full meed of praise. "I conceive that the general level of the University education is higher there than with us; that a young man is more sure of getting his education, and that a smaller percentage of men leaves Harvard College utterly uneducated than goes in that condition out of Oxford or Cambridge. The education at Harvard College is more diversified in its nature, and study is more absolutely the business of the place, than it is at our Universities."

While, however, we compare favorably with our elder sisters in the general average, we fall lamentably short of them in high scholarship. This Mr. Trollope discovers; but he mistakes the cause. The difficulty is to be found in the very system of our American colleges, and not in the want of large prizes, as Mr. Trollope seems to think. Our best scholars study as long and as faithfully as the Oxford double-firsts, but their study is not so well directed. Their whole time is taken up with the constantly recurring task of the college, and they have no inducements to push their study beyond the prescribed course. They learn the appointed lesson well, and master the book they study; but the ideas thus gained are too apt to be bounded by the covers of the text-book, and that large knowledge of a subject which is to be obtained only by extended reading and careful thought is lost. The best scholar has the same lesson as the poorest, and can excel him only in the degree to which he masters it. He is not expected to learn, and does not learn, more than the book teaches; and every one knows how meagre most text-books are, and how soon a lesson got up for recitation is forgotten. By thus keeping the whole class at the same

tread-mill, we grind out a very good average form of scholarship; but we bruise the choicest seeds. Many a man, who, under a more special culture, would have become eminent in the classics, the mathematics, or the physical sciences, "finishes his education" at one of our American colleges without a profound knowledge of anything, and entirely contented with his superficial attainments, provided only that he has led his class in the same mediocrity.

We know it will be said that colleges are not the place for special study, and that the college curriculum is intended solely for giving a liberal culture, and for training the mind to enter successfully on the special professional studies of after life. Of course, no one desires to convert our colleges into professional schools; but all special study is not professional study, and it certainly does not require argument to show that in this age of the world no study can be thorough, and no scholarship profound, which is not special. So, also, every one will admit that the great object of a college should be to train the mind for the work of after life; but we believe the best experience has proved that, after a certain amount of general culture, there is no training so efficient as the exhaustive study of some great subject. Let it be understood that we are speaking only of our scholars, not of the great mass of the students. For the last, we believe our American system as good as under the circumstances could well be devised. At all events, it has grown up with the country, and been adapted to its wants. Nine tenths of the students who resort to an American college would not become great scholars under any system, and the college does the best thing for them, in striving to give a broad and liberal, although elementary, education. We are therefore far from wishing any radical change in our system, and least of all would we substitute the English system. At the English Universities there exists an opposite evil, and, as we believe, a more pernicious one. We, true to the democratic idea, sacrifice high scholarship to the good of the greatest number; they, on the contrary, apply the whole energy of their immense establishments, with the stimulus of their magnificent prizes, to training the few choice spirits among their students, leaving the rest to take care of

themselves. As we dislike that element in the English government which sacrifices the good of the many to the elevation of a privileged class, so we dislike the same spirit in the English Universities. But, in our admiration for the principles of our social system, let us be careful not to push them into dangerous extremes, or to apply them where they have no place; and while we zealously guard our doctrine of equality, so far as political rights are concerned, let us above all be careful not to apply this levelling principle to our scholarship. America cannot afford it. So long as America has the battles of freedom to fight, and aspires to occupy the post of honor in the march of civilization, she cannot afford to have her scholars, her statesmen, or her generals inferior in talents and culture to the rest of the world. But she will fall into this disgrace, if, instead of fostering, she practically discourages high scholarship in her institutions of learning, and surrenders the conduct of her public affairs to political hucksters instead of statesmen, and her armies to politicians instead of generals.

As we have said, the want of the highest scholarship in our colleges is in great measure the fault of the system; but then our college system, as we have seen, is the natural result of our social system. The Faculties of the colleges are not to blame for it. They are a part of the same social system, and naturally enough find it difficult to resist the influences which surround them. Moreover, the same system which depresses the scholarship of the student tends to depress their own. The complaint is often made, that the professors of American colleges do so little to advance science, and the reason is obvious. Men who are employed four or five hours every day in teaching the merest rudiments of knowledge will not be likely to rise much above their work. He who expects to do much to extend the boundaries of knowledge must be on the crest of the advancing wave, and there are not many men who can keep this position without the support either of sympathy or of some active stimulus; and a teacher can have no sympathy so hearty and no stimulus so great as that of active young minds, which he has raised up nearly to a level with his own. So true is this, that it will be found,

almost without exception, that the great masters of science in Europe are working either under the stimulus of some learned society, or else are teaching on a level with their study. Our American professors, on the contrary, not only have no such stimulus and no such sympathy, but their whole work tends to depress them. We know it will be said that men of genius will be superior to their surroundings, and this in a measure is true; but the men who do most to advance knowledge are not as a rule men of genius, and moreover it is also as true of mental work as it is of physical labor, — Raise a man's work, and you will raise the man. However difficult, therefore, it may be to resist surrounding influences, we maintain that it is the duty of our American colleges to do the utmost in their power to foster the highest scholarship. While it is the duty of all, it is more especially the duty of those which, like Harvard and Yale, on account of their larger endowments and greater facilities, lead the van and set the example to the rest. How the college course is to be altered so as to produce the best result, must necessarily be left for each Faculty to determine, and the special details will be very much determined by the circumstances of the place; but, as we have said, we do not believe that any radical changes in the general course are required, and we think that everything desirable could be gained by allowing more latitude in study to the candidates for honors during the last two years, by establishing three or four different "triposes," and by awarding the honors in each tripos to the successful students after examination.

What has been said of collegiate education applies still more strongly to professional training; for, as a rule, the professional schools are on a much lower level than the colleges. This is especially true of the medical schools, where a competition for students has led the Medical Faculties of different cities so to reduce the requirements for a degree, that their diplomas are no longer certificates of proficiency, but merely permits to practise. The evil here is also greater, because, while at the bar or in the pulpit the judgment of a man's peers soon puts him on his proper level, your medical practitioner in an obscure country town may sacrifice the lives of his patients, through his ignorance, without fear of exposure.

We hear it constantly said that the learned professions are no longer respected as formerly; and why? Simply because they are no longer *learned* professions. "Learned" is a relative term. In the early history of the country, the professional men were far better educated than the common people, and were therefore looked up to and respected; but of late the standard of common education has been greatly advanced, while that of professional men, if it has not been stationary, has not kept pace with it, and consequently the reason for the respect has disappeared. As mortifying as it may be to our pride, it is none the less true, that the standard of professional education in the United States is vastly lower than in any other civilized nation with which we should be willing to be compared, when, for the reasons just stated, it ought to be higher. Raise professional men above laymen in America to the same relative height at which they stand in Europe, and they will not fail to receive the same respect, the same emoluments, and the same political power. Let us see to it, then, at this time of our country's danger, when the cry is for educated statesmen and experienced generals to direct our public affairs, that we provide for the want, in the only possible way, by advancing our highest education.

Having dwelt so long on the subject of American education, the one which has most interested us in Mr. Trollope's book, we shall be able to glance only at a few other points of his interesting volume. Mr. Trollope has his hobby, which he rides through the book most amusingly. He refers all the physical ills of American life to our hot-air furnaces. "As to the hot-air pipes, there can, I think, be no doubt that to them is to be charged the murder of all rosy cheeks throughout the States. If the effect was to be noticed simply in the dry faces of the men about Wall Street, I should be very indifferent to the matter. But the young ladies of Fifth Avenue are in the same category. The very pith and marrow of life is baked out of their young bones by the hot-air chambers to which they are accustomed. Hot air is the great destroyer of American beauty." With all due deference to Mr. Trollope's opinion, we are inclined to believe that fashionable dissipation has as much to do as hot air in wilting the freshness of the

New York belles. Again, on board a Mississippi steamer: "The Americans, as a rule, live in an atmosphere which is almost unbearable by an Englishman. To this cause, I am convinced, is to be attributed their thin faces, their pale skins, their unenergetic temperament, — unenergetic as regards physical motion, — and their early old age." So also at West Point: "American lads and lasses are all pale. Men at thirty, and women at twenty-five, have had all semblance of youth baked out of them. Infants even are not rosy, and the only shades known on the cheeks of children are those composed of brown, yellow, and white. All this comes of those damnable hot-air pipes with which every tenement in America is infested." All this is simply absurd, and of a piece with a favorite theory of Englishmen, that the Anglo-Saxon race has degenerated in America. It is their way of disowning a froward child, who has offended the tastes and run counter to the prejudices of the mother country. It is an amusing conceit, and constantly reappears in their writers on this country, in all sorts of extravagances. Mr. Trollope speculates on the peculiarities of the American type in the following way: —

"What circumstances of blood or food, of early habit or subsequent education, have created for the latter-day American his present physiognomy? It is as completely marked, as much his own, as is that of any race under the sun that has bred in and in for centuries. . . . . The chief stock is English, which is itself so mixed that no man can trace its ramifications. With this are mingled the bloods of Ireland, Holland, France, Sweden, and Germany. All this has been done within but a few years, so that the American may be said to have no claim to any national type of face. Nevertheless, no man has a type of face so clearly national as the American. He is acknowledged by it all over the continent of Europe, and on his own side of the water is gratified by knowing that he is never mistaken for his English visitor." — p. 187.

Of course, facts have but little weight in opposition to prejudice, and it will not probably change Mr. Trollope's opinion to be told, that, except in a few very restricted localities, no such amalgamation of races has taken place in America, or at least not to the extent which he implies. In New England, certainly, the people are of as pure English blood, and have as direct an English descent, as the inhabitants of Lon-

don; but it is in this very New England that the so-called Yankee type has been developed, and thence spread over the United States. We have no desire to disguise or laud Yankee peculiarities. They are prominent enough and disagreeable enough, we know to our pain; but, as distasteful as they are, there is no disguising the fact that they are bred of pure English blood, and are the natural result of true English character transplanted to a virgin soil. We do not, of course, overlook the singular mixture of nationalities at the West and in many of the Atlantic cities; but this has been for the most part the result of recent immigration, and an Englishman, if he has read his own history, ought to know that it will require many generations before anything like a distinct national type can result from such a motley population. Indeed, thus far the obstacles of language, customs, and tastes to amalgamation have been, as might be expected, almost insuperable, and the foreign population has generally herded together, both in the cities and in the country, and retained its respective nationalities as distinctly as in Europe. New York is said to be the third German city in the world, and its large German population is as distinct from the English, as the population of Berlin is from that of London.

Moreover, it is not true that Americans (understanding by this term, of course, the English population of the United States) are known by their *physiognomy* all over the continent of Europe. Many of our countrymen, it is true, make their nationality only too evident by absurd boasting, obtrusive manners, and conspicuous dress; but an American gentleman or lady, of proper modesty in dress and manners, who has learned the art of bridling the tongue, is constantly mistaken for English even by the English themselves, as we have had but too much occasion to learn. We remember an amusing anecdote, which illustrates not only this point, but also the absurd English theory we have been discussing. A late American scholar, whose distinguished reputation is known wherever good letters are respected, and whose genial countenance and large physique will long be remembered in this community, was dining a few years since at Munich in company with an English scholar, a Fellow of one of the Uni-

versities, who, although not of inferior size for an English student, was a pygmy at the side of our friend. The conversation chanced to turn on the United States, when the Englishman, who had mistaken our friend's nationality, remarked, "How singular it is that our race has so degenerated in America." "But," says the American, "are you quite sure of the fact?" "Certainly. There can be no doubt whatever. Lord ——— has given the subject his careful attention, and you will find an article on the subject in such a place," — naming the review. "But," was the reply, "I have had excellent opportunities for personal observation, and had arrived at an entirely different conclusion." The Englishman still pressing his point, the conversation went on in this vein for some time, until our friend, who could no longer contain himself, rejoined, in his good-natured way, "Why, my dear sir, I am an American, and am not regarded by my friends as over-size, and you will pardon me if I should think that you were an equally fair example of Englishmen." The conversation was of course soon turned, for this *argumentum ad hominem* was not to be resisted. Whatever we may say of the argument, it was as conclusive as such arguments generally are. The Englishman was as fair an example of his countrymen as our champion was of Americans; but if all Americans were like him, we should soon "whip the world," and if all Englishmen were like the Cambridge Fellow, they would probably bluster less. The truth is, that the physique of the Anglo-Saxon race is very much the same in both countries. The yeomanry of England will compare very well with the farmers and backwoodsmen of America, and the American professional men and scholars with the same class in England. There is this advantage, however, in favor of England, that she has a privileged class, who, not obliged to work either with body or mind, are able to spend most of their time in hunting, fishing, boating, and other athletic exercises in the open air, and it is with this class that the unfavorable comparison to ourselves is most generally made. At the other end of the scale, however, we have the advantage, in that our artisans are better clothed and fed, and less worked, than those of England.

What is true of the men is also true, in general, of the

women. Yet here again England has the advantage, in so far as her women of the higher classes are more accustomed to out-of-door exercise than ours; but as more rational practices in regard to the education of girls are becoming prevalent, it may be hoped that even this difference will disappear. Rosy cheeks can be produced only by temperate habits and out-of-door exercise, while fashionable dissipation or a sedentary life will blanch the face as well on one side of the Atlantic as on the other.

A large part of Mr. Trollope's volume is devoted to the details of our government, both State and national, and many of the provisions of the Constitution of the United States are discussed at length, and in some cases are severely criticised. So far as we can see, the discussion, although of course conducted from an English point of view, appears to be fair and candid, and the tree is judged by its fruits. Unfortunately, the most serious allegations cannot be denied. It is too true that our present form of government differs in most important particulars from that which the fathers of the republic intended to frame, and that the innovations have been almost invariably for the worse. It is also too true, that previously to the present crisis the general government had become corrupt throughout all its functions; that lobbying, which means simply bribery, had become a part of the recognized machinery of legislation; that the whole patronage of the government had been used for political intrigues; and that the grossest frauds had become common in high places. It is further true, that important offices of state were so generally filled by men of mean capacity and questionable honesty, that the very name of politician had become a term of opprobrium and reproach. We cannot deny these facts. Alas! we are paying the penalty of our national sins. But if the precious blood which has been and will be shed can purchase our political redemption, the price cannot be too dear. We have no heart to follow Mr. Trollope in his discussion of these subjects. Our ship of state is now stranded, and all hands are at work trying to get her off. This is no time to discuss how we could have avoided the shoals. But if we are permitted again to set sail, the question will come back to us with most solemn earnestness; and,

if we do not then profit by our experience, our prospects will be dark indeed.

This article has already reached an undue length; but we cannot close without noticing in a few words Mr. Trollope's views of the cause of the present war, and its probable issue. Mr. Trollope has discovered that slavery is the sole cause of the struggle, and that the North could not have avoided the war without national dishonor, — a fact on which almost the whole English nation have wilfully and resolutely shut their eyes.

"I must acknowledge it to be my opinion, that slavery in its various bearings has been the single and necessary cause of the war; that, slavery being there in the South, this war was only to be avoided by a voluntary division, — secession voluntary both on the part of North and South; that, in the event of such voluntary secession being not asked for, or, if asked for, not conceded, revolution and civil war became necessary, — were not to be avoided by any wisdom or care on the part of the North." — p. 338.

Having discussed the now almost forgotten question of the right of secession, and shown how monstrous such an assumption was, and having also shown that "the reasons put forward by the South for secession have been trifling almost beyond conception," Mr. Trollope continues: —

"I have said that the reasons given for secession have been trifling, and among them have so estimated this matter of the Fugitive Slave Law. I mean to assert that the ground actually put forward is trifling; — the loss, namely, of slaves to which the South has been subjected. But the true reason pointed at in this — the conviction, namely, that the North would not leave slavery alone, and would not allow it to remain as a settled institution — was by no means trifling. It has been this conviction on the part of the South, that the North would not live in amity with slavery, would continue to fight it under this banner or under that, would still condemn it as disgraceful to man, and rebuke it as impious before God, which has produced rebellion and civil war, and will ultimately produce that division for which the South is fighting, and against which the North is fighting, and which, when accomplished, will give the North new wings, and will leave the South without political greatness or commercial success." — p. 345.

Mr. Trollope sees clearly that a question of political power,

although secondary, was nevertheless the immediate cause of the war, and he traces out very briefly, but, as we believe, with general accuracy, our political history for the last fifty years, dwelling on the means which have been used by the South to retain their ascendency in the government, and showing that, although partially successful, they in the long run had been overborne by the increasing numerical preponderance of the North, and with it, of course, of Northern sentiments also. "In that way," he continues, "the South has lived and struggled on against the growing will of the population; but at last that will became too strong, and when Mr. Lincoln was elected, the South knew that its day was over."

"Such, according to my ideas, have been the causes of the war. But I cannot defend the South. As long as they could be successful in their schemes for holding the political power of the nation, they were prepared to hold by the nation. Immediately those schemes failed, they were prepared to throw the nation overboard. In this there has undoubtedly been treachery as well as rebellion. Had these politicians been honest, — though the political growth of Washington has hardly admitted of political honesty, — but had these politicians been even ordinarily respectable in their dishonesty, they would have claimed secession openly before Congress, while yet their own President was at the White House. Congress would not have acceded. Congress itself could not have acceded under the Constitution; but a way would have been found, had the Southern States been persistent in their demand. A way, indeed, has been found; but it has lain through fire and water, through blood and ruin, through treason and theft, and the downfall of national greatness. Secession will, I think, be accomplished, and the Southern Confederation of States will stand something higher in the world than Mexico and the republics of Central America. Her cotton monopoly will have vanished, and her wealth will have been wasted.

"I think that history will agree with me in saying that the Northern States had no alternative but war. What concession could they make? Could they promise to hold their peace about slavery? And had they so promised, would the South have believed them? They might have conceded secession; that is, they might have given all that would have been demanded. But what individual chooses to yield to such demands; and if not an individual, — then what people will do so? But in truth they could not have yielded all that was demanded. Had secession been granted to South Carolina and Georgia, Virginia would have been

coerced to join those States by the nature of her property, and with Virginia Maryland would have gone, and Washington, the capital. What may be the future line of division between the North and the South I will not pretend to say; but that line will probably be dictated by the North. It may still be hoped that Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, and Maryland will go with the North, and be rescued from slavery. But had secession been yielded, had the prestige of success fallen to the lot of the South, those States must have become southern." — pp. 352, 353.

We have made these copious extracts in order to show how very fairly Mr. Trollope has treated the subject which now, of all others, most concerns us. Had the English press generally been one half as just, we could have borne the neutrality and want of sympathy of her governing classes. While, however, we thank Mr. Trollope for his evident sympathy with the Northern cause, (and such sympathy from an Englishman, in opposition to all surrounding prejudices, is an occasion for gratitude,) we are sorry to find that he fails to see, certainly fails to state, the true moral significance of the present struggle. Slavery is not merely a bad political system, tyrannical and oppressive to the enslaved, and one which, therefore, Northern freemen cannot abide. It has a moral aspect which is vastly worse. It has degraded the masters even more than the slaves, and has produced in Southern society moral corruption which can be compared only with the worst days of Greece and Rome. Decency forbids us to dwell on the subject; but unfortunately the facts are too well known in this community to require recital, even if this were the proper place. Mrs. Stowe's novel, as eloquent and graphic as it is, does not tell half the truth. It exposes the cruelty and moral wrongs to which the system subjects the blacks; but, as bad as these are, they are not its worst evils. Cruelty in this world may be compensated in the next, and that is one of the great lessons which the gifted author has so touchingly drawn in the character of Uncle Tom; but the moral degradation of the master, what hope can we have of that?

Would that the corrupting influences of slavery could have remained with him. But, unfortunately, they had insinuated themselves everywhere. They had poisoned all the springs of

political action, and through these the government itself had become corrupt to its core, — North as well as South ; for we have no desire to shield the North. The original sin was with the South ; but the Northern political leaders who have been consenting to it and abetting it are as guilty as they, and we are now learning, to our bitter cost, that slavery is so vile that no one can touch it without being defiled. Like a cancer, it had been slowly doing its deadly w rk for years before the nation was aroused to its danger. But even then the North never thought of acting in an unconstitutional way. Before the election of Mr. Buchanan, it made an effort at resistance ; but it failed, and for the next four years the disease increased with fearful rapidity. Then came the election of Mr. Lincoln. The North asserted its rights, and the South revolted. This is the simple story. We are now fighting to put down rebellion. The integrity of the government requires it, and it would lose all respect both at home and abroad if it allowed such treason to go unpunished. Our duty and our safety alike require us to sustain the government in the present crisis ; but who does not see that what gives the bitterness and persistency to the war is not the question whether one or the other State may secede, but whether slavery, with all its attending vices, is to rule on this continent, or not ?

Let us of the North not forget the true issues of this contest, or fail to keep them before the world. Our danger is that political intriguers will endeavor to blind our eyes by side issues, and divide us among ourselves. They have succeeded in the past, and will succeed in the future unless we are on our guard. We cannot hope to prevail, unless we keep our great end in view. Let us then remember that we are fighting the decisive battle of civilization in the West, and that the one question is, whether freedom or slavery shall rule this continent ; for one or the other must rule the whole ; and as surely as the Mississippi flows into the Gulf, slavery will rule us if we do not rule it. We must not expect the sympathy of England in this contest, or waste our energy in idle words because we do not get it. England hates negro slavery ; but she hates our

republican institutions more; and we cannot expect that she will do more for us than she did for Poland, Hungary, or Italy. We must wage the conflict alone; but then we shall have the more glory if we conquer.

In conclusion, we must again express the gratification which Mr. Trollope's book has afforded us, and we only hope that it will be as extensively read in England as it undoubtedly will be here, for if it is, it will certainly do good by correcting in some quarters prejudices which only an Englishman could reach. In his introduction he says, "It has been the ambition of my literary life to write a book about the United States," and he seems evidently anxious to do away with the impression produced in America by his mother's scurrility, although, with a son's delicacy, he does his best to guard her reputation. He writes: —

"Thirty years ago my mother wrote a book about the Americans, to which I believe I may allude as a well-known and successful work without being guilty of any undue family conceit. That was essentially a woman's book. She saw with a woman's keen eye, and described with a woman's light but graphic pen the social defects and absurdities which our near relatives had adopted into their domestic life. All that she told was worth the telling, and the telling, if done successfully, was sure to produce a good result. I am satisfied that it did so. But she did not regard it as a part of her work to dilate on the nature and operation of those political arrangements which had produced the social absurdities which she saw, or to explain that, though such absurdities were the natural result of those arrangements in their newness, the defects would certainly pass away, while the political arrangements, if good, would remain. Such a work is fitter for a man than for a woman." — pp. 1, 2.

We can only add, that, if we are to have a series of Trollope commentators, we hope that the next may be as great an improvement on our friend as he is on his mother.

ART. VII.—1. *Christianisme et Paganisme.* Par le COMTE AGÉNOR DE GASPARIN. 1848. 2 vols.

2. *Le Christianisme aux trois premiers Siècles, Séances historiques.* Par le même. 1857.

3. *Le Christianisme au Quatrième Siècle, Séances historiques: Constantin.* Par le même. 1858.

4. *Le Christianisme au Moyen Age, Séances historiques: Innocent III.* Par le même. 1859.

5. *Intérêts Généraux du Protestantisme Français.* Par le même. 1843.

6. *Après la Paix, Liberalisme et la Guerre d'Orient.* Par le même. 1856.

7. *La Question de Neuchâtel.* Par le même. 1857.

8. *Réponse à la Brochure de M. le Pasteur Adolphe Monod.* 1849.

9. *Les Perspectives du Temps Présent.* Par le même. 1860.

10. *Un Grand Peuple qui se relève.* Par le même. 1861.

11. *L'Amérique devant l'Europe, Principes et Intérêts.* Par le même. 1862.

12. *Le Bonheur.* Par le même. Paris. 1862.

13. *Rapports et Débats des Chambres Législatives concernant les Lois des* 18 *et* 19 *Juillet* 1845, *relatives au Régime des Esclaves dans les Colonies Françaises.* Paris, Imprimerie Royale.

THE name of DE GASPARIN will be associated with the literary history of the present war as closely as the name of LAFAYETTE is associated with the military history of the war of the Revolution. It is not a little singular that, while English writers have so generally failed to apprehend the structure of the United States government and the genius of the American people, historians and publicists of another race, trained in an atmosphere less genial to liberty than that of England, — a Botta, a De Tocqueville, a De Gasparin, — have understood us in some respects even better than we have understood ourselves. In respect to the causes and motives of the American Revolution, and its leading events, Botta is more trustworthy and sagacious than some of our own "text-

book" historians; in the analysis of our institutions De Tocqueville is more philosophical and profound than many of our recent jurists and statesmen; and who in America has comprehended more keenly than De Gasparin the issues of the conflict through which we are passing, or has set these forth with a more vivid logic or a more fervid eloquence? But the surprise we feel at this intuitive penetration of our affairs by a foreigner subsides when we consider that questions of civil and religious liberty, and the conflicts which these engender, have been with Count de Gasparin the study of a life devoted to the abolition of slavery, to the emancipation of the Church from political control, and in general to the adjustment of the maximum of personal freedom to the minimum of government consistent with strength, order, and stability.

Born to an inheritance of honor and affluence, cultivated in the gentlemanly and Christian graces of a Philip Sidney, at home in the cabinet, the parliament, and the court, he has yet been the champion of the poor, the despised, and the oppressed; now pleading for the enslaved in the colonies, now for Protestants persecuted in French communes, and again for the persecuted Catholics of Sweden; now interfering to rescue the Madiai from inquisitorial bigotry at Florence, and again to deliver the humble Christians of the Canton de Vaud from the tyranny of a rationalistic Council of State; — always with even hand maintaining the rights of conscience and the rights of man. During the reign of Louis Philippe, his father, Adrien Etienne de Gasparin, a distinguished *agronome* and a member of the Institute, was for ten years (from 1830 to 1840) Minister of the Interior. Count Agénor, though but a youth, — he was born at Orange in July, 1810, — was for several years at the head of the Cabinet under his father, and afterward was an assistant of M. Guizot in the Ministry of Public Instruction. In 1842, when only thirty-two years of age, he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies by the arrondissement of Bastia, and thus entered upon his brief but brilliant career as a parliamentary orator and legislator. In the great debate of the months of May and June, 1845, upon the amelioration of the condition of the colonial slaves, De Gasparin was the foremost champion of the abolition of slavery. In the Cham-

ber of Deputies, he vindicated, with a touching and effective eloquence, the religious rights of Protestants without the pale of the national Church, — then a poor and despised minority, subjected to insolence and injustice from Catholic magistrates and conniving courts. He also took ground boldly against the growing corruption of political elections and of government officials, and, in conjunction with Messrs. d'Haussonville and Girardin, introduced a law regulating the advancement of public functionaries, with a view to prevent fraudulent abuses. This very integrity, which led him to refuse either to countenance bribery at the polls or to accept bribes in the interest of his constituency, together with his zeal for the protection of Protestantism, must have impaired his popularity as a representative, and have hindered his political advancement; but when, in 1848, the constitutional monarchy of Louis Philippe, to which he was ardently attached, was overthrown by revolution, De Gasparin retired to Switzerland, where he continues to reside. Here he has devoted himself mainly to the discussion of questions concerning the purity of the faith and the advancement of religious liberty in Continental Europe, keeping alive his special interest in the free-church Protestants of France by voluminous contributions to the *Archives du Christianisme*.

Avoiding questions of personal faith and of doctrinal controversy, except so far as these may help to define the character, position, and influence of Count de Gasparin, we propose to consider his life and writings in their relation to those great interests of civil and religious liberty which are common to both hemispheres. Thirty years ago, De Gasparin enrolled himself among the philanthropists who then labored for the abolition of slavery throughout Christendom, and by his works *Esclavage et Traite* and *De l'Affranchissement des Esclaves*, he helped to enlighten and arouse his countrymen upon the growing issue of the emancipation of the slaves in the French colonies. In 1843, exhorting the Protestants of France to be no less faithful to their duties than jealous for their rights, he urged them to identify themselves with the abolition of slavery, so that all men should say, "A Protestant is an Abolitionist." Pointing to the example of England, he

sought to stimulate the zeal of French Christians by an appeal to national pride. "The emancipation of slaves is English; the suppression of the slave-trade is English; Protestant missions are English; the diffusion of the Bible is English"; — therefore, he says, let French Christians bestir themselves for like measures of philanthropy and reform, lest they be put to shame by the contrast.

But it was in the Chamber of Deputies, in 1845, that Count de Gasparin appeared as the recognized champion of emancipation. M. le Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies had submitted the project of a law for ameliorating the condition of slaves and freedmen, and for encouraging the emancipation of individuals by a scale of redemption. The main features of this law were, on the one hand, the establishing of new regulations regarding the maintenance of slaves by their masters, and the hours of labor and rest in the workshops, and also touching the marriage of slaves and their elementary and religious instruction, — measures designed as a gradual preparation for freedom; and, on the other hand, the securing to the slave of a legal right to such *peculium* as he might acquire, and the further right of personal redemption by his accumulated savings. De Gasparin, while approving the spirit of this law, saw in its limitations and details a hinderance to emancipation. He even suspected that some of its advocates designed it as a cover for the prolongation of slavery through a partial concession to the popular demand for its extinction. The slave might work twenty or thirty years before he could accumulate, sou by sou, the price of his own redemption; then his legal title to his *peculium* might be disputed or evaded, or his price might be advanced, or by some other fraud, so easy and tempting to the master, the long-coveted, long-toiled-for boon of freedom might be wrested from his grasp. De Gasparin therefore proposed a series of amendments to the law, whose object was to declare universal emancipation as its principle, and to provide for this, with compensation to the masters, at the earliest moment consistent with the public safety. The original project made it practicable for the individual slave to redeem himself; — even De Tocqueville objected to any interference by the state between the master

and the slave; — but De Gasparin urged that the state should provide for a general and early emancipation.

"Let us march loyally," he said, "to emancipation; let us go forward openly. To conceal general emancipation under the excessive prudence of certain preparatory measures, this I cannot approve. . . . . I accept the principle of the law: yes, enfranchisement by redemption is an excellent, a civilizing principle; yes, it is by voluntary labor that one should attain to free labor; it is by thus provoking the spontaneous unfolding of the activity of the slave that you will transform him into an *ouvrier;* but this great principle must be applied with energy that it may produce its fruits. . . . . If, therefore, you give to the slaves the decided support of the government; if you make sure the redemption of the entire family, when one of its members is enfranchised; if you encourage marriage and the forming of legitimate families; if you establish savings-banks in the colonies; if you suppress disgraceful punishments, especially for women; if you fix in advance the price of the blacks; if you suppress the clause requiring the slave to furnish proof that the *peculium* he offers for his ransom is rightfully his, — you will have done much toward emancipation." — *Rapports et Débats*, pp. 635, 636.

Among the leaders in the debate were Jollivet, Chégaray, Ledru-Rollin, De Carné, Isambert, and D'Haussonville, while side by side with De Gasparin in the moral argument, though differing from him in certain economical details, stood Alexis de Tocqueville. De Gasparin, while he exhibited the practical sagacity of a statesman in the details embodied in his amendments, argued the question mainly upon moral grounds, and developed thus early those principles of political ethics which are the distinction of his later works. It had been objected, that the discussion of the question of emancipation interfered with the proper business of the house, — that practical legislation, not ideal speculation, was the province of the Chamber. "Of all illusions," said Gasparin, "that is the most sad and the most foolish which makes the future and the development of a country consist in material interests. . . . . I believe that the smallest idea, the very least principle, will have more influence upon the destiny and the progress of the country than all the railways you have voted this session." Then, narrowing down the question to its inner essence, he said:

"Though it should be proved that liberty is less productive than slavery, the fundamental question, the question of principle, would not be settled. In my view, the great point in debate does not lie there. To give liberty to those who have not had even the right to rise, to fulfil a great duty, to pay a great debt, to repair great crimes, — contemporaneous crimes, — that is the essential thing."

In answer to the plea that slaves are happy, — happier even than the laborer in village or country, — he said: —

"Against that assertion we utter our energetic protest; for the conscience of mankind itself protests against it. I wait for the day when we shall see one of these free laborers soliciting the condition of slaves! The free workman knows well enough the difference between his own unhappiness and the happiness of the slave. He understands all that. The free laborer has a family, the free laborer can marry, the free laborer is responsible; he has a future and a past. The free laborer, in fine, is not a slave, and everything lies in that word. . . . . The happiness secured by slavery is the most detestable of its fruits; it is the last degree of moral degradation to which a human creature can descend. . . . . See these happy creatures! They sell them for the market. In Guadaloupe alone, in fifteen years, more than a third of the slave population has been sold, — thirty-eight thousand of ninety thousand. The slaves are happy! and they flee! they escape on all sides! You are obliged to double your garrisons; in five years they have been increased from five thousand men to nine thousand. You double the garrison, and French soldiers are sacrificed by hundreds and by thousands to prevent the escape of slaves, to guard the gates of their prison. They are happy! and you are obliged to frame a law forbidding them to have boats. You fear that they will escape from that happiness of which so much is said!"

During the delivery of the eloquent passage from which these extracts are taken, the speaker was constantly cheered with cries of *Bravo! Très-bien! C'est vrai! C'est cela!* To those who argued that France would be dishonored by shaping her colonial policy in imitation of England, he replied: —

"So, then, the honor of France consists in magnanimously conserving a great crime, — in having that greatness of soul which changes nothing, sacrifices nothing, does nothing; the honor of France consists in associating with nations that are her accomplices in slavery. Yes, we have

presented to us this fine political perspective: France, in the nineteenth century, at the head of slaveholding nations; France having for allies, and for allies because she has them for *accomplices*, — I repeat the word, — the United States, Cuba, Brazil! I estimate in quite another way the honor of my country. Her honor is to be just; her honor is to be generous; her honor is to give a great example after having given a sad example; her honor is to say, When England does a just and good deed, though it be from motives of interest, France ought not to repudiate it for that cause."

Thus to a vigorous logic, and a kindling and pathetic eloquence, De Gasparin adds that rare faculty of the orator, the power of satire. In opposition to schemes of merely partial and prospective amelioration, he portrayed the evils that must ensue from half-way measures, — as the experience of the British West Indies proved, and that of Russia now indicates, — and showed that everybody, colonists, slaves, the public, would suffer from this course to such a degree, that in a year or two they would come with petitions to the Chambers to put an end to the matter by thorough and immediate emancipation. At the close of this speech, M. de Gasparin was congratulated upon all sides for his noble and eloquent plea; and his wise suggestions and persistent appeals had great influence in procuring the abolition of slavery throughout the dominions of France.

It was charged upon the advocates of emancipation, that their philanthropy was the worship of an idea, — that they cared more for the blacks in distant colonies than for needy and suffering Frenchmen at their doors. Count de Gasparin met this aspersion not only with eloquent words, but with more eloquent deeds. He was the advocate of every true reform. The evils of intemperance — a vice which some imagine to be rare in wine-growing countries — he set forth in an appalling array of statistics, and sought to remedy by the formation of temperance societies upon the American plan. Pointing to the morality and thrift of our manufacturing communities, he recommended for the work-people of France societies for mutual improvement, and banks for savings, after the pattern of the Lowell of thirty years ago. Educational and charitable institutions received

his cordial support. He urged upon government the establishment of penal reformatory institutions, citing as models the Houses of Refuge at Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. He maintained that Christians ought to create a public conscience in favor of justice and virtue in the state; and he denounced as a crime against civilization the invasion of the Christianized South Pacific islands by French men-of-war. He was the champion of the persecuted and the oppressed in France and everywhere. At a time when practical piety in a statesman would only provoke a sneer, and religious earnestness upon Protestant principles was accounted a weakness and reproach, De Gasparin made the Bible the guide of his public life, and the invigoration and defence of Protestantism his special charge.* Yet his piety is at the farthest remove from cant, and his Protestantism from sectarian or dogmatic bigotry.

"If it is impossible for me," he says, "to express anything but what I feel, impossible to be at once Protestant and Catholic, impossible to admit both the Gospel and the Council of Trent, impossible to know the precepts and prophecies of the Bible without resolutely rejecting the Papacy, yet it is grateful to admire among Catholics fervent and sincere Christians, whose faith, works, and humility I would gladly equal, — pleasant to esteem and venerate a great number of men whose errors I deplore and denounce."

His religious philosophy blends continually the human and the divine, and hence his religion is at once dependence and action; for "Christianity is nothing but a mysterious alliance of action with grace, of action with providence, of action with predestination, of human liberty with divine sovereignty." †

As far back as 1843, De Gasparin contended not only for universal liberty of worship, but for the independence of the spiritual within the state. He would not appeal to the secular arm for the defence of the truth; he would not have the Christian faith *nationalized*, regarding it as cosmopolitan. "A national religion is as ridiculous as a national arithmetic or a national astronomy." Still, in the peculiar circumstances

* These various topics are discussed in De Gasparin's volume, *Intérêts Généraux du Protestantisme Français.*

† *Intérêts Généraux,* Introduction.

of France twenty years ago, he would not then insist upon the absolute separation of church and state, but was willing to accept a modified union, in which the autonomy of the churches should be substantially preserved. A few years later he was led to see that the purity and efficiency of the Christian society, the Church, demand its entire separation from the political society, the state. It is interesting to trace in his successive works the causes and the progress of this change.

In the year 1845, the Canton de Vaud was profoundly agitated by a movement for religious liberty, which resulted in the organization of a "Free Church." In this Canton, the Reformation, instead of proceeding spontaneously from the religious convictions of the people, was imposed upon them by their Bernese conquerors. It was a reformation, not in the faith of the people, but in the ecclesiastical polity of the state, and this as the result of a political revolution. For that individual faith which in so many countries wrought out the Reformation of the sixteenth century through the sufferings of Protestants, the Pays de Vaud received an official and collective faith, imposed by conquest. This carried with it the right of state control in ecclesiastical affairs, — a right which the Grand Council of State asserted at times in a manner worthy of James I. or of Queen Elizabeth. In 1845 this principle of the state church culminated in an Act of Uniformity as odious and oppressive as the memorable Act of Charles II. in 1662. A revival of religious zeal in the Canton, stigmatized as Methodism, had multiplied voluntary meetings for prayer and praise both in the churches and in private houses. Such extra-official meetings had long been tolerated without interference from the civil authorities. But the government that came into power through the revolution of February, 1845, affected to see in these meetings a nucleus for political conspiracy and agitation, and therefore determined to suppress them. The prefects were instructed to notify the pastors in their several districts, that, should they continue such meetings, it would be at their own risk and peril, since the worship of the national Church alone was guaranteed by the state, and no protection would be given to such assemblies.

Two hundred and seven pastors at once protested against this order, and addressed to the Grand Council a petition in favor of the general liberty of worship. This was answered by an order of the Council of State (May 15), reminding the pastors that they were salaried functionaries of the state, and subject to its regulations, and forbidding them to conduct or to favor any meetings held elsewhere than in the churches of the Establishment, or at any other hours than those fixed by authority for divine service. It was openly said in the meeting of the Council: "The clergy emanate from us. We hold the purse; therefore we have the right to command. The pastors, or nearly all, will obey, for they wish to be paid."

Regarding the Christian ministry as mere mercenaries of the state, the Council (July 29) ordered that they should read in all the churches a proclamation pledging themselves to obey all the requirements of the new government, and recognizing its supreme authority in the Church. Several pastors refused to read this humiliating decree, the bare recognition of which would hopelessly subordinate the Church to the civil power. For this contumacy, forty-three ministers were at once condemned by the Council, which declared that "in the national Church of the Canton of Vaud, ministers hold their character of ministers of the Gospel only by virtue of the consecration they have received conformably to the laws established by the powers of the state, who are at the same time the highest authority of the Church." The famous saying of James I., "Rex est mixta persona cum sacerdote," did not transcend this in arrogance. But the spirit of the recusant pastors was equal to the emergency. Following the example of the two thousand Nonconformists of England, on St. Bartholomew's day, 1662, nearly two hundred Vaudois pastors renounced their livings, and declared themselves the servants of Christ, independent alike of state support and of state control. Then followed persecutions, fines, imprisonment, banishment; and out of this great struggle of conscience and faith against authority and power was born the Free Church of the Pays de Vaud.

Allied to Switzerland by marriage, and the intimate friend of some of the leaders of this Free-Church movement, Count

de Gasparin made their cause his own; adopted fully the principle of church independence, which he had qualified with respect to France; and published a vindication of religious liberty, which in some passages approaches the philosophical eloquence and the historic lore of Milton upon the same theme. In this work, *Christianisme et Paganisme*, De Gasparin takes the ground that a state religion is a relic of Paganism, which used religion merely as an *instrumentum regni*, and therefore held all subjects of the state amenable to the sanctions of the established religion as a means of government. Hence such a religion, in its fundamental principle and design, is irreconcilable with Christianity, which rests upon personal faith, and which incorporates its disciples into a spiritual community, totally distinct from human society at large, and acknowledging the sovereignty of Christ alone. The Pagan principle contemplates a religious socialism. As anciently the individual and the family were absorbed into the paramount identity of the state, so by this principle all characters, all education, all beliefs, must be run in one mould; individualism must be effaced; there must be everywhere one faith and one law, and *one national physiognomy* impressed upon all consciences. The Christian principle, on the contrary, rests in the sovereignty of Christ, in personal religion, in the Church self-governing and distinct from the world, in the Church resolved never to seek nor to accept the aid of carnal weapons.

The contrast of these principles De Gasparin elaborates in two octavo volumes, with ample illustrations from history and from contemporaneous facts. He dates the inauguration of the Pagan principle in Christianity from the accession of Constantine. The Reformation of the sixteenth century did not wholly subvert this paganized ecclesiasticism. "The Reformation, in most of the countries where it spread, destroyed the usurped authority of the priests without restoring the long-lost authority of the flock. Hence a false and weak condition of the churches. The void left by the abolition of the priesthood should have been filled by the people; in default of the people, the civil government seized upon it; and, as it was impossible to accept civil governments as representa-

tives properly so called of the Church, the body of pastors gradually retook the place which had been occupied by the Romish priesthood." Hence he insists that, for a complete reformation, the restoration of the primitive and Scriptural rights of the flock was no less important than the re-establishing of Biblical doctrine, and of church autonomy. "The calamities of Protestantism have one common origin, — an incomplete reformation." Yet even in this work, so thorough and radical in its main principles, our author shrinks from vesting full church power in the congregation of believers, and concedes certain prescriptive rights to the clergy. So hard is it to emancipate one's self from the power of an old *régime*, in which one has been trained under all the associations of household traditions, of social customs, and of public honors.

A little later, the mind of De Gasparin achieved its own complete emancipation from the idea of either civil or clerical control in things spiritual, and in 1849 he revealed this transition in his strictures upon the plea of Rev. Adolph Monod for remaining in the communion of the national Church of France. The devout and eloquent preacher of the Oratoire, refusing to join his brother Frederic, De Pressensé, Pilatte, Fisch, and others, in the movement for church independence, argued that it was the duty of the Christian preacher to remain in the church where he was born, there to preach and to live with all fidelity, and not to go forth from its pale unless driven out of it. "The Church," said he, "is not the Gospel, and the Gospel goes before the Church. Let us preach Christ, and leave ecclesiastical quarrels. Let us stay where God has placed us. Let us stay with the masses. Let us not deliver them to false teachers." For this course Monod alleged the example of reformers, apostles, and prophets, and of Christ himself. De Gasparin reviewed Monod's *brochure* in the *Archives du Christianisme*, and, at the request of many who were interested in the discussion, he republished his criticisms in a pamphlet, which had extensive circulation among French Protestants. In this he argues that Monod's principle finds no precedent in the examples that he cites, but that both the apostles and the reformers at length voluntarily abandoned the old for the new; and also that Monod's rule would

work a forfeiture of all Christian independence, and in the end also of that doctrinal purity which its advocate sought to conserve for the masses in the national Church. In this country Calvinists and Rationalists would agree, without hesitation, that their respective preachers should occupy separate pulpits, rather than the same pulpit at alternate services, conducted in the name and by the formularies of the same Church, and sustained by a common treasury.

The fullest exposition of Count de Gasparin's perfected faith in religious liberty was given in a series of *Séances Historiques*, held at Geneva in the years 1857–1860. The discourses delivered on these occasions were published in three annual volumes, arranged according to historical periods. The first, *Le Christianisme aux Trois Premiers Siècles*, contains discourses by Vignet, on the state of the world at the coming of Christ; by De Gasparin, on the Apostles and the Apostolic Fathers; by Bungener, on the Persecutions and the Hostility of Philosophy to Christianity; and by D'Aubigné, on the East, or Origen and Science, and the West, or Cyprian and Practice. We concern ourselves, however, only with the lectures of De Gasparin. In commenting upon the first Christian societies, he says: "Each church is independent; they sustain the most fraternal relations, but they recognize no centralized government; they have elders, deacons, pastors, teachers, but neither caste nor priesthood, nor anything belonging to the idea of a clergy." This picture of the simplicity of the primitive churches is as faithful to the New Testament as it is beautiful in its philosophy of church government. Even Döllinger admits that such was the church order of the first two centuries. Tracing the insidious encroachment of ecclesiastical errors in post-Apostolic times, De Gasparin remarks that "All error is pious at the first; partly because it is intended to serve the interests of piety, because it is convenient and useful in propagating Christianity, and because it is recommended by pious men. So came in by degrees the magic effect of baptism, false authority, false unity, a prescribed penance, casuistry, meritorious suffering, and meritorious poverty."

In these lectures, the author develops more at length the

contrast set forth in his *Christianisme et Paganisme*. He points this contrast by a fine antithesis: "Paganism, by the intervention of nature as an object of worship, tends to estrange the soul from God: the principle of Christianity is to bring God and the soul into closest union. Christianity places the individual face to face with his sin and his Saviour, summons him to pass through that crisis of personal faith which is the new birth. This personal faith creates character, a strong conscience, convictions capable of standing up in face of majorities. He who possesses this is no more the slave of sin nor of the world. He is the servant of God, of truth, of justice." The power of this central principle of Christianity is shown in enfranchising society and abolishing slavery. It is the root of a true religious liberty, which De Gasparin describes in these striking words: "Regarding God alone, we learn to value liberty, not for truth only, but for error; not for ourselves only, but for our opponents. Yes, I can even say, the liberty of my opponents is more precious to me than my own; the liberty of error is more precious to me than that of truth; *quand l'erreur se fait intolérante, c'est un mal; quand la vérité se fait intolérante, c'est* UNE HONTE." The author of this noble sentiment aroused the Protestants of Continental Europe to remonstrate, in the name of religious liberty and of spiritual Christianity, against the recent persecution of Roman Catholics in Sweden.

The second series of historical *séances* at Geneva embraced the fourth century, — the characters of Constantine, Ambrose, and Augustine being discussed severally by De Gasparin, Bungener, and De Pressensé. The lectures on Constantine are fine specimens of historical criticism. The introductory lecture opens with two widely variant views of the influence of Constantine and his age upon Christianity. The first represents the accession of Constantine as the triumph of Christianity; — persecutions cease, the oppressed Church ascends the throne, the world no longer hesitates between the Gospel and idolatry; all modern times flow from it, all our civilization was there in germ. The other view regards the Church of the first ages as faithful, pure, scrupulously devoted to the apostolic model and to the word of God. But for Constan-

tine, but for the union of Church and state, this age of gold would have continued; we should have had neither Catholicism nor the Middle Age. This last is the view of De Gasparin; only he recognizes in the gradual decline of church purity prior to Constantine an inevitable tendency toward the subordination of the spiritual to the temporal. The Christian principle that the Church is distinct, not only from the state, but from the nation, being a community separated from the world by principles and professions, — in other words, that the Church is composed only of professed converts to Christianity as a living faith and power, — this Christian principle had already been so far suppressed in the third century, that the world had become master of the Church. "Already before Constantine faith had lost its profound personal signification. Salvation had become an orthodoxy; truth, a tradition; the supper and baptism, sacraments; the elders, a clergy; the grand and profound morality of the Gospel, a casuistry." Constantine had only to finish the destruction of the spiritual life of the Church: "*en la soutenant, il l'a blessée, il l'a flétrie, il l'a tuée.*" And so, in the fourth century, "the Church is the *cadre officiel* which survives the dissolution of the Roman world; the moral and religious world swerves from its axis, and inclines toward Papacy, Theocracy, the Middle Age."

De Gasparin regards Constantine's profession of Christianity as a matter of military policy. Domination, empire, was his aim, and the surest way to defeat his colleagues and rivals was to declare himself the champion of the Christian faith. It was necessary to his system that the spiritual and temporal should be confounded, and all distinction erased between the citizen and the believer. At Nice, the Emperor determines doctrine, and thus mixes and confounds Church and state. The Donatists become "rebels"; and in the name of the Church, and at its request, Constantine becomes a persecutor. With that terse, epigrammatic style which the French language so well favors, De Gasparin says: "At the Council of Arles the Emperor protected the Church; at Nice he absorbed it. . . . . The Church was adopted, protected, governed, and preached by the Emperor. It was a capital thing to declare

himself a Christian, — his salvation and his fortune in one!" He finds a symbol of Constantine's character in the column of porphyry erected at Constantinople, — the statue of Apollo on the summit, the Palladium of Eneas beneath, and a piece of the true cross between them. He traces to this Emperor Byzantinism, modern absolutism, excess of centralization and of administration, the passion for public functions, the intervention of the state in everything, the complete suppression of the individual. Yet is his age to be gratefully remembered for the enfranchisement of woman, the sanctity imparted to marriage, the abolition of torture and of gladiatorial shows, and the decline of slavery.

De Gasparin's most important contribution to church history in its bearing upon religious liberty is contained in the third series of *Séances Historiques*, published at Geneva in 1859, under the title of *Le Christianisme au Moyen Age*. Innocent III. is the central figure upon the canvas, about whom are grouped nobles, princes, crusaders, inquisitors, artists, scholars. Disposed to acknowledge with candor whatever features in the condition of society in the Middle Age were good in themselves or hopeful for the future, and accepting that period of European history in its disciplinary bearings upon modern civilization, our author is yet far from conceding that, as a whole, this was either a necessary or a desirable phase of experience for mankind. He believes that human history is not summed up in questions of chronology, — according to the statistical school of "development," — but involves great questions of truth and right. He finds in Innocent III. and his system the logical culmination of that Pagan principle of a national state religion which in the first three centuries had begun to corrupt the Church, and which had now made the enormous stride from Constantine the imperial Bishop to Innocent III. the papal Emperor, — for the Byzantine solution of the unity of the civil and the ecclesiastical powers subordinated the state to the Church, while the Papal solution subordinates the Church to the state.

The sagacity of this judgment, uttered three years ago, is verified by the recent allocution of Pius IX., which insists upon the temporal sovereignty of the Pope as indispensable to

the existence of the Catholic Church. "The ages preceding Innocent had affected the *clericalization* of Europe, as the ages since have accomplished its secularization." The character of the Middle Age, its grandeur, its magnificent unity, resulted from the condensation of all European society in the clergy, who by the decree of celibacy had become a social caste, and under the Carlovingian dynasty had gained the position of feudal lords, — and, consequently, the condensation of the entire clergy under the Pope. The Lateran Councils gave the clergy a consciousness of their importance and their solidarity as an order, marshalled under a single head; and the Crusades, of which the Popes were the natural inspirers and leaders, elevated the spiritual emperor of Europe to a supremacy above that of any temporal prince. Innocent III., whom De Gasparin styles "a great logician crowned," was quick to perceive and wise to secure the advantages of his position. His intervention in the affairs of Naples and Sicily established the papal suzerainty, — his persistent struggle with Philip Augustus of France established at last the papal supremacy. It was but a step to infallibility and divine prerogative, which Innocent boldly claimed when he said, "The Pope is intermediate between God and men; beneath God, above men; *minor Deo, major homine.*"

In his second essay on Innocent III., De Gasparin treats of the sword as a weapon in the hands of the Church, especially as exemplified in the history of the Crusades and of chivalry. His handling of these topics will fail to satisfy one who has looked upon the Middle Age only through the mellowed light of its own cathedrals, or in the halo of romance. He finds in the Crusades a frightful source of that social demoralization and religious superstition which eventually demanded the Reformation for its cure. The "recrudescence of superstition" was a marked result of this armed propagandism. "If the Crusades gave us wind-mills, sugar, and silk stuffs, they chiefly gave us also mendicant monks, military orders, the Inquisition, and an indefinite increase of the power of the Papacy. . . . . Innumerable saints encumbered the calendar; religious materialism made new progress; not only could one believe himself saved through the sacraments, he was saved

by the Crusade, and indulgences were so set forth that an immense multitude of ignorant creatures were perfectly guaranteed the pardon of their sins."

In the chivalry of the Middle Age De Gasparin finds much to admire and much to deplore. Too often was it made the cover for rapine and revenge, or for the torture of the weak and defenceless in the name of religion. "A nobler chivalry is that of our time, which consecrates itself to the defence of right, which defends this against all assailants, in season and out of season; a spirit which indeed excites the raillery of utilitarians, but which arouses itself against all injustice and brands every abuse, which takes in hand the cause of the needy and the helpless, of the poor, of slaves, and even of animals." De Gasparin shows how, under Innocent III., crusaders and chevaliers were made the agents of religious persecution: "Crusades in Asia, crusades in Europe, crusades against Mussulmans, crusades against heretics, crusades against unsubmissive princes, armed missions charged to obtain at the lance of the chevalier the *evangelical* spread of Christianity; persecution in fine, persecution systematically and skilfully organized, and furnished with that special and perfected instrument called the Inquisition. In a word, Innocent established the use of bloody persecution as a dogma of the Church." Thus, supreme master of Europe, it remained only for Innocent to make himself the supreme master of his own Church. The definitive centralization of the Roman system, the superiority of Popes to Councils, the complete absorption of the Church by the Pope, — all this was accomplished in Innocent's grand Œcumenical Council of Lateran, in which every decree was prepared in advance by the Pope, and none dared to gainsay his word.

It would transcend the limits of this article to follow Count de Gasparin in his general estimate of the Middle Age. To give this with fidelity would require the reproduction of an entire lecture; and we must content ourselves with recommending to some scholarly and enterprising American publisher a translation of *Le Christianisme au Moyen Age*, which we are advised has been prepared for publication by a French

gentleman long resident in the United States.* Adhering to the leading idea of this article, — the services of De Gasparin in the cause of civil and religious liberty, — we turn from these historical disquisitions to his essays upon political questions, — especially those called forth by the complications of Neuchâtel with Prussia, and by the Crimean war.

Count de Gasparin knows well how to subordinate his personal preferences to great principles embodied in popular movements for liberty, and to accept the logic of events, even when it runs counter to his preconceived theories. With a decided preference for a constitutional monarchy over a republic, and regarding an aristocratic element in the state as useful for the preservation of public liberty, he yet declares with emphasis, "I attach myself to the principle, liberalism, not to the consequence, institutions"; and therefore he accepts that government which is free in fact, whether monarchical, aristocratic, or democratic in its form. Accordingly, when in 1848, by a popular movement, Neuchâtel adopted a republican government, De Gasparin appealed to the public sentiment of Europe against the machinations of Prussia to produce in the Canton a reaction toward the old monarchical *régime*. He argued the right of every state to regulate its interior affairs, and especially the right of the smaller states of Europe to do this without intimidation or intervention by the larger, — in a word, in 1857, he made in the face of Europe a plea for the independent nationality of the Swiss, such as Italy has since wrought out by the sword. "For the honor of our times, for the triumph of justice, for the pressing interest of my country, for the safety of those principles which constitute the modern world, I hope that Neuchâtel will remain republican. My advice may be cast into this simple formula, — leave Switzerland to the Swiss, and Germany to the Germans." His *Un Mot de plus sur la Question de Neuchâtel* was so vigorous an argument for the rights of the people, even under a revolution, that its pub-

* All the works of Count de Gasparin in the original, as well as those exquisite volumes of Madame de Gasparin, *Les Horizons Prochains, Les Horizons Célestes*, and *Vesper*, may be obtained of Mr. F. W. Christern of New York, the correspondent of Lévy Frères and other publishers of Paris.

lication was suppressed at Paris. But this called forth the *Dernières Remarques sur la Question de Neuchâtel*, in which he vindicated the positions already taken, and with a fine apologetic sarcasm said, "It must surely be lawful to desire for Switzerland that she may not disown herself, and for France that her amicable interposition may never degenerate into a protectorate." In his championship of Neuchâtel, while yet disavowing for himself the democratic principle, Count de Gasparin vindicated his own claim to that Christian chivalry of modern times, which he has so eloquently extolled above the chivalry of the Middle Age.

The *Après la Paix* conveys no hint of its contents by its title. It is really a profound discussion of the philosophy of free government, suggested by the bearing of the Crimean war upon the progress of Liberalism in France, — a work worthy to be classed with Stuart Mill's essays on "Liberty" and "Representative Government." Though France, under her present dynasty, is far from liberal, De Gasparin regards her as irrevocably committed upon the ground of liberalism. "She has there taken two decisive steps, in 1789 and in 1830; 1789 is the advent of liberty in our civil organization; 1830 is the advent of liberty in our political organization." The Crimean Alliance, contrary to all the antecedents of France, with free self-governing England against the centralizing despotism of Russia, he regards as marking a third step in the progress of France toward liberalism. Hence the occasion and the title of the book. A healthy freedom in France required that two very opposite tendencies should be corrected, — the socialistic tendency, which was reversed by the failure of the Revolution of 1848, and the tendency toward a despotic order, of which the Anglo-French alliance is the counterpoise. Though Count de Gasparin's anticipations of beneficial results from that alliance may not be realized, the principles of liberalism which he lays down are of perpetual force. The first of these is — Right.

"There is a right that exists in itself, that every one carries within himself, that needs no official confirmation; and against that right it is not given to any society, to any legislature, to any majority, to create a right worthy of the name. . . . . True liberalism is founded upon

respect for right, upon faith in justice and in truth. . . . . Yes, Right, the right of truth and of justice, that is the basis which we seek. Thanks to Right, thanks to the profound and sovereign legislation of conscience, we have a sanctuary inviolable and sacred; one portion of man is reserved, set apart, inaccessible to despotism from above and from below. This inner independence exists, the powerful and indestructible germ of outward independence." — pp. 11, 12.

In our author's view, Hobbes, who makes the right consist in a positive law of force; Epicurus with his materialism; Helvetius declaring that "everything is lawful, and even virtuous, that the public safety demands"; Bentham with his calculating utilitarianism; and the radical socialists who make right a creation of society, and absorb the individual conscience in the collective conscience by a major vote, — these all alike are supporters of despotism.

"He who denies Right denies liberty. Here [in the idea of Right] is a sovereignty which defies all sovereignties, republican or monarchical; here is a law which is above all laws. Against the law of conscience positive laws cannot prevail; against its minorities the most imperceptible, against a single man, against one solitary conviction, majorities can do nothing. My conscience ordains for me justice; though you should vote laws that would prescribe robbery and murder, something in me would stubbornly refuse to submit. My conscience commands me to direct in person the training of my children; you might decree the suppression of the family, and introduce the socialist communities of Plato or Fourier; I could not but disobey you. My conscience requires me to serve God according to my faith; you might establish a national worship. I would not sacrifice for you one of my beliefs nor one of my religious acts. . . . . The Emperors decreed that the first Christians should cease from preaching, and should sacrifice to idols; but the Christians went on as before. They could give up their lives, they could not give up their consciences. . . . . Does conscience, then, abrogate the law? No. It prefers a higher law. Transport yourselves to the United States; there exists a law the most disgraceful, the most infamous which has ever sullied the code of any people, the law for the surrender of fugitive slaves! Now I demand of every one who has a heart, what he thinks, what he ought to think, of men who are base enough to submit to such a law, and of those who have the glory of infringing it. On which side is order? on which side is disorder?" — pp. 14–17.

This doctrine of the higher law of Right, though in form it may be subversive of an existing order, is in reality the crystallizing principle of true social order and freedom. "Everything brings us back to Right, as the most fundamental basis of Liberalism; — remarkable fact, that the first care of Liberty should be to impose limits, that its first act should be to create an obligation, that its first name should be authority." De Gasparin traces this idea of Right to the Creator, and makes the recognition of his authority the supreme law of duty and of order in the soul. Therefore this principle of Right can never be antagonistic to the well-being of society, however its assertion may at times conflict with particular customs, institutions, or laws.

From the principle of Right our author advances to the second element of Liberalism, — the Individual. The one grows out of the other, and in their normal state both are in the strictest harmony. This inter-relation of the doctrine of Right with a true Individualism is finely set forth in the following passage.

"God has planted Right in the individual, and whoever attempts to place it elsewhere lays his hand upon the work of God. Questions of conscience are judged by consciences. Let me be as mean, as weak, as wicked, as you please, it would yet remain none the less certain, that no one could supply me in that which myself alone can provide; no one could believe, adore, pray in my place; no one could decide for me what I ought and ought not to do, toward others and toward myself. Conscience cannot delegate itself. . . . . The individualistic principle, therefore, is the only one that conserves the idea of Right. Conscience is individual; consequently I know myself free as toward received opinions, traditions, state religions, official morals; I know that I am free and responsible; I am bound to judge for myself, to believe for myself, to shun for myself that which is evil, to choose for myself that which is good. Conscience is individual; therefore I can have no authority either to establish a national worship, or to impose a national education, or to impose any opinion whatever, however excellent in my eyes. . . . . For myself, I see less of grandeur in those infinite spheres where millions of worlds for millions of years have fulfilled the laws established by the Creator, than in one single soul, a soul humble and unknown, that protests in the name of its faith, in the name of the Absolute, in the name of Truth."

These principles of the absolute Right and the impregnable Individual go down to the very foundation of liberty in the man, in the state, and in the Church. But the individualism which De Gasparin honors has nothing in common either with egoism or with isolation. It can exist only through the domination of the inner law of right; and, recognizing the relations of each man to society, it binds him to the service of duty and of truth. Such individualism no more permits a man to hold himself aloof from society, in a state of antagonism or indifference, than it permits society to tyrannize over him in matters of right. Here comes in the third element of liberalism, — the minimum of government. "This minimum may vary according to times, according to places, according to the progress more or less of individualism, but always, in all times, in all places, in all civilizations, there has been a minimum of government toward which liberal minds have tended. And the infallible means of recognizing such minds is to search for those who assign the least to the collective conscience and the most to the personal conscience." Of course, the adjustment of the two factors of individualism and society, in the terms of a just and equal government, is a difficult problem. De Gasparin attempts to apply his principle of the minimum of government to religion, education, trade, and every personal interest of man.

"Liberalism would have the individual retain everything that is not indispensable to the state. It proclaims personal liberty, religious liberty, liberty of thought, liberty of industry, liberty of trade, liberty of instruction; it reserves to the state only the functions essentially belonging to the representative of collective interests, — legislation, administration, tribunals, diplomacy, police, the army, public works, taxes. Its model government contents itself with being prefect, judge, and *gendarme;* it does not constitute itself pastor, or professor, or *littérateur*, or artist, or merchant. . . . . Yet let it not be thought that the minimum of government is the minimum of governmental force. It is precisely the opposite. We are strong only in our legitimate competence. The state which departs from its own sphere cannot fail to weaken itself, but a government which, wholly renouncing the pretence of being supreme preacher or compulsory instructor, occupies itself with maintaining for all liberty of worship and liberty of instruction, which guarantees the liberty of person, of thought, of industry, of com-

merce, which procures the freedom of the seas, — a government which does not content itself with resisting, but is active and living, occupying itself about prisons, hours of labor, the reduction of public functionaries, all the momentous questions that pertain to the moral existence of the country, — a government that renders war honorable, and peace fruitful, — cannot fulfil an insignificant *rôle*, nor a *rôle* exclusively material. I defy despotism to offer a mission that shall compare with that which is made ready for liberty."

How much of this is now being put to the test in that "Uprising of a Great People" which Count de Gasparin has so sagaciously comprehended and so eloquently portrayed! Of his two works on America, it is unnecessary to speak in detail. The translations by Miss Booth, published by Mr. Scribner of New York, have brought them to the notice of all persons of intelligence, and the numerous extracts from both in the columns of the newspapers have spread their views widely before the people. With the same characteristics of a clear, epigrammatic style and of moral earnestness which we have noticed in the author's previous works, these are distinguished also by their discriminating insight into the institutions and the spirit of a foreign people, by their candid and hopeful tone, and by their lofty sense of justice as the true source and guide of public policy. De Gasparin discerned from the first — what few Englishmen have yet discovered — the ominous bearing of the election of Mr. Lincoln, not only upon the extension of slavery into the Territories, but also upon its continuance in the States. He recognized in that election the assertion of a moral principle, acting where Congressional legislation could not then act, against the anomalous, despotic, barbarous institution of human chattelism in the South; and, with that fine moral instinct which pervades his writings, he seized with joy the principle of abolition thus virtually inaugurated in the national government, without cavilling at the indirection of its method. His estimate of the relations of political parties, of churches, and of the press to the subject of slavery, is remarkably just and accurate. In his first volume, he fell into some quite natural errors touching the internal organization of the United States, and the spirit and workings of "American democracy," — errors which

neither De Tocqueville nor Lord Brougham has escaped; but in the second work, "America before Europe," De Gasparin takes rank with Mr. John Stuart Mill, each worthily honored by an American College* as a European publicist capable of understanding and appreciating the political institutions of the United States.

With the candor of a friend, De Gasparin points out our defects and dangers, while with the inspiration of hope he summons us to the loftiest duties in the name of justice and humanity. Vindicating our cause before Europe, he adjures us to be equal to the occasion which Providence has permitted us to use.

"What has been the question of the past year? Whether slavery shall kill the Union, or the Union shall kill slavery. That Mr. Lincoln may be convinced of this, God will keep closed all the avenues to peace, until justice shall be satisfied. Durable peace, peace worthy of the name, peace which a second time will found the United States, — this peace the American people cannot taste until it has first nobly and absolutely done its duty." — "Until now, I have comprehended all the circumspection used; I shall still comprehend it in the future. Reserve action for time, lay aside abrupt and violent measures, but, in Heaven's name, be resolved, and do not leave the enemy in possession of the field." — *America before Europe*, pp. 346, 349.

Viewing slavery as the cause of our political and social demoralization, he would not have the war which slavery has provoked end short of its extermination.

"Slavery has forbidden authors to write, clergymen to preach, and almost individuals to think anything that displeased it; it has invented the right of secession in order to have at its disposal a formidable means of intimidation, and to place a threat behind each of its demands." — "Violence, menace, brutality, and corruption were boldly introduced into political struggles. Men became habituated to evil; the most odious crimes, the Southern laws reducing to legal slavery every free negro who should not quit the soil of the States, hardly raised a murmur of disapprobation; the United States seemed on the point of losing that faculty which nothing can survive, — the faculty of indignation." — *Uprising of a Great People*, pp. 231, 242.

* Yale College has conferred upon Count de Gasparin the degree of LL. D.; Harvard has conferred the same degree upon Mr. Mill.

De Gasparin would have us regain the freedom we had well-nigh lost, by returning to the standard of absolute Right, the foundation, as we have seen, of a true Liberalism.

"It would be glorious to see the United States come out of this fiery struggle with their local independence, as well as their civil unity, having left nothing but slavery in the battle, like the three young Jews of Babylon who came out of the flames as they had been thrust into them, with the exception of their chains. Let the fire devour the chains, but nothing more! Thus will open before the Union that noble career, in which, through obstacles, through sacrifices, through victories over its enemies, and above all over itself, it will advance toward the greatness of the future." — *America before Europe*, p. 368.

In his appeals to the moral sense of the American people, and especially to the religious sentiment of American Christians, De Gasparin exhibits the courage and the faith of one whose religious belief is a personal conviction penetrating his whole moral nature with the presence and the authority of God. His religious and theological writings — such as "*La Vérité, la Foi, la Vie*," "*Les Perspectives du Temps Present*," and "*Le Bonheur*," which has just passed to a second edition — show that he receives implicitly the Bible as a supernatural revelation, that he accepts Christ as a personal Mediator, and that he makes the regeneration of the individual soul in the truth and the love of the Gospel the starting-point in true liberty, in moral courage and strength, and in social reform. It is enough to indicate his belief, in these particulars, to show that his faith is in harmony with the highest personal culture, the purest philanthropy, the most generous liberality, and the broadest sympathy in the rights and liberties of all mankind. Much as we owe to Count de Gasparin for his vindication of our cause before Europe, his rebuke of the insolent neutrality of England and the calculating policy of France, his exposition of the fallacy and iniquity of secession, and of the wisdom and equity of the government of the United States, we owe him our chief thanks for his faithful kindness to ourselves, his admonitions, his exhortations, his entreaties in behalf of justice and humanity; — and these we hope to pay, when Liberty and Union shall be established in peace, in a welcome upon our own twice-emancipated soil, such as only the heirs of the name of Washington can give to the peer of Lafayette.

ART. VIII. — 1. *The Tariff Question considered in regard to the Policy of England and the Interests of the United States. With Statistical and Comparative Tables.* By ERASTUS B. BIGELOW. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1862. 4to. pp. 103 and (Appendix) pp. 242.

2. *The Charter of the Nations; or Free Trade and its Results: an Essay on the Recent Commercial Policy of the United Kingdom, to which the Council of the National Anti-Corn-Law League awarded their First Prize.* By HENRY DUNCKLEY, M. A. London: W. and F. G. Cash. 1854. 8vo. pp. xx., 454.

IT is but a few years since the revenues of the United States, under a low tariff, so far exceeded the expenditures of the government, that considerable amounts of the public debt were paid off at a high premium, in anticipation of its maturity. Peace then reigned throughout our borders, business was unwontedly active, and the public expenditures were moderate. War has wholly changed the face of things; the ordinary channels of revenue are interrupted, and a great public debt has been created. Second only to the importance of crushing the rebellion is that of providing means, for the present and for the future, to carry on the government, to maintain its credit, and ultimately to liquidate the national debt. To this end important financial measures have been adopted, and systems of currency and of taxation set on foot, the success and wisdom of which time only can determine. Within little more than a year, the tariff has been twice revised, and as we are now writing the new tax bill, with its multitude of imposts, its great array of officers, and its unfamiliar machinery, is about to go into operation. All open questions respecting the revenue, and the best modes of developing the productive capacity of the country, require now to be reconsidered. Of these the tariff, as it bears on the protection of domestic industry, is one of the most important.

Ever since the conclusion of the last war with England, the tariff has played an important part in American politics. Designed at first only to create revenue, the experience of that

war taught the importance of using it to build up and foster those manufactures the want of which had subjected the country to great privations and unnecessary suffering. The tariff of 1816 first distinctly proposed protection as an end; and it is an interesting fact, that on that ground it received the support, not only of the Northern manufacturers, but also of the cotton-growers of the South, who wanted protection for their new staple against the competition of those countries from which the principal supply of it was then derived. The grain-growing States of the West were also favorable to the new principle. Massachusetts, whose predominant interests at that time were trade and navigation, opposed the tariff of 1816, as likely to interfere with her profitable commerce. The attitude of the two representative statesmen of the North and South, then fresh in public life, is in striking contrast with that on which they stood and battled afterward; Mr. Webster leading the opposition to the tariff, while Mr. Calhoun was its principal advocate. Mr. Clay then and always favored the cause of protection to American industry.

The principle on which the tariff of 1816 was based was to impose duties, virtually prohibitory, on foreign articles of which a full domestic supply could be produced; and a duty of twenty per cent on those of which only a partial domestic supply could be produced; while on a third class, which embraced articles of large consumption chiefly produced abroad, it adjusted the duties so as to raise the greatest revenue. Since 1816, the tariff has been revised nine times; namely, in 1824, 1828, 1832, 1833, 1842, 1846, 1857, 1861, and 1862. It was not till 1828 that the New England States generally gave in their adhesion to the doctrine of protection. In the language of Mr. Webster, it had "now become the established policy of the nation, and the Eastern States had adapted themselves thereto, and it harmonized with their best interests that it should be maintained."

The Cotton States began about the same time to oppose it; loudly complaining that the "Northern and Middle States were to be enriched by the plunder of the South." These complaints grew more and more bitter, until they culminated in the nullification of South Carolina, in 1832; and from that

day to this, the tariff has been one of the alleged grievances of that party in the South which has been solicitous to throw off allegiance to the Federal government, and to set up a new Confederacy, with free trade for its watch-word, and slavery for its "corner-stone." *

While such has been the position of the Cotton States, the tobacco regions of Virginia and Kentucky, and the sugar districts of Louisiana, have espoused the cause, and reaped the benefits, of a protective policy. Had the controversy been one of sections only, the principle of protecting American industry would have permanently prevailed; but the skill by which the South has so long controlled the policy of the government enabled it to divide the opinions of the North on this question, and to make free trade, or opposition to a protective tariff, one of the maxims of the Democratic party of the Union; and the influence of that party, while not sufficiently powerful to repeal all protective duties, intimately allied as it has been with the principal source of national revenue, has nevertheless prevailed to make the tariff a debatable ground. By substituting *ad valorem* for specific duties, by establishing the warehouse system, and by other legislation friendly to the interests of foreign importers, it has rendered the business of manufacturing so uncertain and precarious, as to repel the investment of capital, and materially to retard that species of production. The arraying of labor against capital is one of the saddest fruits of thus dragging a commercial question into the arena of politics. There can, certainly, be no policy permanently advantageous to the employers of labor which will not enure to the benefit of the employed; but again and again have the Democratic masses of New England thronged to the polls to vote for men whose avowed policy it was to strike down the system which gave the people work, and which has

* This apt expression is not original with Vice-President Stephens. His ally, Punch, some months before, doubtless with a premonition of the coming power, foreshadowed its policy in the felicitous lines,

"The *corner-stone* of all white right,
And there aint nowheres a bigger,
Is the innate right of every white
To wop his private nigger."

made the inhabitants of this portion of our country producers of wealth, and consumers of luxuries, to an extent unknown in any other quarter of the world. That these blessings are not confined to the rich, is made evident by the absence of a suffering poor, by the comfortable homes of all classes, and by an amount of deposits in savings banks which is elsewhere without a parallel.

It has been the misfortune of the tariff question to borrow from the domain of party politics the loose generalizations and unfairness of statement which characterize party discussions. It has fared no worse in this respect, however, than other commercial questions: the currency and internal improvements have been equally made the subjects of party warfare. In no other country have interests common to the whole nation been so often sacrificed to the behests of party, or to the exactions of personal ambition.

The want of uniform and intelligent legislation, on this and kindred questions, is due in part, however, to other causes than the dominion of politics. One of these is the short tenure of public office, and of Congressional life. Neither in the executive nor the legislative department of the government at Washington do the practice and traditions of our people permit men to remain long enough to acquire the experience necessary for the framing of commercial laws. It needs much patient study, and the mastering of many details, — a labor which would sadly interfere with the reading of newspapers, correspondence with constituents, and franking of garden seeds, which are the usual employments of a Representative's leisure. There must be greater permanence in public life, and (we say it not invidiously) a different order of public men, before the best results can be hoped for. A wide acquaintance with facts and figures, as well as with principles and men, is necessary to the training of a commercial statesman. In the British House of Commons, such a man as Mr. Cobden earns the right to dictate a commercial treaty of the first importance to the nation only by virtue of long and laborious years spent in that assembly, and by a private life devoted to business, and enriched by much intercourse with men, and familiarity with commercial affairs. The want of a bureau of

statistics at Washington is also a serious embarrassment to progress in legislation. The results of the nation's industry are not gathered together, preserved, and systematized in a way to make them the most useful and instructive. Private endeavor has done something to supply this deficiency, and the partial contributions of Pitkin, Seybert, and DeBow to our statistical history will be gratefully regarded by future statesmen. We have still, however, the mortifying reflection, that the American who would find the fullest and most accurate statistics of his country must seek for them in the English works of Macgregor, and in the Accounts and Papers of the British Parliament.

Mr. Bigelow's book upon the tariff is a timely contribution to the discussion of that subject. We know of no English or American work which equals it in extent of detailed information, and in that cogency of argument which rests on the truth of figures. The tables in the Appendix are a monument of industry, and will prove of great and permanent value. No one who has not prepared them can imagine how much of time and of arithmetic such tables cost. The book does not pretend to be a treatise on political economy, but it handles the question of the tariff in the practical way which characterizes the inquiries of business men. Few men in this country have been better trained for such an undertaking than its author. To the acute observation of a practical mechanician, who has contributed to American machinery some of its most valuable inventions, he adds the experience of a manufacturer long engaged in both the cotton and the woollen trade. He is thoroughly familiar with the mechanism and processes of British manufacture, and with the English methods of conducting business. He has made commercial legislation, both State and national, a peculiar study; and in the arrangement of tariff laws, his advice has been sought and valued. To those familiar with these matters, Mr. Bigelow's opinions would come with a weight of authority such as few men can command; but in the work before us this personal confidence is not exacted, and no statements are presented which are not accompanied by satisfactory vouchers for their truth.

The main purposes of the book are to vindicate the policy

of protecting American industry, and to analyze those free-trade measures of Great Britain upon the strength of which she sets herself up as a benefactor and monitor to the whole outer world. English precept and English example are the stock in trade of the free-trade advocates of this country; and Mr. Bigelow wisely concludes that the most effectual way to answer their arguments, and at the same time to open the eyes of his countrymen to their real interests, is to explain the causes and operation of the changes which England has introduced into her tariff, in order to show that her system is based upon the purest selfishness, and a desire to get the advantage of every nation with which she deals. How successfully the work fulfils these purposes, we shall endeavor to show by a free use of its figures and deductions.

The theory of free trade has great plausibility; and if there were no refracting influences to be taken into the account, its axioms would be unanswerable. "To buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market," is the rule of every trader of ordinary sagacity. So, also, to devote the industry of a nation or section to that species of production in which it most excels, depending on the interchange of commerce for a supply of those things which can be produced more cheaply elsewhere, would seem to give to the energies of all communities the greatest scope and development. It would doubtless be so, if the world constituted but one vast nation, speaking a common language, living under the same government and laws, enjoying the same civilization and the same religious and social advantages, with equal capacity to make labor profitable, with equal use of capital to give it employment, with unlimited markets, with universal peace, and with a spirit of hearty and unselfish co-operation animating every part of the great whole. On these conditions, the theory of reciprocity might become a beneficent fact. The very statement, however, of these conditions, all of which we deem indispensable to the equitable working of free trade, carries to our mind a conviction that it is an impossibility in the actual condition of the world. There is no such equality, or similarity even, in the capacity and condition of nations, as to make true reciprocity between them possible, and there is no known system of international "*handi-*

capping" by which they can be equally weighted for the race of competition.

The free-trade measures of Great Britain have consisted mainly in the modification and final repeal of the Corn and Navigation Laws, and in the reduction or abolition of duties on provisions and other articles of food, and on raw materials and materials partly manufactured, both of which enter largely into British manufacture. Duties on foreign manufactures have also been abolished; but the amount derived to the revenue from those duties was so trifling as to make the abolishing or maintenance of them of very slight importance, and they have entered very little into the *domestic* discussions of free trade in England. The abstract right of foreigners to compete on equal terms with the home producer in British markets, when such competition was to be feared, has never been gravely considered in the House of Commons. Yet it will be borne in mind that the chief aim of the free-traders of the United States is to accomplish the repeal of duties on those foreign manufactures and productions which come most directly in competition with native products, for the purpose of lowering the cost to consumers at the expense of the home manufacturer.

The English policy may be summed up in a few words. The wealth of a people depends upon the amount and value of its productions. Those products are most valuable to a nation which give the greatest employment to its labor and skill, and use to its capital. For this reason manufactures are more valuable than agriculture, especially where the national territory, like that of the British islands, is too narrow to support its population, if devoted to agriculture alone. Manufactures are, therefore, to be fostered. The cost of manufactures depends mainly on the cost of the raw material, and of the labor which works it up. The wages of labor depend on the cost of living. Reduce, therefore, every tax on raw materials (especially on such as are not produced at home), and every tax on food and on whatever else enters into the cost of living, and you have fulfilled the first indispensable conditions to cheap manufacturing production. Having obtained your product, the next business is to sell it; and here your most important

intercourse with foreigners begins. They are your customers, and are to be conciliated by any expedients which will secure their trade. If reciprocity will do it, and will introduce into foreign countries a maximum amount of British products at the expense of receiving a minimum amount of theirs, then let reciprocity be tendered, and let free trade be urged upon them, and brought about by all the resources of wealth and all the arts of diplomacy. If, like China, they are weak, and not open to the arts of civilized diplomacy, then let loose the dogs of war, bombard and burn their cities, and put their people to the sword, until they submit to receive the civilization of England and the opium of India. But with the strong let there be peace; for it is better to reap only a partial harvest from our trade, than to waste its fruits in wars that bring no gain. When markets cannot be made by English cannon, let the way be prepared by English agents, studiously inculcating English ideas.

Such is British free-trade as it is practically taught at home. Whether we have misjudged it let the reader determine, after perusing the following passage from the prize essay expounding its principles, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article. The author is describing the situation of Great Britain at the close of the revolutionary wars of Europe in 1815.

"The commercial position of Great Britain was especially interesting. The victories of Nelson had all but annihilated the navies of every Continental power, and left us, with the single exception of a rival across the Atlantic, the undisputed masters of the sea. The long continuance of hostilities had depressed every manufacturing interest which might have entered into successful competition with our own, and constituted the British Isles the workshop of the world. In order to maintain this proud position, it was, above all things, requisite that we should enter into relations of friendly and equitable intercourse with other nations, and freely admit, in exchange for our own produce, whatever they had to offer. Such a policy would, no doubt, have been attended with the happiest results. *It would have confined the capital of our neighbors to the production of raw materials, or to those kinds of handicraft in which peculiar advantages permitted them to excel; it would have prevented the rise of that commercial jealousy which has thwarted so many of our best-laid plans, and exposed our trade to such extreme dangers.*"

This is wisdom doubtless, but it is the "wisdom of this world," and it does not pre-eminently answer that definition of free trade which is elsewhere given by the clerical author, that it is "the embodiment of the Christian thought that all men are brothers."

We propose, now, to review briefly the free-trade legislation of Great Britain, and to see what she has done to entitle her to the name and place of monitor of the nations.

The school of the Economists, dating back its origin to the publication of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," began to exercise a considerable influence in England about the year 1820. Up to that time, though manifesting great individual strength, which showed itself especially in the currency discussions which took place between 1804 and 1812, they accomplished nothing in the way of legislation. The act of 1819, compelling the Bank of England to resume specie payments, was their first Parliamentary triumph. In 1815 the influence of the landed aristocracy, then paramount, as it has always been patent, in the British legislature, had given new security to the Corn Laws by procuring the passage of a law by which the importation of foreign corn was absolutely prohibited till its home price should reach eighty shillings per quarter (of eight bushels). The price of wheat, under this law, rose in June, 1817, to the enormous height of 112 shillings and 8 pence. The poor of the manufacturing districts were reduced to the brink of starvation, and thence arose the Manchester riots of 1816 to 1819, which so disturbed the peace of Lord Liverpool's government, and led to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the dispersion by military force of the famous assembly of the laboring classes at Peterloo, on the 16th of August, 1819. Trade and manufactures languished, and discontent prevailed among all classes.

In 1820 the first distinct enunciation of the doctrines of free trade was brought to the notice of Parliament, by the petition of certain merchants of London, praying that "every restrictive regulation of trade not essential to the revenue, all duties merely protective from foreign competition, and the excess of such duties as were partly for the purpose of revenue and partly for the purpose of protection, might be

repealed." Here was the platform broadly laid down; but the sentiment of the governing classes yielded to it only a slow and gradual acquiescence. In 1822, considerable relaxations were introduced into the Navigation Laws, opening the commerce of the United Kingdom, in greater measure than before, to foreign vessels, and facilitating the interchanges of the colonies with one another and with foreign countries.

The Navigation Laws were the offspring of the seventeenth century; and they had continued essentially unaltered for nearly two hundred years. The original act declared, "that no merchandise of Asia, Africa, or America should be imported into any of the possessions of Great Britain, except in English-built ships, belonging to English subjects, navigated by an English commander, and having a majority of the crew Englishmen." It further enacted, "that no goods, the growth or manufacture of any country in Europe, should be imported into Great Britain, except in English ships, or in ships belonging to the country in which the goods were produced, or from which they were commonly imported." Similar restrictions were, at an early period, laid on the export of goods from Great Britain; and the importation of the produce of other countries, even in the ships of those countries, was further embarrassed by discriminating duties and onerous charges.

The first relaxation of these laws was incorporated into the treaty with the United States in 1815; and under the provisions of the "Reciprocity of Duties Act," it was subsequently extended by treaty to other countries. It was not, however, till the act of 1849, that the whole foreign trade of Great Britain was thrown open to the unrestricted competition of all nations. The coasting trade is still confined to native ships.

In 1824, Mr. Huskisson introduced his bill for the revision of the silk duties. Previously to that time, the importation of foreign manufactured silks had been absolutely prohibited; while on raw silk and thrown silk (silk spun into thread) the duties were so high as to be virtually prohibitory. By Mr. Huskisson's bill, the duty was reduced on raw silk from four shillings to one penny a pound; on thrown silk, from fourteen

shillings and eight pence to three shillings and sixpence; and on foreign silk goods, to thirty per cent *ad valorem*.

In 1825, the principles of this act were extended to other classes of imports, and, in place of prohibitions, *ad valorem* duties of thirty per cent were imposed on manufactured goods; while on many raw materials entering into British manufacture the duties were wholly repealed. These measures were not adopted without great opposition from the silk and other manufacturers to be affected by them; but they operated largely to their advantage, as the statistics of the silk trade, for example, speedily showed. A great increase took place in the importation of *raw* silk, and consequently in the product of British looms; but there is no evidence that the import of *manufactured goods* was materially increased. The duty of thirty per cent was still so nearly prohibitory, as to afford a perfect protection to the home manufacturer. Of thrown silk, the amount imported actually declined; showing that, with raw materials free, the British spinner, as well as weaver, was more than a match for his foreign rival.

The adjustment of the silk duties is a type of all subsequent legislation upon the tariff in Great Britain. It had in view the interests, not of the consumer of manufactured goods, but of the domestic producer; for, by reducing the cost of production, it enlarged the British product, and consequently the export to other countries.

The death of Mr. Canning, in 1827, put a check upon the liberal domestic and foreign policy which he and his associates had inaugurated. The personal magnetism which had held together an enlightened body of men from both the Whig and the Tory party was now wanting, and England fell back again into the Tory hands of Wellington and Peel. The reform of Parliament soon took the place of all minor questions of legislation; and until it was accomplished by the Reform Bill of 1831, nothing else was attempted. Although this measure involved the principle of all reforms, it was in greater measure than has usually been supposed the direct fruit of that demand for the reform of the commercial law, which had dictated the merchants' petition of 1820, and

the bills of Mr. Huskisson in 1824–25. The manufacturing districts demanded a repeal of the Corn Laws, and of all restrictions upon their trade; but as they had no voice in Parliament, their demands were not listened to. To make themselves heard was the first necessity. This they endeavored to do by the purchase of boroughs, and by influencing the election of county members; but it was evident that, without the power to elect members of their own, Manchester and Sheffield would be but imperfectly represented. The manufacturers, in laboring for the Reform Bill, were not influenced, therefore, so much by a general sense of injustice at their exclusion from the public councils, as by a desire to accomplish certain specific objects by legislation friendly to their interests. The Englishman has not, like the American, that innate love of politics which will lead him to sacrifice property and prospective gains for the empty honor of a seat in Parliament; but he has a very quick perception of whatever affects his trade, and he is untiring in his efforts to remove every obstacle to its successful prosecution.

"Parliamentary reform was desired chiefly as a means of breaking the landlords' monopoly of the people's food, and bursting the fetters which bound our trade. This was the meaning of the Luddite riots at Nottingham, the blanketeering expedition in Lancashire, and the massacre of Peterloo: this was the secret of the enormous power which was wielded by Cobbett, Hunt, and their associates, and which afterwards displayed its embattled front in the political unions of 1831. Thus the agitation which has disquieted the nation for the last half-century has been closely connected with the maintenance of our protective policy, and even the great achievement of Parliamentary reform was but a stage in the progress of legislation towards free trade." *

For twenty years succeeding the modification of the silk duties, the free-trade movement showed itself chiefly in agitation against the Corn Laws, which resulted in their final repeal in 1846. The object of these laws was to protect the British farmer against foreign competition, by so adjusting the duties on imported corn as to make the price at all times remunerative to the native grower. The duty on corn, therefore, depended on the price in the home market, being lowest when

* Charter of the Nations, p. 47.

the price was highest, and increasing in rate as the price fell, till they became absolutely prohibitory. Between 1838 and 1840, the Anti-Corn-Law agitation was renewed with unexampled fervor. A succession of bad harvests had led to the importation of a large amount of foreign corn, and to the export of gold to pay for it. This, conspiring with other causes, brought on a monetary crisis, and reduced the Bank of England to the humiliating necessity of borrowing gold in France to maintain its credit.

"In this state of the money market, trade experienced a fearful depression. Wages were low, employment irregular, and provisions dear; discontent brooded fiercely in the minds of the factory population, and threatened a destructive outbreak erelong. Social animosities were kindled, Chartist agitation was rife, conspiracies and insurrections, incendiary speeches and midnight drills, were again the order of the day."

The report of a committee of the House of Commons in 1840, on the "Import Duties," disclosed some remarkable facts with regard to the foreign trade and revenue of the country, which were seized upon by the Anti-Corn-Law party, and made the basis of their systematic agitation. It was proved before this committee, that 94½ per cent of the custom-house revenue was raised on seventeen articles only, while more than eleven hundred articles were subjected to imposts for the sake of raising the remaining 5½ per cent. Out of £22,000,000, the average annual revenue from customs, it appeared that more than £20,000,000 was raised on raw materials and on food. The export of cotton goods had increased only twenty-five per cent in ten years; and of these the portion of finished goods had actually declined; the gain being only in the export of yarns, the form least profitable to the manufacturer, since raw materials rather than labor entered most largely into their value.

The Anti-Corn-Law League was organized in 1839. It grew out of a meeting held at Manchester in January of that year, to make a demonstration against the Corn Laws. As the result of that meeting, a petition for the repeal of those laws, supported by forty thousand signatures, was presented to Parliament by Mr. C. P. Villiers, on the 15th of February, accom-

panied by a motion that the petitioners be heard at the bar of the House. This motion was rejected by a decided vote; as was a subsequent motion "to take into consideration the laws affecting the importation of corn." Upon these rejections, the League was formed, and a series of measures adopted for agitating the public mind, and compelling Parliament to act on this subject, similar to those which had been resorted to in 1830, to bring about the passage of the Reform Bill. The wealth of the great manufacturers was poured out with a lavish hand; lecturers were sent into all the great manufacturing towns, as well as into the rural districts; pamphlets were written, and newspapers and circulars despatched to every corner of the kingdom. A new class of public men now came upon the stage, the future leaders of the Manchester school. Through the Anti-Corn-Law agitation, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, Mr. Fox, Mr. James Wilson (editor of the Economist, and at the time of his death, in 1860, Finance Minister for India), made their entrance into public life. One of the most remarkable pamphlets of the time was from the pen of Mr. Wilson. It was entitled "The Influence of the Corn Laws," and it went to show that the operation of those statutes was as hurtful to the agriculturist as to the manufacturer. Its concluding and most forcible argument is as applicable to the case of the grain-growing interest of the United States now, as it was admitted to be to that of a similar class in Great Britain at the time of its publication. He denied that there was any antagonism between the interests of the farmer and of the manufacturer, and asserted that the employer of factory labor was in fact the best customer the agriculturist had, as was evident from the superior condition of such laborers, and their ability to purchase comforts, and even luxuries, when compared with the laborers either of the rural districts or of the Continent. He argued, "that the high price of provisions is rather the *effect* than the cause of high and well-paid labor; and that the low price of provisions is, on the contrary, the effect of ill-paid labor, and the consequent inability to consume proportionally with the production." He showed, also, that the producer of corn is directly interested in the export of manufactured goods.

"Although the English farmer does not export his corn, or his other produce, in the exact shape and form in which he produces them, they constitute not the less, on that account, a distinct portion of the exports of this country, and that in the best of all possible forms. Just as the manufacturer exports the wool, or the silk, which enters into the fabrics of those materials, does he export the corn which paid for the labor of spinning and weaving them. It would be an utter impossibility that this country could consume its agricultural produce, but for an extensive manufacturing population; or that the value of what would be consumed could be near its present rate. If, without this aid, our agricultural produce were as great as it now is, a large portion would have to seek a market in distant countries; it would then have to be exported in the exact form in which it is produced; the expenses of which, being so large, would reduce very greatly from its sale and net price, and the landed interest would be immediately affected thereby. But as it is, the produce of the land is exported in the condensed form of manufactured goods, at a comparatively trifling expense, which secures a high value to it here. Thus, for example, a few bales of silk or woollen goods may contain as much wheat in their value, as would freight a whole ship. While the Chinese or Indians buy our cotton, our silks, or our woollens, they buy a portion of the grain, or the produce of the land, of this country."

The first fruit of the efforts of the League was the introduction of a ministerial measure for revising the tariff on corn, under the administration of Lord Melbourne, in 1841. It met the combined opposition of the landed interest and of the Conservatives, and led to the defeat of the ministry, which was succeeded by that of Sir Robert Peel. The condition of the manufacturing districts at that time was truly deplorable. The distress and enforced idleness surpassed all former precedents, while the depression of trade had caused the revenue to fall below the expenditures of the government. The new ministry, having defeated their predecessors on a tariff measure, in conformity with the usage of the House of Commons, introduced their substitute propositions early in the session of 1842, and they subsequently passed into laws. The corn duties were reduced, but the principle of the sliding scale was still retained. The duties on butter, cheese, live animals, and sundry other articles of food, were materially diminished, and timber duties to the extent of £600,000 annual value re-

pealed, to the material advantage of the shipping interest. Export duties on woollen, silk, and iron goods were also repealed. As we have noticed in reference to earlier legislation, so it will be observed of this, that its whole tendency was to reduce the cost of food and to emancipate manufactures and navigation from burdens which interfered with a successful competition in foreign markets. The enactments were, however, but half-measures, and as such met the approval of neither party. To the landed interest they were offensive, because they yielded anything, and to the manufacturers unsatisfactory, because they did not yield everything, to the demands of the agitators. Other duties were reduced in 1843, 1844, and 1845, the most important of which was the duty on cotton, which yielded an annual revenue of £680,000. Nearly all these modifications of the tariff related to raw materials, or to export duties on domestic products; few of them to foreign manufactures.

Distress, deficiency of revenue, and agitation had brought about many of the reforms demanded; but the presence of a greater emergency still was wanting before the *coup de grace* should be given to the obnoxious statutes. That emergency came in the Irish famine of 1845–46. The extent and suddenness of that national calamity are well remembered in this country; for they appealed strongly to the sympathies of a kindred people, and called forth from them substantial and generous relief. The potato disease first showed itself in the crop of 1845, but its greatest ravages occurred in 1846. No sooner was the fact of its existence established, foreshadowing as it did the horrors of the famine which ensued, than the resolute mind of Sir Robert Peel determined upon the only effective remedy. The prejudices and professions of a long public life had been shaken by the favorable results which had attended the previous partial relaxation of the duties on food, and he was now prepared to advocate their ultimate total repeal. This third and most remarkable recantation of the errors of his youth and of his party * he made the subject of a special memoir, which, with others explanatory of

* The other changes of opinion referred to were on the Currency Question in 1819, and on Catholic Emancipation in 1829. See North American Review, October, 1857.

his public life, was given to the world a few years after his death. To those who have read this memoir, the wisdom of his conduct at that juncture needs no other vindication. But the resolution so boldly taken was not easily carried out. Parliament not being in session, Sir Robert Peel proposed to suspend the Corn Laws temporarily, by an Order in Council, to be followed by a bill for their reduction and final abrogation at the opening of the session. His colleagues, however, would not abandon their old position, and it was not until after a resignation of the seals, and a resignation of the government, on the failure of Lord John Russell to form an administration, that any legislative measure of relief was carried through.

This measure was the "Corn Importation Bill," which was accompanied by another important measure of kindred character, — the "Custom Duties Bill." Both passed the Lords on the 25th of June, 1846; but their passage was fatal to the ministry. By a combination of the Whigs and Protectionists for that purpose, they were, on the same evening, defeated on another important bill, and immediately resigned. The Corn Importation Bill admitted colonial corn at once free of duty; and on the product of foreign countries it established a reduced sliding scale, to be continued till 1849, when it was to bear only the nominal duty of one shilling per quarter, which is the present tariff. The Customs Bill abolished the still subsisting duties on live animals and meats, on silks entering into domestic manufacture, on a limited class of manufactured silks (not, we believe, produced in England), on manufactures of cotton and wool, and on some other imports. Other existing duties were considerably reduced. Under the administration of Lord John Russell, the Navigation Laws were finally repealed, as we have elsewhere stated, and the sugar duties were so far modified as to place the produce of the British colonies and of foreign countries on an equal footing.

British legislation since 1846 has pursued the direction then given to it, chiefly under the guidance of Mr. Gladstone, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the political disciple of Sir Robert Peel and inheritor of his opinions. The principal additional amendments to the tariff were made in 1853, 1859, and 1860. Those of 1860 were chiefly connected with the French treaty. The whole scope and purpose of this legis-

lation may be summed up in the words of Sir Robert Peel, on introducing his measures of 1842.

"With respect to raw materials, which constitute the elements of our manufactures, our object, generally speaking, has been to reduce the duties on them to almost a nominal amount; on half-manufactured articles, which enter almost as much as the raw materials into our domestic manufacture, we have reduced the duty to a moderate amount; and with regard to completely manufactured articles, our design has been to remove prohibitions, and to reduce prohibitory duties, so that the manufactures of foreign countries may enter into a fair competition with our own."

The general scale of duties under the tariff of 1842, as since explained by Mr. Gladstone, was on manufactured articles, and duties for protection generally, twenty per cent *ad valorem;* on partially manufactured articles, not exceeding ten per cent; and on raw materials, not exceeding five per cent. The act of 1853 abolished such duties as had not proved productive, reduced the duty on manufactured articles to rates not higher than ten per cent, and lowered the duties on foreign articles of food. Subsequent acts have abolished most of the duties on foreign manufactures, except on those of silk, which until the French treaty bore a duty of fifteen per cent, but are hereafter, either at once or prospectively, in the commerce with France, to be admitted free. The British tariff, as explained by Mr. Gladstone in his speech on the Budget in 1860, now embraces only forty-eight articles. Fifteen of these, including sugar, tea, tobacco, wine, coffee, and timber, yield substantially the whole of the customs revenue. To show of what that revenue is now made up, we give the items for 1859: —

Sugar and Molasses	£5,979,329
Tea	5,271,703
Coffee	425,828
Corn, Meal, and Flour	582,864
Spirits	2,278,319
Wine	1,761,738
Tobacco and Snuff	5,465,226
Wood and Timber	574,239
Other receipts	1,629,676
Total	£23,968,922

Lest it should be thought that the French treaty and other legislation of 1860–61 will materially reduce the revenue from customs, we would state that Mr. Gladstone, in his estimates for the current year, put the customs at £ 23,550,000. Thus it will be seen, that Great Britain, the advocate for unrestricted freedom of trade, still levies an impost of nearly $120,000,000 on the productions of foreign countries! Of this more than $27,000,000 was levied on tobacco alone, and $19,724,420 upon tobacco which was the growth of the United States. The entire customs revenue of the United States, in the same year, amounted to less than $49,000,000, of which only $18,072,887 was levied on English manufactures of every description. Who will say, after reading these figures, that Great Britain has the right to lecture us on the extravagance and injustice of our tariffs, or that the recent charge of the London Times, that, "*as far as tariffs go, America is already at war with England*," is the offspring of anything else than overbearing ignorance?

The revenues of Great Britain have always been largely derived from customs duties, and they are so still; and the free-trade measures have made very little change in the sources of that species of revenue. In the twenty years from 1839 to 1859, the customs revenue increased nearly $13,000,000, but of that increase but little more than half a million was derived from duties on foreign manufactures. From ninety-one to ninety-seven per cent of it was levied upon sixteen articles, being chiefly those enumerated on a previous page. Silk is the only article of manufactures included among them, and from this the revenue increased.

While, as we have seen, Great Britain receded in twenty years nearly thirteen millions of dollars from absolute freedom of trade, she in the same period, by the repeal of duties on food, and on raw materials and materials partly manufactured entering into her own manufactures, bestowed upon the home producer *qualified protection* to a very large amount. We have already shown how the interests of the manufacturer may be promoted by abolishing duties on food, and on raw materials. The remission of duties by which the cost of production is reduced, and the home producer thereby placed

on a vantage ground as compared with his foreign rival, is just as strictly a measure of protection, as the imposition of duties on the foreign product for accomplishing the same result. Each proceeding has in view the protection of home industry; and the one policy or the other will be pursued, as best suits the condition of each country in respect both to its domestic and its foreign trade. Lest we should be accused of confounding the distinctions of economical science, in thus applying the hateful word "protection" to a policy which England has deified, and daily worships, under the specious title of "free trade," let us quote one of the best and latest French authorities, to justify our definition.

"It is known that industrial protection is designed to throw upon the home market the products of the *national* labor, — that is, of indigenous manufactures and often agriculture, — free from the competition of similar products from abroad. This is the end: the means of attaining it are various. Thus, sometimes a government protects or proposes to protect a certain description of home-produced merchandise by absolutely prohibiting the importation of similar merchandise; sometimes the foreign product is merely charged with a duty equal to or exceeding the difference of price; while *a more modern method of protecting industry consists in exempting raw materials from import duty, to which is added the exemption, partial or entire, of articles of food.* . . . . The great contest which agitated England some years ago, and which terminated in the victory of the *Anti-Corn-Law League*, is yet so recent in the reader's memory, that it is unnecessary to develop at length the principle just stated. Every one knows that, the larger the cost of subsistence is, the higher is the rate of wages. Whatever tends to realize *cheap living* tends to lower wages, to diminish the costs of production, and consequently the prices of merchandise; and these diminished prices give the manufacturer an advantage over his competitors in opening and extending foreign markets for his goods." *

England was already the first manufacturing nation of the world when she determined to change the form in which her industry had been always before protected. She aimed to extend her exports rather than her domestic consumption. In almost every species of manufacture she could defy competi-

* *Dictionnaire Universel théorique et pratique du Commerce et de la Navigation.* Paris: Guillaumin et Cie. 1861. (Title "Douanes.")

tion in her own markets; on silk goods alone she had to yield to the superiority of France, and silk manufactures she has continued therefore to protect, precisely as we protect those of cotton and wool, and for precisely the same reason. The repeal of duties on the raw material accomplished much, and greatly increased the production of her own silk looms; but a duty beginning with thirty per cent, and descending in the space of nearly forty years to fifteen per cent, was necessary to overcome the disadvantage which met the English producer in competition with the French. The extent to which domestic consumption can be increased in an old and densely populated country like Great Britain, is extremely limited; especially under a social system which keeps the laboring classes in a certain state of degradation. The field of growth to England was doubtless, therefore, her foreign trade; and this she has made every effort, by legislation, by diplomacy, and by the heavy hand of war even, to extend. The duties which she repealed on foreign manufactures yielded her scarcely any revenue, while the articles taxed were in themselves so numerous as to make the continuance of duties rather a burden to the custom-house than a profit to the exchequer.

"Let me show you," said Mr. Cobden in the Corn Law debate, "what these custom duties are, about which you are so frightened. Cotton manufactures paid last year £3,700; lace, £7,600; china and earthenware, £3,600; linen, £12,000; woollens paid £16,700; silk manufactures, £240,600. The whole produce of protective duties on foreign manufactures was £284,200."

"Subtracting from this sum the silk duties which were retained, the entire repeal of duty on foreign manufactures," says Mr. Bigelow, "was £218,000; *being less than one fourth part the amount of tax which Englishmen annually pay for the privilege of keeping their dogs.*"

The amount of incidental protection conferred by the repeal of duties on raw materials, and materials partly manufactured, based upon the imports of 1839, reached the sum of $12,135,000. When it is considered that, in the twenty years ensuing, British imports increased one hundred and forty-five per cent, the incidental protection now afforded, under these heads only, must amount to nearly thirty millions. On cotton alone, the tax remitted would amount to eight millions. A

protection no less considerable resulted from the repeal of the Corn Laws. The importation of bread-stuffs into Great Britain in 1860 amounted to $156,000,000. The duty on this importation, according to the prices which ruled for three years before the repeal of the Corn Laws, would have been not less than $31,000,000. Here, then, we see a protection of more than sixty millions of dollars, a sum exceeding the total revenues of the United States ten years ago, accruing to the British manufacturers from the repeal of these classes of duties only. How much more they have been able to gain, in the opening of foreign markets in response to the *liberal and unselfish* policy of their country, is matter only for conjecture; but every American knows that the repeal of the Corn Laws has been claimed to be such a boon conferred upon the United States, as to entitle the British manufacturer to great relaxations of our tariff in return; and that by this argument (accompanied, perhaps, by influences of a more questionable character) such relaxations have been obtained.

Mr. Bigelow has an interesting table, showing the exports of Great Britain from 1805 to 1860, and the ratio of exports to population during that period. From this table it appears that, down to 1849, there had been no increase of exports, *per capita*, over the average for the whole time, but rather a decline. From 1805 to 1808, the value *per capita* was $16.21, while in 1847 and 1848 it was only $13.87. The lowest point touched was in 1826 to 1829, when it was only $11.29. From 1849 to 1852, it increased to $17.26; and from 1858 to 1860, it reached $27.89. This remarkable increase is claimed to be the fruit of the new commercial policy; but Mr. Bigelow argues that there have been other and more potent causes in operation, which are fully adequate to explain it. Most efficient among those causes have been the improvements in machinery and in the application of science to the useful arts, and the great increase in the supply of gold. California and Australia have, since 1848, swelled the annual production of gold from fifty to one hundred and fifty millions of dollars. The industry set in motion by this vast addition to the currency has added incalculably to the production and consequent wealth of the world. Of this wealth, Great Britain, from her

superior control of capital and of the varied industry which capital creates, has reaped the lion's share. But that these causes, and not any peculiarities of her commercial system, have stimulated her trade, is obvious, from the fact that they have operated in like manner, and to a still more remarkable degree, on the commerce of other countries. While British exports, between 1853 and 1859, under her free-trade policy, so called, increased less than 32 per cent, those of France and of the United States — the one maintaining, avowedly, a system of high, and the other of moderate protective duties — each increased more than 46 per cent. In England, even, the export of silks, which were protected, was more rapid than that of cottons, linens, or woollens, which were free.

The vast importance of her manufactures to England is but imperfectly comprehended by other nations. Even Englishmen are still heard to speak flippantly of the "cotton lords" and "Manchester men"; but the "cotton lords" are the lords of England's destiny, and the "Manchester men" will mould her domestic and foreign policy, by the necessary acquiescence, if not by the choice, of her people. She cannot trifle with her resources; and it is not the titled aristocracy, nor the landed gentry, nor yet the graduates of the learned Universities, who help to maintain her wealth, but the merchants of Liverpool, the spinners of Manchester, and the iron-masters of Wales. Only by sleepless vigilance can she replenish her exchequer, or keep her people from starvation. It is a significant fact, that every important relaxation of her tariff laws has been forced from the government by the cries of a people clamoring for bread. In Ireland, five millions of people never taste of wheaten bread, and three quarters of the population live on roots. Of the vast exports of the United Kingdom, it takes one fifth to pay for foreign breadstuffs, and at this very time the withholding of a single foreign staple is filling both her government and her people with dismay.

Of the total exports of Great Britain, 94 per cent are manufactured goods. The raw products of her soil — corn, iron, coal, wool, and flax — enter into these manufactures, either directly or indirectly, by furnishing subsistence to her people. They are thus not merely reduced to the most condensed form,

but enriched by the absorption of labor and the employment of capital. In the United States, manufactures constitute only 12½ per cent of the total export. England exports twenty-one times as much, in value, of manufactured goods as she imports, while in the United States we import of them more than seven times as much as we export. Her production of crude iron is three million tons, worth $64,000,000, — an amount equal to the yield of all other countries put together; while the annual value of her textile fabrics is estimated to be from $750,000,000 to $850,000,000. One fifth of the population of the United Kingdom is dependent for subsistence, directly or indirectly, on the manufacturing system. The export of British cottons exceeds $240,000,000 annually, and they are distributed in fifty-seven different markets. The entire capital employed in the cotton manufacture is more than $500,000,000; and the average annual return upon this capital, and the labor devoted to the business, for ten years past, has exceeded $175,000,000, or more than 33⅓ per cent. In 1858 and 1859, it averaged nearly $189,000,000, or more than the total cotton crop of the United States, which was estimated at the average value, in those years, of $186,000,000, — showing that the cotton *manufacture* of Great Britain is of more value than the cotton *culture* of the United States.

If we reflect upon the means by which these enormous results have been accomplished, we shall find that many of them are peculiarly enjoyed by the British manufacturer. He has the use of almost unlimited capital at a low rate of interest, while in the United States the amount of floating capital is so limited, and the returns upon landed and other investments so great, as to make the rate of interest always high. For fifteen years past, the average rate of interest in the United States has been 9.12 per cent, while in England (in open market) it has been only 3.90 per cent, and in France only 4.16 per cent. This difference of interest alone represents a great profit. The English manufacturer is surrounded by a dense population, from which an ample supply both of rude and skilful labor can always be obtained, and at a rate of wages from ten to thirty per cent lower than in the United States. His laborers are permanently resident in the

manufacturing districts, and not (as is often the case with us) imported into them, at a heavy expense, for a limited term of service; he can therefore employ them, or leave them idle, as best suits his interests. He lives in a country of small extent, where all the products applicable to his use are near at hand. With a network of railways bringing all parts of this small territory still nearer together, the land carriage on his coal and iron is short and cheap, and even the raw materials which he imports serve to ballast the ships which have gone to distant countries laden with his exports. His country is girt about by a vast colonial system, furnishing not only many of the necessaries and luxuries of life, but an ever-extending market for her productions. What the United States might be with her domain extending from sea to sea, and from the tropic through twenty degrees of the temperate zone, Great Britain already is, through the extent and resources of her colonies. With her long-established connections, widely extended commerce, boundless capital, and conciliatory tariffs, England has made herself the *entrepôt* and great distributer of the raw produce of the world. Besides the profit which directly accrues to her merchants from this commerce, a great benefit results to her manufacturers also in the privilege which they enjoy in the first choice of materials, and the power which they command of fixing their market price. The British manufacturer has also all the benefits which result from legislation based upon his interests, and fixed and stable in its character. This enables him to look far into the future, and to embark safely in adventures which it will require years to bring to a profitable conclusion. If he goes abroad to introduce his wares, his government follows and protects him; she espouses his private quarrels, and sometimes lends her army and navy to collect his private debts. The recent Mexican imbroglio was only an effort on the part of England to compel Mexico to pay the bonds she owed to British subjects.

The weak point in the position of Great Britain is her dependence upon foreign countries for raw materials and for food, as well as for markets to absorb her surplus products. She is, for this reason, liable to be injured by every interruption of commerce in time of war, and by the trade regulations

of other countries in time of peace. A constant warfare must be maintained by her against the tariffs of other countries, which have a proclivity for looking after their own interests very inconvenient and provoking to England. Mr. Gladstone says of such countries: "*Their policy demands from us a vigorous and steady counteraction.*" A Parliamentary commission, reporting upon this subject in 1854, speaks of the "immense losses which manufacturers voluntarily incur in bad times, *in order to destroy foreign competition, and to gain and keep possession of foreign markets.*" Instances are referred to where a business has been carried on for this purpose at a loss of three or four hundred thousand pounds in three or four years. "*The large capitals of this country are the great instruments of warfare against the competing capital of foreign countries*, and are the most essential instruments now remaining by which our manufacturing supremacy can be maintained."

The most formidable dependence of Great Britain is for food. We have already stated that her imports of bread-stuffs in 1860 amounted to $156,000,000, or nearly to a fifth part of her total exports. Great as was that amount, it has been exceeded during the past year. While the import of 1860 was 14,500,000 quarters, that of 1861 was 16,700,000 quarters.* Besides bread-stuffs, her other imports of food amount annually to a hundred millions more. This dependence for food has grown more rapidly than the resources to pay for it, and more rapidly than the population of the country. In thirty years the import of bread-stuffs has increased 452 per cent, while the exports have increased only 310 per cent, and the population 36 per cent.

From a careful comparison of the foregoing and other facts, for the details of which we must refer the reader to Mr. Bigelow's volume, that gentleman ventures the assertion, that, "to sustain her present position, England *must* have an annual foreign demand for her manufactures of at least $650,000,000."

We cannot better conclude this portion of our discussion, than in our author's own words.

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* See London Economist, July 8, 1862, p. 145.

"When we consider that Great Britain derives her national strength mainly from her commerce, and that her manufactures almost entirely sustain that commerce, we at once see the ground of her anxiety to extend the area of free trade. As a successful rivalry in neutral markets would be fatal to her prosperity, her struggle for manufacturing supremacy is in fact a struggle for national life. It springs, indeed, from the strongest motive of human action, — the law of self-preservation. To imagine that, under such circumstances, she will neglect to employ any and every influence likely, in her opinion, to retard the manufacturing progress of other countries, is to expect from her a degree of disinterested and philanthropic virtue not to be looked for in any nation, and least of all in England."

We have devoted what must necessarily be the greater part of this article to the commercial system and position of Great Britain, because she is the most formidable competitor with whom we have to contend, and it is necessary to be thoroughly familiar with her policy, before we can determine our own. She has been held up to us as a great exemplar, whose measures we should closely imitate, if we would reap the same success. Until the rebellion of the South unveiled to us her true character, as a watchful and jealous rival, coolly and hopefully speculating on the probabilities of the dissolution of our Union, we had been accustomed to regard her only as a friend and hearty co-worker in the cause of advancing civilization. It is now manifest, however, that our country must mark out her own policy, undisturbed by the sneers, undismayed by the threats, and unambitious of the sympathy of foreign nations. Her commercial policy is to be judged from her own point of observation, and not from that of any other country. We proceed, then, to consider how far the policy of Great Britain is applicable to our condition or worthy of our imitation.

The United States (and in this discussion we shall speak of it as it legally exists, and without at present noticing the revolt of a part of its people), from the extent of its territory, its varied climate, and the multiplicity of its natural productions, is unlike any other country on the globe. Its area is 2,963,000 square miles, while that of all Europe is but 3,700,000. It is nearly ten times as large as Great Britain

and France combined, and three times as large as France, Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, and Denmark together. The extent of its sea and lake coast, and the number and length of its navigable rivers, open this vast territory to a maritime commerce beyond what is enjoyed by the continent of Europe. Buried beneath its soil, or capable of being grown upon its surface, are nearly all the natural productions necessary to the support of its people, or the successful prosecution of its industry. The precious metals, which measure the wealth and regulate the exchanges of the world, and the far more valuable minerals, iron, copper, lead, and coal, which underlie all development in manufacturing or the useful arts, the raw textiles, cotton, wool, flax, and silk, timber for ship-building, the cereal grains, rice, sugar, and nearly every other considerable staple for food, are found, or may be produced, in the United States, in such abundance as to make it independent of foreign supply. Its vast territory being in many parts sparsely populated, there is room for an indefinite increase in the numbers of its people, and in their capacity to consume its products and generate wealth.

With these resources the United States has no need of any other reciprocity than such as may be established between different sections of her own country. Within her own domain, she realizes more of the conditions which we have annexed to the successful prosecution of free trade than can ever be realized between foreign nations, and this freedom of trade the constitution of her government has guaranteed forever. It should be her first object, therefore, to increase the production of this country, and to enlarge the capacity of the people to consume their own products. Toward foreign countries she should pursue such a policy as will most conduce to her own power and wealth. The great sources of her production are her agriculture, her mines, and her manufactures. All of these should be stimulated to the utmost degree; and, as each is largely dependent on the others for its own development, there need be no clashing of interests or subordination of one to the other. In one respect only should we be guided by the example of England. We should carefully study our own wants

and our own capacities, and these once learned, all the efforts of our people and the whole power of the government should be directed to the end of supplying our wants and developing our capacities. Our foreign commercial relations are determined by legislation, and our true course should be carefully chosen and undeviatingly pursued. Whether to throw open or to restrict our trade with foreign countries is a question always depending on circumstances. In this country, the protective policy has hitherto prevailed to a greater or less degree; and there is abundant reason now why it should not only not be abandoned, but why it should be upheld and defended, both by the government and the people, as the true American system. All civilized nations have in the earlier periods of their history protected their home industry by prohibitions against imports, or by the imposition of duties, and most nations do so still. England alone claims to have got beyond the necessity of them, and endeavors to deduce a general economic law from that which is, in truth, suited only to her peculiar condition. She repealed the duties on corn and cotton, to benefit, not our farmers, but her own manufacturers. Both being articles of prime necessity, she must have them, cost what they will; so that the burden of the duty falls chiefly on herself, and not on us. Not only was the motive to repeal not friendly to us, but it was dictated chiefly by hostility to our rising manufactures, especially to our cotton manufacture, which was rapidly coming to rival her own, both in our domestic markets and in those of South America and the East. What similar motive should induce us to relax our duties on manufactured goods and on iron? Such a relaxation would doubtless increase to a vast degree the importation of those articles, and would probably, for a time, furnish them to our citizens at a lower rate than that at which we can ourselves produce them; but who can doubt that, in all but coarser fabrics, our own production would be ruined, and how long after that ruin was effected would low prices, which are the result of competition, continue to prevail? Our dependence on English and other foreign manufacturers would be absolute; for we should cease to manufacture many fabrics necessary to our use, and we should depend on other countries for markets for our bread-

stuffs and other raw produce. Free trade urges us to abandon manufactures, and to turn our industry to agriculture; but if we were to do so, many of our most valuable raw products, such as iron and coal, would be comparatively valueless, and we should raise an amount of agricultural produce which the world could not consume. The surplus of this produce beyond what we could consume or sell would be of no value to us. A slight excess of supply over demand reduces the price of the whole, just as a similar excess in the demand over supply enhances the value of the whole. That our own supply would be always over-abundant, we do not doubt. But there is a worse evil than that of overgrowing a single product, — it is that of paralyzing the forces of industry by turning the whole of it into a single channel. A nation can no more be healthfully nourished by a single industry, than can the human frame by a single article of food. Even the bountiful earth requires rotation of crops. Agriculture cannot develop the entire capacities of a nation. Mechanics, manufactures, mining, trade, and navigation bring faculties into play which are not called out by the labors of the field; and the exercise of every faculty produces wealth.

Not only is a varied industry most productive within a state, but it enables a state the better to withstand the shocks to which it is subject from without. The interruptions of commerce by war may bring a dependent people to the extremity of distress. Witness the present condition of the factory laborers in England. If the cotton manufacture were not so predominating an employment, the temporary withholding of the staple would not be a national calamity. Even in small communities, there is great value in a diversified industry. There are towns in Massachusetts to-day where business has been paralyzed, and nearly all demand for labor suspended, because the inhabitants, one and all, made shoes for the Southern market.

The prosperity of the United States under her protective system, limited and unstable as that system has been, is one of the best evidences that the system is a good one. We have already shown that the exports of this country have increased more rapidly than those of Great Britain, by nearly

fifty per cent, since 1853. The product of our manufacturing, mining, and mechanic arts in 1850 was $1,019,109,616; in 1860 it had reached $1,906,000,000, an advance of nearly 90 per cent in ten years. The population, in the same period, increased only 35½ per cent; showing that the wealth of the country from these sources increased between twice and three times as fast as the population. The average product *per capita* of the whole population, and including all branches of industry, increased from $44 to $61. The greatest increase was in Rhode Island, pre-eminently the manufacturing State of the Union, the product of her industry having increased in ten years 117 per cent, and the amount *per capita* from $150 to $275. In Massachusetts, with a larger agricultural element, the increase of product was 69 per cent, and of the value *per capita* from $159 to $217. From other sources we derive still further evidence of the prosperity of Rhode Island under her manufacturing system,—evidence the more valuable that it discloses the effect of this prosperity upon the laboring class, which that system is sometimes thought to impoverish. The deposits in savings banks in Rhode Island in 1862 were $9,283,000, which, with a population of 175,000, gives $53 of deposits to each individual. In Great Britain, the savings deposits are but $6.25 *per capita;* in New York, $15.75; and in Massachusetts, $36.59. In Rhode Island, the average of deposits to each depositor is $267, and one person in five of the whole population is a depositor. Deducting the large number, in that rich State, who are above the necessity of using such places of deposit, and it is probable that one in every three of the men, women, and children of the industrial classes has a reserve in bank. Massachusetts and Connecticut fall little behind Rhode Island in the proportion of their people thus protected from the contingencies of age and sickness, and in the relative magnitude of their reserves. The product *per capita* of all the New England States taken together is $158; of the Middle States, $98.50; of the Western States, $37; and of the Pacific States (California swelling the amount), $123, while that of the Southern States is only $16.

Thus we see what a protective policy has done for the

United States. If it is said that the chief advantages have been gained by the New England States, we reply, that the same system which has made Rhode Island rich is open to all the other States, — certainly to all the States where labor is free; and it is also to be remembered, that the wealth which is accumulated in any part of the republic goes to swell the aggregate wealth of the whole, and influences in some measure the condition of the humblest of her citizens. New England has no natural advantages for manufacturing over other sections of the country. Her possession of ample water-power is equally shared by some of the Middle and Southern States, while in a still greater number the inexhaustible supply of coal, capable of generating at once heat and motive power, gives them equal facilities for operating machinery. The States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri possess signal advantages over New England for becoming manufacturing States; for besides their great mineral wealth in coal and iron, they are surrounded by the grain-fields of the West, and they are brought, by their navigable rivers, into near and cheap proximity with the cotton-fields of the South. Of wool, also, they already furnish the chief domestic supply to the New England manufacturers. Nor would we advocate protection to the manufacturers alone. The iron of Pennsylvania and Missouri, and the sugar of Louisiana, equally need the fostering hand of legislation. Who that considers the magnificent resources of that great State will believe, that, if the iron interest had always received judicious protection, the annual production of Pennsylvania's three million people would barely exceed that of Massachusetts, with her twelve hundred thousand?

The most serious obstacle to maintaining a protective policy in the United States has hitherto been a supposed antagonism between the interests to be affected in different sections of the country. While it has been admitted on all hands to be advantageous to the manufacturing States of New England, and to the mineral States, like Pennsylvania and Missouri, it has been represented as detrimental, in equal measure, to the corn and cotton growing States of the West and South. If this were true, we might not only despair of any future har-

monious action among the representatives of those sections, but should anticipate a growing divergence very dangerous to the country. But we cannot think that such an antagonism really exists. Their interests are too closely blended, and their mutual dependence too great, to admit of any special advantage enuring to one section, which will not, in large measure, be shared by the others. On the contrary, with the freest interchange of products between them all, the theoretical benefits which are claimed for the free-trade system seem absolutely within their reach. The East wants flour and provisions, and the West wants cloth; and if either can produce more of these articles than the other will consume, there is still the foreign market open to both. The object of each section is to sell the greatest possible quantity of its own productions, at the highest possible price. If the West can raise more bread-stuffs than this country can consume, the British market is always open to the surplus, though the price will seldom justify exporting it. If the European crop is short, then the export is profitable, and a more considerable profit still results to the grower, from the enhanced price which the whole crop brings at home as well as abroad, the price being substantially established in the foreign market. The foreign market, however, is not to be compared in value with that of our own country. The demand for export is never regular, and when it exists it develops a feverish speculation, which is very unhealthful to trade. It is only in seasons of bad European harvests that it exists at all. If only the British crop is short, the American farmer reaps no benefit whatever; for the grain-growing districts of Northern and Southern Europe are as near to England as the Western wheat-fields are to tide-water, and the cheapness of foreign labor renders competition impossible. How is the repeal of the tariff, then, to benefit the Western farmer? It will not diminish the cost of his production; for foreign manufactures do not and cannot enter to such a degree into the cost of a laborer's living, as that the imposition or repeal of duties on them can sensibly affect his rate of wages. Nor can the existence or non-existence of such duties affect the cost of land; and land and labor are the

only elements which enter into the cost of production of grain. If Europe needs grain, it will buy it where it can buy it cheapest; and if we can sell it cheaper than any other people, we have no need to take manufactures in payment, but may have our pay in gold, for it is an article of vital necessity. The home market, on the other hand, furnishes a steady and ever-growing demand. The total agricultural products of the United Sates, as reported in the census returns of 1860, amounted to nearly $1,900,000,000. Of this only $272,000,000 was exported, of which $192,000,000 was cotton, leaving $1,628,000,000 for home consumption. The export, including cotton, was but one seventh of the whole, while without cotton it was only one twentieth. The three States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, without doubt, consume a greater value of the grain and provisions of the West than the total export to foreign countries; but if their industry, by an unwise policy, were driven from its present channels to the cultivation of land, this whole demand would cease, and from consumers they would become producers, and competitors with the Western farmer. We would again refer to the arguments of Wilson, presented with such clearness and cogency in discussing the English Corn Laws. What was proved to be true of Great Britain then, is no less true of America now. It is a fact, also, not to be forgotten, that, in the debates and votes on the tariff in 1820 and 1824, all the grain-growing States took sides with the manufacturers in advocating those measures. The West has another and important interest in the tariff question, as a grower of wool. Nothing but a judicious and steady protection is wanting to elevate this into the first rank among the staples of the country.

The South has been the stronghold of free-trade opinions in America; and to realize this policy is one of the fondest dreams of her new Utopia. That region has not, however, been without the need and benefit of protection. The duties collected on sugar, molasses, and tobacco in 1860 amounted to $10,500,000, which is more than one third of all the duties levied by the United States for protection in that year. The Cotton States have also reaped great indirect advantage from

protection to our manufactures; for by that means they have had the security of two competing markets, augmenting the demand and enhancing the price of their staple. What is the South, then, to gain in freer intercourse with Great Britain? Only the slight benefit which will accrue to three or four hundred thousand slaveholders by a small reduction in the price of English goods. They cannot materially increase the consumption of such goods under their present industrial and social systems, and consequently no efforts of theirs can increase the market demand or price for raw cotton. Nor can they, by free trade, reduce the cost of labor; shoes and negro cloths are not likely soon to be produced in England as cheaply as in Massachusetts and the West, and these are the only covering which black skins require.

We are at a loss to perceive how free trade could be possible, if the South should succeed in establishing a separate government. The amount which it has contributed to support the government of the United States by the consumption of dutiable goods is less than the direct protection which the staples of that section have received. Even assuming their consumption to be equal *per capita* to the average of the whole Union, it amounts to only fifteen millions of dollars, and it is obvious, with four million slaves consuming absolutely no dutiable articles, and the "white trash" consuming hardly more, that the amount consumed *per capita* must, in the Southern States, be less than half the average. What is permanently to support such a government, if it be not indirect taxation? There is no class of property upon which the burden of direct taxes falls so heavily as on that devoted to agriculture. It has been the chief obstacle to the framing of a tax-bill in Congress the present year, that the West could not bear direct taxes, and how to collect them, now that they are imposed, is an unsettled problem. How much better can the slave-ridden and impoverished land-owners of the South bear this heavy burden, than the free and thriving proprietors of the West?

Though there are interests in the United States which we believe require protection, high duties are no longer demanded, except it be for revenue. The constant tendency of legis-

lation has been toward lower rates of duty.* A great outcry has been raised in England against the Morrill tariff. It is spoken of as if it were a declaration of war against Great Britain, and sympathizers with the rebellion in that country have ingeniously suggested that it was the crowning outrage which drove South Carolina and her sister seceders out of the Union. Considering that the measure was not broached in Congress until after South Carolina had seceded, and after Southern members had generally retired, this reasoning is a little remarkable. If it were in reality an outrage, it is no less remarkable that Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, still occupying his seat in the Senate, voted for the bill. Was the South anxious to appear a martyr? The case has been so forcibly put by a recent English writer, that we cannot forbear to quote his words: —

"If," says Professor Cairnes, "free trade be the real object of the South, how does it happen, that, having submitted to the tariffs of 1832, 1842, and 1846, it should have resorted to the extreme measure of secession while under the tariff of 1857, — a comparatively free-trade law? From 1852 down to 1860, the tendency of Federal legislation was distinctly in the direction of free trade. The most liberal tariff the Union ever enjoyed since 1816 was the tariff of 1857, and it was while this tariff was in force that the plot of secession was hatched, matured, and carried into operation." †

This is the testimony of a British free-trader, and a professor of political economy! The tirade against the Morrill tariff is the offspring of passion, and not the result of a candid examination of its provisions. Mr. Bigelow shows, by a minute tabular comparison between this act and the tariff of 1846 (the "revenue tariff," avowedly a Southern and free-trade measure), that, taking the *entire dutiable imports* together, the average rate of duties imposed by the Morrill tariff does not exceed that of the tariff of 1846. The duty on the total imports of the United States from 1857 to 1860 was less than 15

* The tariff of 1862 is an exception to the general truth of this statement; but it is a war tariff, and the increase of duties under it has been dictated by the need of greater revenue, and not of higher protection. The financial history of Great Britain is full of similar exceptions to her general policy.

† The Slave Power, p. 12.

per cent, while from 1846 to 1857 it was over 20 per cent, and during the forty years since 1820, 19 per cent.

We have been at considerable pains to review the successive steps by which England arrived at her present commercial system, and to explain the outward circumstances which from time to time influenced her legislation. We do not wonder that her "free-trade" policy, such as it is, commends itself to her people. It was based upon her wants and her situation as the first of manufacturing states, and we doubt not it was wisely chosen. But her wants are not our wants, nor are the positions of the two countries at all analogous. Even in England there are men sagacious enough to see this, and honest enough to avow it. One of her public men (quoted by Mr. Bowen in a note to his Political Economy) thus expressed himself in 1847: —

"I cannot quit this subject of Free Trade, without expressing my opinion on its abstract principle. I by no means hold that the principle of Free Trade is absolutely true, or that it is of universal application. *If I were an American, the citizen of a young country, I should be a Protectionist. If I were a Frenchman, the citizen of an old country, with its industry undeveloped, I should equally be a Protectionist.*"

But we meet among Englishmen with few so frank avowals. The burden of their criticisms is usually aimed at our ignorance, stupidity, and obstinacy, in not seeing American interests through English spectacles. Mr. Bigelow will be severely handled, we doubt not, in the Times and the Economist, and possibly in the graver (?) pages of the Quarterlies; but when his statistics are impugned, or his deductions from them met by serious argument, he will know how to make a suitable reply. Meanwhile, it will be fortunate for him, if, in his zeal in his country's service, he escapes the fate of List, the distinguished economist of Germany, of whom it is said, that he was "signalized to the London Cabinet, in the despatches of English ministers, as a dangerous enemy, on account of his endeavoring to rescue his country completely from the manufacturing monopoly of England."

ART. IX. — 1. *An Ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the Compact entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America," passed unanimously at* 1.15 *o'clock, P. M., December* 20, 1860. Charleston Mercury Extra.

2. *Message of* PRESIDENT DAVIS. National Intelligencer, May 7, 1861.

3. *Speech of* HON. J. A. MCDOUGALL, *of California, on the Confiscation of Property, delivered in the Senate of the United States, March* 12, 1862. Washington. 1862.

4. *The Prayer of Twenty Millions. Letter from* HORACE GREELEY *to Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States.* New York Tribune, August 20, 1862.

5. *Letter from* PRESIDENT LINCOLN *to Horace Greeley.* New York Tribune, August 23, 1862.

WE have placed the title of the Ordinance of Secession by the Convention of South Carolina at the head of this article, not only because it was the first in time, but also because it shows the form and manner in which it has been supposed that secession was to be accomplished. For this last reason, as it is very brief, we copy it entire, in these words, to wit: —

"We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, —

"That the ordinance ordained by us in convention on the 23d day of May, in the year of our Lord 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of this State ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States under the name of 'The United States of America' is hereby dissolved."

It will be observed that it appears as a simple repeal, or attempt to repeal, the ordinance by which the people of the State adopted the Constitution of the United States, thereby uniting with the people of the other States in the establishment of a general government over the whole. This attempt to repeal an act which is in its very nature irrepealable has been followed substantially in the other seceding States, with

such difference of formula as the difference of circumstances under which they entered into the Union required. We shall have occasion to note hereafter, on the supposition that the repeal could be legally and constitutionally operative, that some of the important incidents and consequences which have been claimed as attaching to it are but mere unjust demands and exactions upon the United States.

That part of the Message of Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress which relates to, and endeavors to explain and assert the legal validity of, the so-called right of secession, we reviewed, in an article on that subject, in our number for April, 1861. We recur to the Message for the purpose of examining the reasons which are supposed to justify the actual secession, arising from wrongs and grievances on the part of the United States prior thereto. Those reasons are set forth at large in an extract from the document in the article just mentioned. This Message to the Confederate Congress was designed to sum up in plausible phraseology the particulars of the several bills of indictment which the seceding States deemed themselves authorized to prefer against the United States; and a reference to these specifications is sufficient, therefore, to show the character of the rebellion in its inception, as set forth by its own leaders. The allegations against the Northern States and the people of those States seem to resolve themselves into five particulars: —

1. The rise and growth in the Northern States of a political school which has persistently claimed that the government formed by the Constitution was not a compact between States, to secure the blessings of liberty and independence against foreign aggression, but was in effect a national government set up above and over the States.

2. The imposition of burdens on commerce, as a protection to the manufacturing and shipping interests of the North.

3. The assertion at the North, as an undeniable axiom, that the theory of the Constitution requires that in all cases the majority shall govern.

4. A persistent and organized system of hostile measures against the rights of the owners of slaves in the Southern States.

5. The organization of a great party for the purpose of obtaining the administration of the government, with the avowed object of using its power for the total exclusion of the Slave States from all participation in the benefits of the public domain, and of surrounding them entirely by States in which slavery should be prohibited; and the success of the party, thus organized, in the election of its candidate for the Presidency.

It is to be remarked, that much of the matter of grievance consists of speeches, of dogmas, and of laws relating to persons claimed as fugitive slaves which were never executed, and that little of actual injury is set forth, unless it be found in the election of President Lincoln, who was not the Southern candidate. This recital of Southern grievances and wrongs, in the official Message to the Confederate Congress, cuts a very sorry figure by the side of "the glittering generalities of the Declaration of Independence."

The first and third of these charges may be disposed of in a few sentences. How far the organization of the government had other objects than that of securing the people against foreign aggression, may readily be seen by referring to those parts of the Constitution which grant powers to Congress, and prohibit action by the States in certain cases. These parts show very conclusively that the attempt of Mr. Davis to represent the government of the United States as one created solely, or mainly, "to secure the blessings of liberty and independence against foreign aggression," is a gross misrepresentation. To this it may be added, that the notion of a national government, which is charged upon a political school of the Northern States, has been equally the notion of many learned, wise, and popular men in the Southern States. Edmund Randolph, one of the deputies of Virginia, laid before the Convention which framed the Constitution sundry propositions "concerning the American Confederation and the establishment of a national government," May 29th, 1787, in the form of resolutions. These resolutions provide for the establishment of a "national legislature," "a national executive," and "a national judiciary." The principles of these resolutions entered very largely into the construction of the Constitution as subsequently adopted.

We are not aware that the democratic dogma, that the majority of the people must govern in a republic, was more universally accepted at the North than at the South, until it appeared from the increase of population that the North would soon not only have such majority, but perhaps would be disposed to apply the principle. From the time it became probable that the South would lose the ascendency which had long been enjoyed, — partly by means of the representation based upon their slaves, and partly by the co-operation of the Democratic party at the North, — the dogma that the majority of the people had the right to rule became very distasteful to the leading Southern politicians; but we must admit our surprise to see this gravely put forth as one of the grievances which in a republican government requires revolution or secession.

The second, fourth, and fifth specifications of grievance in Mr. Davis's Message — to wit, the protection to manufactures and the opposition to slavery — require a more extended notice. Whoever attempts to judge respecting the merits or demerits of the rebellion, must not commence his investigation at the election of Mr. Lincoln; nor at the passage of any tariff law, even as far back as that of 1824; nor at the agitation of Garrison and his compeers, Foster, Pillsbury, the Abbys Kelly and Folsom, and Wendell Phillips, respecting slavery; nor at the passage of Personal-Liberty Laws in several of the States; nor at the recent opposition to the extension of slavery into the Territories; nor even at the struggle against the admission of new States without a prohibition of slavery therein, as in the case of Missouri, in 1819 and 1820. The foundation of the present controversy between the Southern and the Northern people dates farther back than all these.

How the imposition of burdens on commerce would protect any shipping interest, the writer of the Message does not explain; but we let that pass. The gravamen of the whole charge respecting protective duties is founded on the most gross misrepresentation. The protective policy had its origin with the South, and the Northern people adopted it only when their industry had been driven into channels which required it. That they have since been in favor of it furnishes no just

ground of complaint against them. For a long period after the Revolution, the people of the North were mostly agriculturists, except upon the seaboard, where there were shipping interests of great magnitude.

There were extensive household manufactures of cotton and wool, mainly for home consumption. The first protective duty was a specific duty of three cents a pound on cotton, to encourage the production of that article in South Carolina and Georgia, and this burden was borne by the manufacturers and consumers of the North. The embargo, which struck almost a death-blow to the shipping interest of New England, was a Southern rather than a Northern measure. The protective tariff of 1816 was Mr. Calhoun's tariff, passed by Southern votes, — justified, we admit, to some extent, in order to preserve large manufacturing interests which had grown up during the war. When it was found that the Northern people, accommodating their industry to the state of things which had been forced upon them, were deriving a greater benefit from manufactures than the South, slave labor being ill adapted to that branch of industry, a change came over the spirit of the Southern dream, and a protective tariff was found to be a Northern invention, and a great political grievance. It is not wonderful that the North, which had been obliged to change the course of its industry by reason of non-intercourse, embargo, and war, should not have been ready to change back again, to the destruction of the interests which had been brought into existence and fostered by those measures.

The amount of the losses of slaves occasioned by all the Personal-Liberty Laws of the States, and all the efforts of "Liberators" and "Heralds of Freedom," and of Abolitionists in Congress and elsewhere, up to the time of this present warfare, will not begin to compare with the pecuniary losses of the Northern States, at different times, in their navigation and their manufacturing interests, occasioned by Southern measures and Southern votes.

The alleged inequality of the tariff is not admitted. The South has, as we believe, had as great a measure of protection for all products which by reason of foreign competition re-

quired it, as the North. Supposing, however, that an inequality has existed, by reason of which the South has paid a greater share of duties than the North, there has been no injustice, because the revenue of the country is derived mainly from the duties imposed on importations, instead of direct taxation, from which source it was originally expected that the revenue would be derived, and of which the Slave States were by agreement to pay an unequal proportion, on account of their unequal representation in Congress. No tariff can operate with perfect equality. Taxation in any form never does so. If the relative proportion paid by the Slave States in the shape of duties, and of increase of price in consequence of duties, is not greater than the relative proportion of those States would be if the revenue were raised by direct taxation, under an apportionment of that taxation which should embrace three fifths of their slaves, according to the provision of the Constitution, — and the revenue raised by the duties is graduated by the wants of the government for its annual expenditure, as has been the design that it should be for many years past, — then we say that those States have no just cause of complaint on that score. We shall see this more clearly as we proceed. It certainly cannot be shown, that, of all the duties, the Slave States have borne as large a share as they must have paid of direct taxes had the revenue been raised in that manner. It must be borne in mind, that the duties assessed on importations are often borne by the producer, and not by the consumer. A memorable instance of this may be found in the duty on molasses, imposed by the tariff of 1828, which was inserted in the bill by Southern votes, because it was supposed it would make the bill so distasteful to the North as to defeat it. The North took it, "drugged as it was," and the price was not materially increased. The tariff of 1842 discarded to a great extent protective duties, and they have hardly been heard of as a cause of complaint for several years, a better subject for agitation having been found in slavery.

The origin of the difficulties which have resulted in the attempted secession is to be sought as far back as the adoption of the Constitution itself, and perhaps earlier. The question arose in the Congress of the Revolution, how the quota which

each State ought to furnish toward the expenses of the war should be determined. It was at first agreed that apportionment should be made according to a valuation of property. But only one State — New Hamphire — furnished a valuation. Then it was suggested that the number of persons in each State might be taken as the basis. But delegates from Slave States immediately objected that slaves ought not to be included in the enumeration, because slaves did not produce as much as freemen. There was great debate upon the subject, which resulted in a compromise, by which three fifths of the number of slaves were to be added to the number of free persons.

In the Convention which framed the Constitution, the subject of revenue, which it was then believed, as we have already suggested, would be raised mainly by direct taxation, brought up the same question respecting the basis of apportionment. As before, there was an attempt to escape from an apportionment which should embrace slaves in the enumeration of persons. This resulted in another compromise, by which three fifths of the number of slaves were to be included in the enumeration of persons for the purpose of apportioning the taxes among the several States, and the Slave States were to be entitled to a representation upon the same basis, — the provision in the Constitution upon these subjects being in these words: "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons." The principle of the Revolution, that taxation and representation ought to go together, was exemplified in this compromise. On this basis, the Slave States have had the benefit of a representation founded upon the number of their slaves, constantly increasing, until, according to the census of 1850, it actually amounted to twenty-one members, the slaves, however, having no vote in the election of them. The oligarchical democracy of the South has had so much of political advantage. But the burden of

direct taxation, proportioned upon three fifths of the slaves, which was the equivalent, has almost wholly failed, because the revenue has been raised, with very limited exceptions, by duties on imports and by sales of public lands. As a necessary result, there has been a growing repugnance to the extension of slavery, aside from all moral considerations, on account of this unequal political representation, — an injustice which every extension of slavery, and every admission of a new Slave State, has aggravated.

It must be considered, also, that the Constitution, with this unequal representation, was made for the territory embraced in the treaty of peace with Great Britain. The admission of new States formed from territory acquired outside of those limits was not contemplated nor provided for, and every admission of a Slave State from such territory tends to a further extension of this inequality of representation. The admission of Louisiana, Florida, Arkansas, Missouri, and especially of Texas, furnishes, unquestionably, some of the reasons for a hostility to slavery which has borne fruit, perhaps, in Personal-Liberty Laws, as well as in efforts to exclude slavery from the Territories, in order that there shall not be an increase of Slave States, and thereby a further extension of a representation already unjust.

Again: In considering the temper which led to the Personal-Liberty Laws, and to the restriction of the extension of slavery, we must by no means ignore the laws of some of the Southern States — South Carolina and Louisiana — upon the subject of free Negroes, under which persons of that class belonging to Northern vessels have been imprisoned without even an allegation that they had committed any offence, and by which they would have been sold into slavery, if the fees and charges of that imprisonment had not been paid. The attempt by Massachusetts to test the constitutionality of those laws, first, by the employment of counsel in those States, and, when that failed because counsel there declined to take a retainer, by sending Mr. Hoar as agent to South Carolina, and Mr. Hubbard to Louisiana, to institute suits for that purpose in the Courts of the United States, — and their subsequent expulsion from Charleston and New Orleans, under circumstances

of great excitement and indignity, — have, in our belief, had more to do in exciting a bitter feeling of hostility to the institution of slavery, than all the speeches of any half-dozen orators or oratresses, white or colored. To say nothing of the preposterous pretension, that the question whether those laws were constitutional or otherwise should not be submitted to the consideration and determination of a judicial tribunal, or of the injustice necessarily attending their enforcement, — the circumstances of insult accompanying the expulsion of Messrs. Hoar and Hubbard were not likely to be forgotten by the people of Massachusetts, and the feeling thus excited has been largely extended to other States.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the subsequent attempt to force slavery into the Territory of Kansas by fraudulent voting and fraudulent returns, by a blockade of the Missouri River outside of the Territory, and by the murder of peaceable citizens within it, may furnish some palliation and excuse for an excitement which would render Personal-Liberty Laws popular, even if such circumstances cannot prove their constitutionality. In pursuing the design and purpose of preparing the Territory so that when it became a State it would send two Senators and a Representative in sympathy with the South and devoted to Southern interests, no regard was had to personal or political rights. Fraud and injustice marked every step of the progress, and marauding bands from South Carolina and Georgia attempted to complete by force what fraud was not strong enough to accomplish. That corrupt politicians at the North should participate in this iniquity, was in character with their antecedents; and that demagogues at the North should avail themselves of the just indignation excited by such outrages, and endeavor to make political capital for themselves, on the other side, by inflammatory speeches and extreme measures, without regard to their constitutional obligations, was but a natural consequence.

In estimating the morality of the rebellion, it must be recollected that there has always been a strong party at the North sympathizing with the South, partly from political, and partly from personal associations; and a still larger number who have been willing to fulfil all their constitutional obliga-

tions, although they have been disposed, and are determined, no longer to give way to Southern insolence and aggression. It is to be noted further, that, at the very time when the rebellion was planned and broke out, five of the nine judges on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States were from the Slave States, and that these, with one of the judges in the Free States, had expressed and recorded their opinion that slaveholders had a constitutional right to carry their slaves into the Territories, and hold them there, any legislation of Congress to the contrary notwithstanding. One other judge from a Free State did not see fit to record a dissent to this doctrine, leaving himself free to assent to it at any time afterward, when his convictions of official duty should require such an opinion. We admit that this opinion of the six judges was a "*dictum*," and erroneous. We aver that it was perfectly outrageous, a gross usurpation of power deserving impeachment, because the question was clearly political, and not judicial. But it was quite improbable that those who had thus committed themselves to the interests of the South would retrace their steps, and the constitution of the Senate rendered impeachment hopeless. Secession was not required to secure or save any of the alleged rights of the South. If the Southern Senators had remained in their places, Mr. Lincoln and his Administration would have lacked the power to do evil to Southern interests, even if they had been so disposed. But it is true that the constitution of the House of Representatives was likely to be such, that the South could not rule Congress as it had been accustomed to do, and the incoming incumbent of the Presidential chair presented an absolute bar to Southern domination.

It may not be amiss to consider here two or three objections which have been raised against the attempt of the United States to suppress the insurrection, and which have been urged independently of the reasons alleged for the secession itself.

It has been contended that the attempt at coercion is in violation of the democratic principle that the people are entitled to govern themselves, and of the republican principle that this right to govern resides in the majority. It is alleged that the people of the Southern States are, on these principles,

entitled to choose their own government; moreover, that not merely a majority of the people of the seceding States prefer to change their institutions by forming the Southern Confederacy, but that there is great unanimity among them in this particular.

The principles thus adduced are acknowledged as fundamental principles, and the fact of the unanimity to the extent mentioned may be admitted for the purpose of the argument. But who are "the people" who, upon the general principles thus stated, are entitled to govern themselves? It is not a few individuals in a community who possess this right of self-government. This is shown by the other principle, that the majority possess the right of determination. The dissent of a minority may be entitled to respectful attention, but it cannot furnish the rule of government. Then, again, who compose this majority of the people which is entitled to determine the form of government? Certainly not the majority of the people of any town, county, or borough; and as clearly not the majority of the people of any of the States, or of any number of States, in all the particulars for which government is instituted. To a certain extent, the majority of the people of a State may fashion the institutions of that State. So far as a change will not affect the Union, or violate the Constitution, directly or incidentally, they may act, because to that extent they are an independent community. But neither the majority of the people of a State, nor the whole people of it, can adopt any other than a republican form of government, because the United States guarantee such a form of government to all the States, and are bound to the whole to fulfil that guaranty by not permitting any one to deviate from the established form. Neither the majority nor the whole people of a State can change its institutions so as to coin money, levy duties on imports, enter into treaties with foreign governments, or do anything expressly or impliedly forbidden by the Constitution. So that upon the point in issue the question comes to this,— Is secession permitted by the Constitution? And we have heretofore shown that it is not, in reviewing Mr. Davis's Message.

The majority recognized in the republican principle is the

majority of the community to be governed, or under government. In this instance, the whole people of the United States, so far as the purposes for which the United States government was instituted, have alone the lawful right to change or alter that government, except as it may be altered in the manner prescribed by the Constitution, which has provided specific modes in which amendments may be made. That the Constitution was originally adopted by majorities of the people in the several States, does not affect the application of this general principle; for by that adoption they became *one people* for the purposes of the government thereby instituted, although they were not so before.

We admit, that, if there is oppression too great to be borne, there may be rebellion, which may ripen into revolution; but this is altogether different from the "right of secession," as we have heretofore shown; the right of revolution in resistance of oppression being a personal right, and the so-called right of secession being set up as a State right.

Again: It has been urged that the course of the Southern States has been in accordance with, and in fact justified by, the course of the Colonies in their separation from Great Britain, and that, on the principles then maintained, the United States are wrong in resisting the attempted disruption of the Union. This seems a favorite position of some of our Transatlantic cousins, to say nothing of certain sympathizers on this side of the water. But, in truth, so far from the cases being *ad idem*, there is scarcely a similitude between them. A very brief reference to the contrast is all which our space allows us. We need not avail ourselves of the impassioned language of Colonel Barre, that the oppression of England planted the Colonies in America; — it is sufficient that they were not planted by her care. When, by their indomitable industry, they had become worth her attention, the fostering care of the mother country was extended to them by the appointment of rulers over them, — in many instances, not from among themselves, but from her own population; — rulers who cared more for amassing fortunes through official corruption, than for the welfare of the people whom they governed. She was prompt to take the benefit of their military services against her ancient foe, the

French. She loaded their trade with onerous imposts, and restrictions of which she bore no share. And when the wealth and industry of the Colonies became sufficient, she insisted upon raising a revenue from internal taxes, at the same time that she allowed them no representation whatever in Parliament, where these duties, restrictions, and taxes were imposed. These *impositions* at length became intolerable, and the Colonists determined upon resistance. She made the first warlike attack at Lexington, and again at Concord. They fought the war through in fair fields, and the separation was accomplished with no further effect upon the interests of Great Britain than the loss of so much of her colonial possessions. She was not rendered subservient to them, in their new state of independence, either by treaty or by geographical situation.

Now for the contrast. Part of the seceding States were originally Colonies, and united with the others in achieving their independence, or rather had it achieved for them. Most of the others are formed from territory purchased by the United States, and all have voluntarily come into the Union, under the Constitution, participating in all the rights derived under it, and assuming all the obligations which it imposes; being received upon an equality with the older States. The statute-book is full of provisions for their advantage. The Indians have been removed from some of their borders at great expense, to say nothing of a violation of public faith, because they desired it and insisted upon it. If we recollect aright, the Florida war, undertaken to remove Billy Bowlegs from the Everglades, cost the United States some fifty millions of dollars. We have not the presumption to say that the present war is not sent by the God of justice in part as punishment for the outrages committed in that war, and in the removal of the Cherokees from Georgia. The seceding States have had a representation in the national councils, not merely in equal proportions, but beyond that of the Free States, through the basis of their "peculiar institution." Their influence has directed the policy of the country in a greater degree than that of the Northern States. The Mexican war was waged mainly at their bidding. When they chose a protective tariff, the policy was protection. When they said that

the tariff must be for revenue alone, it was made a revenue tariff, with only incidental protection to some interests, partly to secure certain votes. They have had more than a fair share of military and naval appointments. It has been the privilege of the North to furnish the sailors and a large proportion of the bone and muscle of the army. They objected to the distribution of "incendiary matter" — publications against slavery — through the mails, and the Post-Office Department prohibited it. They demanded mobs to put down abolition harangues, and the mobs were forthcoming; but the remote consequences were not favorable to them. They said that a more stringent Fugitive Slave Law was necessary, and one was enacted too stringent to subserve its own purpose, because it excited hostility from its injustice. When they wanted that Kansas should be a Slave State, the Missouri Compromise was repealed, and it was moreover found by grave judges that it was unconstitutional. The Democratic party of the North had so far acted in the interests of the South, as to lead the conspirators to rely upon that as an element of success in their secession. Commodore Stockton's declaration in the Peace Convention, that for every regiment raised at the North for the purpose of coercion, two would be raised to arrest its march, was only an expression of the sympathy upon which the conspirators had relied to carry them through without any very serious struggle on their part.

If they did not increase in population and wealth like their Northern neighbors, it was not by reason of any inequality of tariffs, or any other oppression, but by reason of the slavery which they cherished, and the unthrift attending their modes of living.

Notwithstanding the comparatively small increase of population in the South, there was for a long time no lack of increase in the number of Slave States. In fact, at one time there was an attempt to prevent the admission of a Free State, unless a Slave State were admitted to balance it; and this was long before Personal-Liberty Bills were thought of. Maine and Missouri were admitted within a few days of each other in 1820, the admission of the former having been delayed by the controversy in relation to the latter; Michigan and Arkan-

sas were admitted on the same day in 1836; and Iowa and Florida were tied together in the same act, in 1845, although Texas had been admitted by herself three days before.

Up to 1852, out of eleven Presidents of the United States, seven were of the Slave States, five of them for two terms each. There had then been four Presidents from the Free States, three of whom held for a single term each. President Harrison died shortly after the commencement of his term, John Tyler being the Southern Vice-President; and General Taylor, one of the Southern Presidents, died in the earlier part of his term, leaving the administration to Millard Fillmore, a Northern Vice-President. The two Presidents who occupied the chair from 1853 to 1861 were "Northern men with Southern principles," having in their Cabinets Jefferson Davis, Cobb, Floyd, and Thompson. Finding that the sceptre was about to depart, the Southern leaders prepared for a rebellion. It would probably have come in 1856, if Fremont had been elected, although the Northern people could not believe that there was danger of it. The breach in the Democratic Charleston Convention, in 1860, and the nomination of Breckenridge, were designed to secure the election of a Republican candidate, and thereby to force the Southern States into secession.

The mode in which the rebellion commenced is in contrast with the colonial resistance to the authority of the mother country. The Colonists entered upon their rebellion by a fair, open, and manful opposition to measures of hardship and oppression. Three members of the Cabinet of Mr. Buchanan prepared the way for secession by a traitorous misuse of their official position, and a scandalous violation of their official oaths. Most of the Senators and Representatives of the States which have seceded conspired with them. The treason was concocted while the conspirators were in the service of the United States, and receiving pay from the United States, thus showing them to be worthy compeers of Benedict Arnold.

The legitimate result of the argument by which secession was supported, if the argument were correct, would be that the State itself which had seceded resumed thereby her State rights and State possessions. Secession, upon its own theory,

would carry nothing with it belonging to the United States. But the secession argument is as flexible as india-rubber. The position that the Constitution is a political *compact* of confederation for political purposes, which is made the basis upon which the right of secession exists, is forthwith converted into an allegation that the compact is in the nature of a partnership, in which, if there is not a regular account of profit and loss to be stated, there is, according to the new Confederate law of partnership, a right of dissolution at the pleasure of any one partner, notwithstanding the contract made it perpetual; and upon the dissolution there is to be a division of stock, by which the Confederacy, which was not a partner, but born since the dissolution, is to be entitled to a share of the territories owned by the United States, to all the islands and fortifications, with their munitions of war, which may be found along the coasts of the seceding States, and to the mints and sub-treasuries, and all the money and machinery therein. We must understand that these things are not claimed and taken under a right of revolution, which would give no claim except to that portion of government property which might fall into the hands of the insurgents, and be appropriated under the law of force; but this claim is made under the alleged right of secession, which, as we have seen, is described as the reserved right of a State to withdraw peaceably, by a repeal of the act by which it came into the Union. The colonial resistance to the mother country was coupled with no such claim of partition of territory.

We refer to but one other matter to complete the contrast between the Revolution of 1776 and this rebellion. By the second article of the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783, it was agreed, among other things, that the boundary of the United States, from the northwestern point or corner, should be "a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude"; and by the eighth article of the same treaty it was stipulated, that the navigation of the river, from its source to the ocean, should forever remain open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States. Great Britain has other means

of access to her colonial possessions in America, and makes little if any use of the Mississippi to communicate with them. The stipulation of the treaty is, and has been, of very little practical importance to her, except as regards the navigation of that part of it which at the time of the treaty was in the possession of Spain. Spain then held Louisiana, lying on both sides of the river south of the thirty-first degree; but, having been afterward transferred to France, it came into the possession of the United States by the treaty of Paris, April 30, 1803. There are various provisions in the acts and laws of the United States to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi to all the citizens of the United States, particularly in the acts for the admission of the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Missouri into the Union. The act for the admission of Louisiana contains the following clause: —

"*Provided*, that it shall be taken as a condition upon which the said State is incorporated in the Union, that the river Mississippi, and the navigable rivers and waters leading into the same, and into the Gulf of Mexico, shall be common highways, and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said State as to the inhabitants of other States and the Territories of the United States, without any tax, duty, impost, or toll therefor, imposed by the said State; and that the above condition, and also all other the conditions and terms contained in the third section of the act, the title whereof is hereinbefore recited, shall be considered, deemed, and taken fundamental conditions and terms upon which the said State is incorporated in the Union."

We are not clear that it may not be technically and legally maintained that Louisiana, by a breach of this condition, has "become *felo de se*," and may be treated as having returned to her territorial *status*.

Now it is well known that almost the first act after the secession of Mississippi was the planting of a battery or batteries at Vicksburg, if we mistake not, in the first instance, and an interruption of all commerce on the river, except at the pleasure of the Secession authorities, resulting shortly in its being entirely closed. It was intended as a measure of coercion against the Northwest, to the prosperity of which the navigation is of vital importance, and it must be opened again, and held free to all, according to the treaty, laws, acts,

ordinances, and conditions by which it was supposed to be originally secured. If the rebellion shall be successful, the river, from the northern line of Tennessee downward, is within the jurisdiction of a foreign state or states. The laws and conditions to secure the free navigation of it become a dead letter, and the whole Northwest will be thus far "subjugated," and hold their title to the use of the river, from that time forth, at the pleasure of the seceding States.

The case stands thus. If the rebellion is suppressed, and the seceding States are "subjugated," they return to their places in the Union with all the rights and privileges which they had before, unless by the tenacity of their resistance they aid the Abolitionists in getting up another revolution, founded on immediate emancipation, through conquest or State suicide, and a prostration of State rights, not warranted by the Constitution. If, on the other hand, the secession becomes a successful revolution, the United States, and particularly the Northwestern States, are really brought into subjection, and hold their rights to the navigation of this great medium of internal commerce, and even of foreign commerce through the Gulf, at the pleasure of the Confederacy.

We pass from the general character of the rebellion, as it exhibited itself at the outset, to a brief consideration of the conduct of the war.

With respect to active warfare in the field, it must be admitted that the generalship exhibited by the rebel commanders, particularly in the month of August just passed, will not suffer by a comparison with that of the commanders of the United States. But here we must not overlook the fact, that, from their geographical position, their superior knowledge of the topography of the theatre of the active hostilities, and their greater resources for obtaining information respecting military movements by the aid of the inhabitants, they have had largely the advantage. There have been no better soldiers in the field than the greater portion of the troops of the Union. There have been too many of the officers who have obtained their commissions through political or personal favoritism.

The partial lack of success in the conduct of the war on the part of the United States, has been owing mainly to other

causes than those immediately connected with operations in the field.

We supposed, when Mr. Cameron vacated the War Office, that it was to be filled by one who, with the broad views of a statesman, discarding all considerations but those of country, would, by a vigorous prosecution of the war, conquer a constitutional peace. But we were mistaken, and reminded strongly of the frogs who desired a king. It is alleged that there have been jealousies among the generals of the army, causing disaster. Gray wrote in his Elegy:

"The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

Since the time of General Jackson, however, the American version has been that they lead to the Presidency; and, as might have been expected, on the breaking out of the rebellion there was a great demand for major-generalships and other generalships, colonelships, and other -ships, not merely by those who had made arms a study, and whose proper business it was, therefore, to suppress the rebellion, but by others, who were desirous of getting into those paths, and by their hangers-on, who were earnest that they should do so. If Mr. Secretary Stanton has had a determination that no general in the field should eclipse the glories of the War Office, the measures which have been taken in reference to field operations have been well adapted to prevent any of the competitors from being covered with glory. One of the uninitiated may, indeed, be astonished to find how one general may be played off against another, and one kingdom (that is, military department) may be divided against itself, until none of them can stand; and by such operations, assuredly, the Satan of the rebellion is not to be cast out. When we see a Secretary of War, in an order out of the regular course, complimenting a general who, by a forced march of the order of *dash*, is said to have put one fifth of his command in the hospital, and inserting in the order a sneer understood to be aimed at the General-in-chief for his inactivity; and when we see him sending a letter to a newspaper, containing another sneer aimed at the same general for the prudence which, by means of discipline, had sought to "organize victory," we may be sure that

some idea besides that of the suppression of the rebellion had obtained a lodgement in the War Office. In this last letter the Secretary, modestly declining all share in the honor of certain then recent victories, defers "to the spirit of the Lord, that moved our soldiers to rush into battle, and filled the hearts of our enemies with terror and dismay." And he adds: "We may well rejoice at the recent victories, for they teach us that battles are to be won now and by us in the same and only manner that they were ever won by any people or in any age since the days of Joshua, — by boldly pursuing and striking the foe." If the Secretary is still disposed to follow in the wake of Joshua, we may soon see a War-Office advertisement for the purchase of rams' horns. It seems never to have occurred to him, that, if your adversary has studied and practised the "science of fence," he may parry the blows aimed at him, and that you should at least have enough of strategy to prevent him from bestowing upon you in return a kick *a posteriori*. General Pope appears to have acted on the Secretary's strategy. He said, in one of his early orders, "Shame and disaster lurk in the rear"; and he found himself to be a true prophet.

But the War Office is by no means responsible for all our misadventures. The source of the greatest disasters, as well as of much minor suffering, has been the efforts of members of Congress, collectively and severally, to manage the war. The cry of "On to Richmond!" before the army had been disciplined, or even organized, wherever it had its origin, had its echoes in Congress. It has been said that the teamsters set the example of panic at Bull Run. We are not quite sure that this is doing full justice to the field-marshals of Congress, who urged the advance in the first instance, went out as spectators, and certainly did not take "the paths of glory" on their return to Washington.

There is no lack of testimony that, so far as it may be deemed the duty of members of Congress to decry and defame the General-in-chief of the forces in the field, it has been most diligently performed. The *salons* of Washington, the hotels on the route to and from that place, and the highways and sidewalks, concur in testifying that in all the days of the year,

and in all the hours of the day, there has been no lack of zeal on this behalf. The Chairman of the Military Committee in the Senate seems to have been specially detailed as skirmisher in this service. We submit that all these attacks upon the commander, whether the fire comes from the War Office or the halls of Congress, have a direct tendency to "discourage enlistments," and the provost-marshal should see to it.

In another department of the service, the evidence is not so direct and clear. If the historian of this war shall gain access to the sources of information, he cannot fail to give the country some light upon the proceedings of the "Committee of Congress on the Conduct of the War," besides what is contained in their voluminous report. The great object of war is to "punish our enemies." It is believed that the committee were practically adepts in this part of the science of war, and it is to be regretted that their modesty should have deprived the country of an exposition of their merits in conducting the hostilities on their part. It is supposed that in regard to another branch of modern warfare, that of "rewarding our friends," this committee were not novices; but, as in the case of testimony taken in chancery, until the time of publication arrives, the seal which shields their motives, and some of their actions, from inspection, cannot be broken.

The most astonishing blunder in the conduct of the war has been the neglect to bring a sufficient force into the field at an earlier day. It required but the comprehension of two facts, by any one whose duty it was to have ideas upon the subject, to show him, in the first instance, that the numbers of the forces of the United States in the field must be wholly inadequate to the work assigned to them. These facts are, that the rebels are in the possession of the centre of the theatre of the war, and that the United States are operating on the circumference of it. The conclusion is at once reached, that the rebels have an advantage of position which requires us to place in the field at least two men to their one, — ay, even more than that. The facility with which they can mass their troops at any given point upon the circumference, either for defence or attack, has no corresponding advantage on our side. Until the severance of the railroad communica-

tion in Tennessee, by General Mitchell, Confederate troops could be transferred from Richmond to Corinth, and *vice versa*, in a very short period, without any knowledge of the movement by the Federal commanders. But the transfer of Union forces from Washington to Nashville, or from the latter place to any point outside of Tennessee and Kentucky where such troops might be needed, not only required great length of time, but it was impossible, under existing circumstances, to make such transfer without the knowledge of the Confederate authorities that the movement had begun long before it was finally terminated. We need only indicate the necessity for this greater force, without going further into the reasons for it. Yet, in the very teeth of this obvious consideration, the chairman of the Military Committee in the Senate, in March last, said in his place : —

"It was suggested, also, that we ought to stop recruiting. I agree to that. I have over and over again been to the War Office, and urged upon the Department to stop recruiting in every part of the country. We have had the promise that it should be done ; yet every day, in different parts of the country, we have accounts of men being raised and brought forth to fill up the ranks of regiments. The papers tell us that in Tennessee, and other parts of the country where our armies move, we are filling up the ranks of the army. I believe we have to-day one hundred and fifty thousand more men under the pay of the government than we need or can well use. I have not a doubt of it ; and I think it ought to be checked. I think the War Department ought to issue peremptory orders forbidding the enlistment of another soldier into the volunteer force of the United States until the time shall come when we need them. We can obtain them any time when we need them." — *Washington Globe*, March 29, 1862.*

In accordance with the opinion thus officially expressed, the recruiting-offices were closed, and recruiting stopped, at the very time when at least half a million of men should have been put into camp and drilled for service. It was said that the recruiting-offices were expensive. A protracted warfare is much more so. In consequence of a lack of forces, the operations along the Atlantic seaboard have been confined to

* We are aware that Mr. Senator Wilson has denied that he made such statements, but the denial is entirely overborne by the affirmative evidence.

the coast, and General Burnside has not been able to penetrate into North Carolina, or the commanders at Port Royal into South Carolina or Georgia. It is unnecessary to specify other places where the same lack of troops produced like results. Still the cry went up, "On to Richmond!" and the better to enable the General-in-chief to accomplish that object, he was deprived of a large part of the force which had previously been under his command, by the creation of several departments in Virginia, with independent commanders. The idea upon which this was done must have been that a large army would encumber the general, and embarrass his operations. If General McClellan had succeeded in entering Richmond with the force under his command, unless he could have at the same time opened the James River, his whole army would inevitably have been overpowered.

It has been so long admitted that slavery as it exists in the several States is a local institution, in no way under the control of the United States, that the politicians who regard emancipation as the great end to be accomplished by the war have been somewhat puzzled to find a plausible theory on which they can hope that the people at large will sustain them. They have from time to time put forth divers propositions having emancipation as the immediate or ultimate result. They are not content with the large measure of it which must certainly and necessarily attend the successful prosecution of the war and the suppression of the rebellion; but they want the war conducted with a view to immediate emancipation. Some of the proposed modes in which it has been contended that this might be accomplished were considered in the article on Constitutional Law in our number for April last. Of proclamations for the purpose under martial law, — of the conquest of the seceded States and holding them as territories under the general right of war as between independent nations, for the purpose of emancipation, as proposed by Mr. Conway,* — and of the theory set forth in Mr.

* On the theory of the government maintained by the rebels as the basis of the rebellion, the seceding States may be conquered, and held as territories. If the Constitution were a compact, and any State might lawfully secede at pleasure, the act of secession by a State would be perfect when it adopted an ordinance of seces-

Sumner's resolutions, that those States have forfeited their State rights by State suicide, and thus fall under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, as other territories, and that thereupon certain of their peculiar local institutions are terminated, — we need not speak further. They seem to have been abandoned for other modes of conducting the war.

Judging from the course of the ultra abolitionists, in and out of Congress, it would seem that they supposed that what we lacked in troops we could make up by declarations or proclamations of emancipation, and with much greater effect. The fierce cry of "On to Richmond!" has been exceeded only by the fiercer cry for a proclamation of emancipation; and it has been urged with an earnestness which ought to be indicative of the conviction, that without such proclamation we could accomplish nothing, and with it could attain everything. Indeed, such has been substantially their declaration.

The formula of the argument by which this class of persons carry on the war at present is substantially this: — Slavery is the cause of the rebellion. In order to a successful prosecution of the war, we must destroy the cause. Nothing else can be effectual. We must strike at the root of the insurrection. And the axe which is to be laid at the root is — a proclamation. It has been contended that the President, under the war power, could issue a proclamation; and when the inquiry has been made, what authority the President has to proclaim emancipation, the answer has been, If he cannot do it as President, he may take the field, and do it as commander-in-chief. In fact the "WE" of Mr. Horace Greeley do not need the aid of the war power to reach the conclusion that the President might declare emancipation. In his letter addressed to the President, entitled "The Prayer of Twenty Millions," it is said: —

"Had you, Sir, in your Inaugural Address, unmistakably given notice that, in case the rebellion already commenced were persisted in, and your efforts to preserve the Union and enforce the laws should

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sion. From that time, of course, on this theory, the seceding State becomes, as to the United States, a foreign state, and, in a war between them, the latter may be conquered, and thereafter held like any other conquered territory. All its laws may be changed at the pleasure of the conqueror.

be resisted by armed force, *you would recognize no loyal person as rightfully held in slavery by a traitor*, we believe the rebellion would therein have received a staggering, if not fatal blow. . . . . .

"Had you then proclaimed that rebellion would strike the shackles from the slaves of every traitor, the wealthy and the cautious would have been supplied with a powerful inducement to remain loyal. As it was, every coward in the South soon became a traitor from fear; for loyalty was perilous, while treason seemed comparatively safe. Hence the boasted unanimity of the South,—a unanimity based on rebel terrorism, and the fact that immunity and safety were found on that side, danger and probable death on ours. The rebels from the first have been eager to confiscate, imprison, scourge, and kill; we have fought wolves with the devices of sheep."

We thus perceive what might have been done by a declaration or proclamation. Siege guns, shells, solid shot, telescopic rifles, and Minié bullets are as nothing when compared with a proclamation.

We shall not detain our readers by an argument to show that the President, with or without a cocked-hat, has no power to emancipate the slaves, even of rebels. We have no certain assurance that he might not, if he should act in accordance with the requirements of the "WE" of Mr. Horace Greeley, become himself, officially, *felo de se*. But we trust that he will carefully abstain from any kind of suicide, and his answer to the requirements gives us great encouragement.

The war power under the Constitution acting by proclamation seems not, upon consideration, to have been regarded as entirely satisfactory by Congress, and thereupon that body undertook, in the shape of "An Act to suppress Insurrection, to punish Treason and Rebellion, to seize and confiscate the Property of Rebels, and for other Purposes," passed July 17, 1862, to provide for emancipation, in the shape of confiscation. Although the provisions of the act appear in a form somewhat different from those of a bill upon which the eloquent Senator from California made the speech, in March last, to which we refer our readers for a learned discussion respecting bills of attainder and confiscation, still the great purpose of emancipation is made manifest throughout. Emancipation as a punishment seems to be uniform, whatever may

be the difference of punishment in other respects. That the emancipation was designed to take effect immediately after the expiration of sixty days from the President's proclamation to the rebels to lay down their arms, seems clear from the act itself. And the sixth section contains a provision, that "all slaves of such persons [persons engaged in rebellion] found or being within any place occupied by rebel forces, and afterwards occupied by the forces of the United States, shall be deemed captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves." Each of the seceding States is a "place occupied by rebel forces." And we trust that every such place will yet be "occupied by the forces of the United States." Is the provision designed to make all the slaves in such "places" free, as captives of war, without trial or judgment? We ask for information.

We are admonished by our limits that we cannot discuss the construction of this act at large. There are two or three propositions which we place before our readers for their consideration.

1. Slavery is not the cause of the rebellion* in the sense in which the emancipationists use that phraseology. Slavery is the pretext on which the leaders of the rebellion rely "to fire the Southern heart," and through which the greatest degree of unanimity can be produced. It is a subject upon which the slaveholders, and many at the South who are not so, are exceedingly sensitive. Mr. Calhoun, after finding that the South could not be brought into sufficient unanimity by a clamor about the tariff, selected slavery as the better subject for agitation. And the ultra abolitionists have not failed to supply sufficient fuel to keep the matter at a white heat. All these projects for immediate emancipation at the present time are direct aids to the rebellion.

It is the inordinate political ambition of the Southern politicians which is the cause of the rebellion, — slavery being only a remote agency, as it fosters and develops that ambition, and furnishes it with a subject for agitation; just as the personal ambition of some of the most prominent antislavery

* A recent report in the Legislature of Kentucky takes the same view.

men of the North is the cause of their zeal for abolition, their love for the negro and for human freedom being assumed as the best subject on which to agitate themselves into public office. If the nullification of 1832 had become an active rebellion, the tariff would not have been the cause of the war, but only the pretext for it.

2. There can be no confiscation for treason, consistently with the Constitution, without a trial and conviction.*

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* The writer in the Boston Courier who assailed the North American Review in general, and the article on Habeas Corpus and Martial Law in our number for October, 1861, in particular, and whom, in a note to the article on Constitutional Law in our number for April last, we charged with gross misrepresentations of our positions, proving our charge by extracts, has not, so far as we are aware, made any response to that charge, either by way of denial or admission; but "G. T. C.," *who for aught we know may be the same personage*, and to whom we paid our respects in a note on Confiscation, appended to the same article, was stirred up to a reply. As we have the subject of Confiscation again under consideration, we will bestow a brief notice upon it. We are particularly induced to do so by this paragraph contained in it:—

"In the view of the North American, the Constitution has provided that you cannot forfeit more than a life estate in lands by a verdict *and* judgment, but you may forfeit all personalty by a verdict alone, which may be set aside by the court the next day as unwarranted by the law and the evidence. The defendant is then tried again, and acquitted. He is innocent;—but his personal property is forfeited, and gone. He is punished before he is ascertained to be guilty; and when the investigation is completed in accordance with the rules of law, he is found to be innocent when the punishment was inflicted."—*Boston Courier*, April 12, 1862.

Now the North American has suggested no such view, nor enunciated any proposition which in the most remote degree countenances such a conclusion. Did it not occur to G. T. C., when he penned that paragraph, that at the common law there was no practice by which a verdict could be set aside and a new trial granted in cases of treason and felony, and that there was, therefore, at the common law, no opportunity for the preposterous consequence which he suggests as the view of the North American, to wit, that there might be a verdict of guilty, and thereupon a forfeiture of the personal property, and then the verdict be set aside and an acquittal be had upon a new trial, but the forfeiture remain complete and effective?

"In case of felony or treason, it seems to be completely settled, that no *new trial* can, in any case, be granted; but if the conviction appear to the judge to be improper, he may respite the execution to enable the defendant to apply for a pardon."—1 Chitty's Criminal Law, 654. See 6 Durn. & East, 625, 638; 13 East, 416, note *b*, and other authorities.

It is true, that it was early settled that a new trial may be granted in an indictment for treason, in the United States. 3 Dallas, 515, *United States* vs. *Fries*. But under the practice here, of setting aside verdicts in capital cases and granting new trials, no such consequence as that stated by G. T. C. could follow, because when the verdict is set aside the case stands as if it had never been rendered.

"A new trial is a rehearing of the cause, before another jury; but with as little prejudice to either party as if it had never been heard before."—3 Black. 391.

3. A provision that slaves who have taken no part in the war shall be deemed captives of war, and free upon the occu-

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And this is equally true of criminal as of civil cases. Was G. T. C. ignorant of all this, or is the paragraph which we have cited above only another instance of his way of putting things? The verdict is set aside because there has been no rightful trial, and so no rightful conviction, and the necessary result is, that there could be no rightful forfeiture arising from such verdict. All the incidents attached to it have gone with it. But there may afterwards be another verdict and conviction, which might operate as a forfeiture if the old common law rules were in force; or there may be an acquittal, which will leave the matter as if there had been an acquittal in the first instance. The foregoing extract, however, is a pretty fair specimen of G. T. C.'s mode of argument.

We pass now to the main question, to wit, whether the Constitution limits the power of Congress in relation to the forfeiture of personal estate, as a punishment for treason, so that the title to his personal estate cannot be taken away for any longer period than during the life of the traitor, leaving a remainder or reversion in such personal estate to fall to his executors, or administrators, — which was the doctrine originally maintained by G. T. C., and applied by him particularly to a forfeiture of slaves, who, he admits, are personal, and not real property. We conceded that the Constitution limited the forfeiture of real property to an estate for life, and pointed out the distinction between the forfeiture of goods and chattels — which by the common law occurred upon the conviction of the offender, and related to the time of the conviction, respecting which the Constitution is silent — and that of real estate, the forfeiture of which by the common law arose from the judgment and attainder relating back to the commission of the offence, and which the Constitution refers to and limits, so that Congress cannot constitutionally punish treason by a forfeiture of real estate for any longer term than the life of the traitor, be that term greater or less.

We copied several passages from Blackstone, to show that the forfeiture of personal property arose upon conviction before judgment. G. T. C. says, that Blackstone, "although a most elegant, was not always the most accurate of writers," and says, that he "has made a very imperfect statement of common law on this subject."

Now let us see what Coke says: —

"If a felon be convicted by verdict, confession, or recreancie, he doth forfeit his goods and chattels, &c. presently. For where a reason hath beene yeelded in our bookes, that the praying of his clergie was a refusall of the law, and for that cause he forfeited his goods and chattels, that doth not hold; for if a man be convict of pettie treason, or murder, or any other crime for which he cannot have his clergie, yet by the verie conviction he forfeiteth his goods and chattels before attainder. And *Stanford* (speaking of a felon convict by verdict) saith that he shall forfeit his goods which he had at the time of the verdict given, which is the conviction in that case," &c. "So as by a conviction of a felon, his goods and chattels are forfeited; but by attainder that is by judgment given, his lands and tenements are forfeited, and his bloud corrupted, and not before." — Co. Lit. 391, *a*.

It may very well be true that the king could not seize the goods to the use of the crown, nor grant them away to any applicant until after judgment. This is perfectly consistent with the fact that they were forfeited. It was the just policy of the same law which caused the forfeiture to occur upon conviction, to permit the goods to be applied to the support of the traitor and his family, and to the payment of his debts, notwithstanding the forfeiture. (Considerations on the Law of Forfeiture in High Treason, 81, 82.) And this shows the reason why the king

pation of the place where they are found by the forces of the United States, (by reason of the rebellion of their masters,

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could not seize the goods, nor grant them to another, in the intermediate time between the conviction and the judgment. It would seem from some of the older authorities that the goods might be inventoried, and security taken, after indictment, and prior to the conviction. (See 2 Hawkins, P. C., ch. 49.) It is said to be the better opinion that the party might take the mean profits of his land up to the judgment, although the forfeiture related back to the time of the offence. (Ibid., sec. 32.)

We submit that there is nothing in the authorities cited by G. T. C. which conflicts with these views; and it is quite evident that his labored argument to show that the forfeiture of goods and chattels is "*worked*" by the attainder has no sound foundation.

It will be noted that we have nowhere contended that there is in this country any forfeiture arising from conviction.

There is another matter to show the true construction of the Constitution. G. T. C. says: "If the Reviewer had a clause which read, 'No attainder of treason shall work forfeiture of real estate, except during the life of the person attainted,' he would have a better ground from which to criticise my construction. Even then, however, he would find it difficult to discover why the framers of the instrument should have assumed that an 'attainder' had nothing to do with personalty." And with reference to our remark, that "a forfeiture of a life estate in personal property, of which the traitor had the absolute title, would certainly be an anomaly," he says: "It is not denied that they limited the forfeiture of real property to an estate for the life of the traitor. Is that not as much of an anomaly, in reference to the old common law, with all its searches into every possible interest in land, as the forfeiture of a life interest in personalty?" We answer, that it is not. But suppose it were so, what has that to do with the argument? If we have no clause of the Constitution which reads, "No attainder of treason shall work forfeiture of real estate, except," &c., we have the fact that such was the law of England prior to the adoption of the Constitution, and the framers of it undoubtedly had reference to the change which had been made in the law there. The "old common law" was altered by the Statute of 7th of Anne, ch. 21, which contained a proviso that, after the decease of the Pretender, &c., "no attainder for treason shall extend to the disinheriting of an heir, nor to the prejudice of the right or title of any person or persons, other than the right or title of the offender or offenders during his, her, or their natural lives only; and it shall and may be lawful to every person or persons to whom the right or interest of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, after the death of any such offender or offenders, should or might have appertained if no such attainder had been, to enter into the same." (See 2 Hawk. P. C., ch. 49, sec. 52.) Was G. T. C. not aware of this statute, or was his reference to the "old common law" in connection with the Constitution, instead of a reference to this statute, another instance of his peculiar mode of discussion? It may well be assumed, we think, that this provision of the Statute of Anne was the foundation of the clause which was inserted in the Constitution, in fewer words, but with the same meaning. And thus there is not only no anomaly, but a perfect accordance, between the constitutional provision and the law of England as it was in force after the Statute of Anne.

We suggest to G. T. C. that, the next time he takes occasion to controvert the positions of the North American, it may be well for him to state them and their consequences fairly, and without any attempt to get up an argument founded on a misrepresentation, either express or implied; and we commend this matter to his particular consideration.

but without any trial of the question of rebellion,) is but another mode of enacting emancipation, the captivity being figurative, and the emancipation being the reality. It looks very much like a bill of attainder by Congress, which is forbidden by the Constitution, and there is the further objection to it, that it does not appear on whom it is going to operate, until its operation is practically perfected.*

All the accounts from the army uniformly represent that the soldiers who have thus far fought our battles have neither part nor lot in these projects for universal emancipation. "Let it once be understood," said an educated and intelligent colonel of a regiment which had seen hard service, "let it once be understood that this is a war for the emancipation of the negro, instead of a war in defence of the Constitution, and three quarters of the army would lay down their arms." It is those who stay at home and make impassioned speeches about liberty for the slave, and those who sit and listen and shout, but do not fight, that seek to make emanciption the object of the war. They have two ideas among them. Some, and the greater portion, of those who shout are philanthropists, part of them by profession, a majority by the genuine kindness of their hearts. These have not the faculty of reason strong enough to enable them to consider and judge into what a gulf of perdition any breach of the Constitution by the North at this time may plunge us; nor the caution which counsels not to give up a certain good for an uncertainty. They forget the eloquent peroration of Mr. Webster, in his speech on Nullification. Their idea is emancipation for the sake of emancipation, and some of them would prefer that the Union should be dissolved if slavery cannot be abolished. Another portion of them, consisting of the speech-makers in general, and their

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* Mr. T. D. Elliot, a Representative in Congress, who made a speech, September 9, at Worcester, the evening before what has been called "the Republican Convention" was held at that place, is thus reported: — "'After the war,' said he, 'there can be no *status ante bellum*.' Mr. Elliot was sure that the time would come when we, joining hands with the Democrats, should demand freedom for the slave, and service for the freedman." — *Boston Daily Advertiser*, September 10.

It may therefore be supposed that this is to be the watchword. The meaning, if we understand it, is that the slave shall be emancipated by compulsion, and then the master required to hire him.

body-guard, are striving to avail themselves of the philanthropy of the portion first named, by securing its support for all the various offices of which they are among the most diligent seekers under the face of the heavens. Their idea is office, office, office. It would seem as if many of them would give up their chance of heaven for an office; and perhaps, humanly speaking, the bargain might be regarded as a good one. In senate-chambers and on stumps, in pulpits and at picnics, in camp-meetings and at commencements, "the everlasting negro" is supposed to be the best bid for the votes of those whose hearts are better than their heads, who act as if slavery were the only form of oppression on earth, and who place no great estimate on the blessings of a free government, in comparison with emancipation, because after emancipation is once effected we shall have reached their millennium.

The question which is presented by the leaders of this party, at the present time, is whether we are ready to usurp a power not conferred by the Constitution of the United States, violate all the oaths which we have taken to support it, make this a war upon State rights, destroy a portion of the sovereignty of the States, which they unquestionably possessed upon the declaration of independence and the treaty of peace with Great Britain, and have never parted with, and thereby break up the union of the States under the Constitution. To this we unhesitatingly answer, No, a thousand times, No. This would be a revolution on the part of the North, and we are satisfied that an attempt to conduct the war on this basis must result in the final acknowledgment of the independence of the seceding States.

We desire not to be misunderstood, and we shall be glad not to be misrepresented. Our opposition to slavery knows none but constitutional and prudential limits. We have labored with all our powers for the restriction of slavery in the Territories, which we have no doubt is constitutional, the opinion of half a dozen judges of the Supreme Court to the contrary notwithstanding, and we should most heartily rejoice if some mode could be devised for the extinction of slavery in the States, without entailing upon the country worse evils. But we denounce with unqualified condemnation the philanthropy,

or the treason, call it which you please, that would violate the Constitution of the United States, and subvert the constitutions even of the seceding States, and thereby destroy the union of the States, and the hopes of constitutional liberty for the white race, in order to give freedom at once to four millions of slaves, seven eighths of whom would not know how to use it when they had obtained it, and who must suffer incomparably greater hardships, under existing circumstances, from such a gift, if it could be conferred on them by a Presidential proclamation, than they have thus far by the servitude to which they are subjected, which is unquestionably bad enough. If this insane persistence in the call for emancipation, either by proclamation or by confiscation first and trial afterward, shall result in divided counsels and divided effort at the North, and thereupon the rebellion shall by any possibility be successful, we do not propose to be numbered among those upon whose miserable heads the storm of popular indignation will fall, rightfully and pitilessly, and perhaps to a bitter end.

If the Union of the States is dissolved, the non-slaveholding States may possibly for a time remain united under one government. But we have no assurance that the free navigation of the Mississippi might not, at no distant day, induce the Western States to join the Southern Confederacy. Their material interests would in that case to some extent be advantaged thereby. It has already been held out as a lure to them to desist from their opposition.

In conclusion, we would say that we are in favor of the prosecution of the war with the greatest possible vigor. It has been forced upon the North, as we have shown, under circumstances of the most atrocious character. We could not refuse to fight without dishonor. We cannot fail of victory without subjugation. The rebel Provost Marshal of Frederick is careering through the streets, with the flag of the United States tied to his stirrup and trailing in the dust. Shall we not fight? Those who cannot appreciate fighting for the honor of our flag, for the success of republican institutions, for the cause of freedom, and the hopes of the world, may perhaps understand, from what we have stated, that a peace

which should give the rebels the control of the Mississippi would render the Free States tributary to the Southern Confederacy. It is idle to talk about a treaty for the free navigation of the river, or a declaration making it an open sea. To persons who cast aside all their constitutional obligations, and disregard their most solemn official oaths, the stipulations of a treaty would impose as little restraint as the meshes of a cobweb; and whenever passion or interest should require it, the banks of the river would again bristle with batteries, for the destruction of Northwestern commerce.

We are in favor of the organization and arming of negro regiments and brigades, if the time has come when they can be made available without detriment to the public service. The Confederates would not hesitate to do the same, if they could trust the negroes. Slaves are property, and the rebels do not hesitate to use any of our property, when it falls in their way, against us. Ah! but when we suggest this, slaves immediately become persons, and very dangerous persons. Well, we hope we shall not disturb the sensitive nerves of our Transatlantic cousins (who blow rebels from the mouths of their cannon, and whine hypocritically about the sinking in Charleston harbor of a few old vessels loaded with stone, as an outrage on civilization) when we say, that, if it becomes necessary, for the suppression of the rebellion, we are in favor of placing arms in the hands of these persons, and letting them fight in their own parties, and under their own leadership. That will be a proclamation for freedom of a practical character. It may be fast coming to this. European sympathizers with the rebellion may as well prepare their hartshorn. Great Britain armed the Indians against us in the Revolution, and in the war of 1812. It is, we suppose, one of those things which, according to the London Times, she does not intend to do again — until she finds an opportunity. The South have armed the Indians against us in this war, as others besides Mr. Albert Pike can testify. All over the South and Southwest, men have formed themselves into guerilla bands, which murder, destroy, burn, and pillage. And we do not perceive the essential difference between black and white guerillas. It may be that the slaves thus armed will commit some atrocities.

We shall regret it. But we repeat, This war has been forced upon us. We have sent to the field our bravest and our best. The idols of happy homes have fallen by hardship, disease, and battle, and deep anguish has come to many a Northern household. We know no reason why we should be more tender of the she-dragons of the South, who have been so loud-mouthed in the cry for secession and war, than we are of the best and dearest of our sons, who are marching under an intolerable heat and falling by the wayside, tenanting loathsome Southern prisons, dying of the fever of the camp, mangled by the missiles of war, not only in open conflict, but from the stealthy ambuscade of the Southern guerilla, and lying for days uncared for on an unfortunate battle-field of which we did not retain the possession. We hesitate not to say, that it will be better, immeasurably better, that the rebellion should be crushed, even with the incidental consequences attendant on a servile insurrection, than that the hopes of the world in the capacity of mankind to maintain free institutions should expire with American liberty.

Whatever of emancipation comes by the most vigorous prosecution of the war will come without any violation of constitutional obligations, and without any revolutionary measures on our part; and we do not object to it. We are persuaded that there will be quite as much of it as the country can provide for, and this without any necessity for the reconstruction of our institutions, which it is idle to suppose can be done in a peaceable manner. The constitutional free government founded by our fathers has been transmitted to us as a priceless inheritance, and with God's help we intend to maintain it, that it may descend to our children.

ART. X. — *Among the Pines: or South in Secession Time.* By EDMUND KIRKE. New York: J. R. Gilmore. 1862. 12mo. pp. 310.

THIS is a very remarkable book, and, if we assume the truth of its representations, a very valuable addition to the number of works we have had of late years on life in the South. It shows us what slavery is and how it works, and it discloses the secret springs of the Southern rebellion. It forces upon us problems which many of us have in the past been in the habit of refusing even to consider, but with which the progress of events has now confronted us, and which seem to be pressing irresistibly and rapidly to a solution. It suggests conclusions which most of us, a few years ago, would have deemed fanatical, chimerical, and destructive, but which the most sober and most conservative are now beginning to regard as practically inevitable, and possibly, if not probably, the safest and best for the nation and for all classes, — whether in an economical, political, social, or moral point of view, — supplying, in fact, the only possible conditions of a real harmony of interest and feeling between the South and the North, and of the permanent unity of the national life.

The book is not a novel; yet it possesses the attraction of a highly wrought and powerful work of fiction. It has an intense and terrible interest in some parts of its story, — proving the truth of the saying that the strange things of real life are stranger than fiction, — and the scenes, incidents, and characters are portrayed with uncommon graphic and dramatic power. Yet the work is not only not a regular novel, but we are told by the author that there is absolutely nothing fictitious in it, save in the alteration of a few names and dates. In the concluding chapter, he says: —

"This is not a work of fiction. It is a record of facts, and therefore the reader will not expect me to dispose of its various characters on artistic principles, — to lay them away in one of those final repositories for the creations of the romancer, the grave or matrimony. Death has been among them, but nearly all are yet doing their work in this breathing, busy world.

"The characters I have introduced are real. They are not drawn with the pencil of fancy, nor, I trust, colored with the tints of prejudice. The scenes I have described are true. I have taken some liberties with the names of persons and places, and in a few instances altered dates; but the events themselves occurred under my own observation. No one acquainted with the section of country I have described, or familiar with the characters I have delineated, will question this statement. Lest some one who has not seen the slave and the 'poor white' man of the South as he actually is, should deem my picture overdrawn, I will say that 'the half has not been told.' If the whole were related, — if the Southern system, in all its native ugliness, were fully exposed, — the truth would read like fiction, and the baldest relation of fact like the wildest dream of romance." — pp. 303, 304.

It is precisely the truth of the things told in this book — and that not merely because of their romantic and profoundly exciting interest for the imagination and the feelings, but for their significance to the statesman and the thinking man — which makes it a remarkable work. The author is mainly intent on telling what he saw and heard, and stops but seldom to make reflections or to draw inferences; but the material he supplies for those who are capable of conducting such processes upon facts is abundant. It will not impair the faith of any one in his testimony, and will doubtless give greater value to it with many, to add that the author had never been an Abolitionist, but, as he himself tells us, "an anti-Abolitionist and a Southern sympathizer," — that he was once a "Clay and Webster Whig," then a Democrat, and voted against Mr. Lincoln. Whatever change has been wrought in his opinions on slavery is due to his visit to the South, and to his own observation of the system.

It was not our purpose, in noticing this book, to make it the occasion and text of any disquisition of our own on slavery, or of any discussion of the immense questions growing out of the relations of slavery to the rebellion, which Time, the great resolver of historical problems, must before a great while decisively settle. We merely proposed to put upon our pages such extracts as might give our readers who may not have met with the book (if any there are) a little clearer and fuller notion of its quality, and of the sort of material for

reflection which it contains, than any general criticism would afford. But we find we must content ourselves with accomplishing very imperfectly what we could not adequately do without taking up more of our space than we have to spare. Something about the state of feeling among the negroes, something about the "poor whites," and something about the causes of the rebellion, we will, however, select.

In the latter part of the month of December, 1860, just after the passage of the ordinance of secession by South Carolina, the author, a resident of New York, but of New-England birth, goes on a visit of two or three weeks to a gentleman living in the northeastern part of the Palmetto State, with whom he had been for several years in relations of intimate friendship. The negro, *Scipio*, who drives him from Georgetown to the plantation of his friend, a distance of seventy miles, is a remarkable person.

"He was," says the author, "a native African, and a most original and interesting specimen of his class. His thin, close-cut lips, straight nose, and European features contrasted strangely with a skin of ebon blackness, and the quiet, simple dignity of his manner betokoned superior intelligence. His story was a strange one. When a boy, with his mother, he was kidnapped by a hostile tribe, and sold to the traders at Cape Lopez, on the western coast of Africa. There, in the slave-pen, the mother died, and he, a child of seven years, was sent in the slave-ship to Cuba. At Havana, when sixteen, he attracted the notice of a gentleman residing in Charleston, who bought him and took him to 'the States.' He lived as house-servant in the family of this gentleman till 1855, when his master died, leaving him a legacy to a daughter. This lady, a kind, indulgent mistress, had since allowed him to 'hire his time,' and he then carried on an 'independent business,' as porter, and doer of all work around the wharves and streets of Georgetown. He thus gained a comfortable living, besides paying to his mistress one hundred and fifty dollars yearly for the privilege of earning his own support. In every way he was a remarkable negro, and my three days' acquaintance with him banished from my mind all doubt as to the capacity of the black for freedom, and all question as to the disposition of the slave to strike off his chains when the favorable moment arrives. From him I learned that the blacks, though pretending ignorance, are fully acquainted with the questions at issue in the pending contest. He expressed the opinion, that war would come in conse-

quence of the stand South Carolina had taken; and when I said to him: 'But if it comes you will be no better off. It will end in a compromise, and leave you where you are.' He answered: 'No, massa, 't wont do dat. De Souf will fight hard, and de Norf will get de blood up, and come down har, and do 'way wid de *cause* ob all de trubble, — and dat am de nigga.'

"'But,' I said, 'perhaps the South will drive the North back; as you say, they will fight hard.'

"'Dat dey will, massa, dey'm de fightin' sort, but dey can't whip de Norf, 'cause you see dey 'll fight wid only one hand. *When dey fight de Norf wid de right hand, dey 'll hev to hold de nigga wid de leff.*'

"'But,' I replied, 'the blacks wont rise; most of you have kind masters and fare well.'

"'Dat 's true, massa, but dat an't freedom, and de black lub freedom as much as de white. De same blessed Lord made dem both, and He made dem all 'like, 'cep de skin. De blacks hab strong hands, and when de day come you 'll see dey hab heads, too!'

"Much other conversation, showing him possessed of a high degree of intelligence, passed between us. In answer to my question if he had a family, he said: 'No, sar. My blood shall neber be slaves! Ole massa flog me and threaten to kill me 'cause I would n't take to de wimmin; but I tole him to kill, dat 't would be more his loss dan mine.'

"I asked if the negroes generally felt as he did, and he told me that many did; that nearly all would fight for their freedom if they had the opportunity, though some preferred slavery because they were sure of being cared for when old and infirm, not considering that if their labor, while they were strong, made their masters rich, the same labor would afford *them* provision against old age. He told me that there are in the *district* of Georgetown twenty thousand blacks, and not more than two thousand whites, and 'Suppose,' he added, 'dat one quarter ob dese niggas rise, — de rest keep still, — whar den would de white folks be?'

"'Of course,' I replied, 'they would be taken at a disadvantage; but it would not be long before aid came from Charleston, and you would be overpowered.'

"'No, massa, de chivarly, as you call dem, would be 'way in Virginny, and 'fore dey hard of it, Massa Seward would hab troops 'nough in Georgetown to chaw up de hull State in less dan no time.'

"'But you have no leaders,' I said, 'no one to direct the movement. Your race is not a match for the white in generalship, and without generals, whatever your numbers, you would fare hardly.'

"To this he replied, an elevated enthusiasm lighting up his face, 'De Lord, massa, made generals ob Gideon and David, and de black man know as much 'bout war as dey did; p'raps,' he added, with a quiet humor, 'de black aint equal to de white. I knows most ob de great men, like Washington and John and James and Paul, and dem ole fellers war white, but dar war Two Sand (Toussaint l'Ouverture), de Brack Douglass, and de Nigga Demus (Nicodemus), dey war black.'

"The argument was unanswerable, and I said nothing. If the day which sees the rising of the Southern blacks comes to this generation, that negro will be among the leaders." — pp. 18 – 22.

It is evident that Scipio's notions on the policy of putting down the rebellion were somewhat different from those which have possessed our Administration. Which were the wisest, time will show. This Scipio, by the way, shows himself a fellow of noble impulses, and of a high moral courage, — twice putting his own life in peril for others in the few days of our author's acquaintance with him.

We must pass over the incidents of the journey, — its perils by flood and field, and Secession bullies, — the remarkable conversation with Colonel Alston, disclosing the views entertained by him and other leading Secessionists at that time, and, with greater reluctance, the night passed at the hovel of a "poor white" family, and the graphic picture of the squalid poverty, ignorance, and degradation of that class of the Southern population. We cannot, however, omit Scipio's remarks the next day: —

"As we rode along I said to the driver, 'Scip, what did you think of our lodgings?'

"'Mighty pore, massa. Niggas lib better 'n dat."

"'Yes,' I replied, 'but these folks despise you blacks; they seem to be both poor and proud.'

"'Yas, massa, dey'm pore 'cause dey wont work, and dey'm proud 'cause dey'r white. Dey wont work 'cause dey see de darky slaves doin' it, and tink it am beneaf white folks to do as de darkies do. *Dis habin' slaves keeps dis hull country pore.*'

"'Who told you that?' I asked, astonished at hearing a remark showing so much reflection from a negro.

"'Nobody, massa, I see it myseff.'

"'Are there many of these poor whites around Georgetown?'

"'Not many 'round Georgetown, sar, but great many in de up-country har, and dey'm all 'like, — pore and no account; none ob 'em kin read, and dey all eat clay.'

"'Eat clay!' I said; 'what do you mean by that?'

"'Did n't you see, massa, how yaller all dem wimmin war? Dat 's 'cause dey eat clay. De little children begin 'fore dey kin walk, and dey eat it till dey die; dey chaw it like 'backer. It makes all dar stumacs big, like as you seed 'em, and spiles dar 'gestion. It 'm mighty onhealfy.'

"'Can it be possible that human beings do such things! The brutes would n't do that.'

"'No, massa, but *dey* do it; dey'm pore trash. Dat 's what de big folks call 'em, and it am true; *dey'm long way lower down dan de darkies.*'" — pp. 82, 83.

We here introduce a conversation subsequently held by our author with his friend the planter, because it puts in a striking light the relation between the slaveholding oligarchy and the "poor whites." This wretched class — constituting a great majority of the white population, living in miserable hovels that stand by sufferance on the lands of the planters, too proud to do such work as is done by slaves, too ignorant and shiftless for anything higher, getting a poor subsistence by poaching and thieving, or at least by hunting opossums for themselves and runaway negroes for the planters — are an element as indispensable as the slaves in the aristocratic system of the South.

The conversation between the author and his host took place on leaving the cabin of one of these negro-hunters.

"'Dogs must be rare in this region,' I remarked as we resumed our seats.

"'Yes, well-trained bloodhounds are scarce everywhere. That dog is well worth a hundred and fifty dollars.'

"'The business of nigger-catching, then, is brisk just now?'

"'No, not more brisk than usual. We always have more or less runaways.'

"'Do most of them take to the swamps?'

"'Yes, nine out of ten do, though now and then one gets off on a trading vessel. It is impossible for a strange nigger to make his way by land from here to the Free States.'

"'Then why do you Carolinians make such an outcry about the violation of the Fugitive Slave Law?'

"'For the same reason that dogs quarrel over a naked bone. We should be unhappy if we could n't growl at the Yankees,' replied the Colonel, laughing.

"'*We*, you say; you mean by that, the hundred and eighty thousand nabobs who own five sixths of your slaves?'

"'Yes, I mean them, and the three millions of poor whites, — the ignorant, half-starved, lazy vermin you have just seen. *They* are the real basis of our Southern oligarchy, as you call it,' continued my host, still laughing.

"'I thought the negroes were the serfs in your feudal system?'

"'Both the negroes and the poor whites are the serfs, but the white trash are its real support. Their votes give the small minority of slave-owners all their power. You say we control the Union. We do, and we do it by the votes of these people, who are as far below our niggers as the niggers are below decent white men. Who that reflects that this country has been governed for fifty years by such scum, would give a d—— for republican institutions?'

"'It does speak badly for *your* institutions. A system that reduces nearly half of a white population to the level of slaves cannot stand in this country. The late election shows that the power of your "white trash" is broken.'

"'Well, it does, that 's a fact. If the States should remain together, the West would in future control the Union. We see that, and are therefore determined on dissolution. It is our only way to keep our niggers.'

"'The West will have to consent to that project. My opinion is, your present policy will, if carried out, free every one of your slaves.'

"'I don't see how. Even if we are put down, — which we cannot be, — and are held in the Union against our will, government cannot, by the Constitution, interfere with slavery in the States.'

"'I admit that; but it can confiscate the property of traitors. Every large slaveholder is to-day, at heart, a traitor. If this movement goes on, you will commit overt acts against the government, and in self-defence it will punish treason by taking from you the means of future mischief.'

"'The Republicans and Abolitionists might do that if they had the power, but nearly one half of the North is on our side, and will not fight us.'

"'Perhaps so; but if *I* had this thing to manage, I would put you down without fighting.'

"'How would you do it, — by preaching abolition where even the niggers would mob you? There 's not a slave in all South Carolina but would shoot Garrison or Greeley on sight.'

"'That may be, but if so, it is because you keep them in ignorance. Build a free-school at every cross-road, and teach the poor whites, and what would become of slavery? If these people were on a par with the farmers of New England, would it last for an hour? Would they not see that it stands in the way of their advancement, and vote it out of existence as a nuisance?'

"'Yes, perhaps they would; but the school-houses are not at the cross-roads, and, thank God, they will not be there in this generation.'

"'The greater the pity; but that which will not flourish alongside of a school-house cannot, in the nature of things, outlast this century. Its time must soon come.'

"'Enough for the day is the evil thereof. I 'll risk the future of slavery, if the South, in a body, goes out of the Union.'

"'In other words, you 'll shut out schools and knowledge, in order to keep slavery in existence. The Abolitionists claim it to be a relic of barbarism, and you admit it could not exist with general education among the people.'

"'Of course it could not. If Sandy [the negro-hunter], for instance, knew he were as good a man as I am, — and he would be if he were educated, — do you suppose he would vote as I tell him, go and come at my bidding, and live on my charity? No, sir! give a man knowledge, and, however poor he may be, he 'll act for himself.'

"'Then free-schools and general education would destroy slavery?'

"'Of course they would. The few cannot rule when the many know their rights. If the poor whites realized that slavery kept them poor, would they not vote it down? But the South and the world are a long way off from general education. When it comes to that, we shall need no laws, and no slavery, for the millennium will have arrived.'

"'I 'm glad you think slavery will not exist during the millennium,' I replied, good-humoredly; 'but how is it that you insist the negro is naturally inferior to the white, and still admit that the "white trash" are far below the black slaves?'

"'Education makes the difference. We educate the negro enough to make him useful to us; but the poor white man knows nothing. He can neither read nor write, and not only that, he is not trained to any useful employment. Sandy, here, who is a fair specimen of the tribe, obtains his living just like an Indian, by hunting, fishing, and stealing, interspersed with nigger-catching. His whole wealth consists of two hounds and pups; his house — even the wooden trough his miserable children eat from — belongs to me. If he did n't catch a runaway nigger once in a while, he would n't see a dime from one year to another.'

"'Then you have to support this man and his family?'

"'Yes, what I don't give him he steals. Half a dozen others poach on me in the same way.'

"'Why don't you set them at work?'

"'They can't be made to work. I have hired them time and again, hoping to make something of them, but I never got one to work more than half a day at a time. It's their nature to lounge and to steal.'

"'Then why do you keep them about you?'

"'Well, to be candid, their presence is of use in keeping the blacks in subordination, and they are worth all they cost me, because I control their votes.'" — pp. 172 – 176.

In writing out his narrative, after his return from the South, the author adds a note in regard to his estimate of the number of slave-owners mentioned above, and expresses his opinion on a point of great importance. We give a part of it: —

"The foregoing statistics are correct. That small number of slaveholders sustains the system of slavery, and has caused this terrible rebellion. They are, almost to a man, rebels and secessionists, and we may cover the South with armies, and keep a file of soldiers upon every plantation, and not smother this insurrection, unless we break down the power of that class. Their wealth gives them their power, and their wealth is in their slaves. Free their negroes by an act of emancipation, or confiscation, and the rebellion will crumble to pieces in a day. Omit to do it, and it will last till doomsday.

"The power of this dominant class once broken, with landed property at the South more equally divided, a new order of things will arise there. Where now, with their large plantations, not one acre in ten is tilled, a system of small farms will spring into existence, and the whole country be covered with cultivation. The six hundred thousand men who have gone there to fight our battles will see the amazing fertility of the Southern soil, — into which the seed is thrown and springs up without labor into a bountiful harvest, — and many of them, if slavery is crushed out, will remain there. Thus a new element will be introduced into the South, an element that will speedily make it a loyal, prosperous, and *intelligent* section of the Union."

But to return to Scipio. When within half an hour's drive of the house of the author's friend, Colonel J——, they were met by a carriage.

"At this moment a woolly head, which I recognized at once as

that of the Colonel's man 'Jim,' was thrust from the window of the vehicle.

"'Hallo, Jim,' I said. 'How do you do? I am glad to see you.'

"'Lor bress me, Massa K——, am dat you?' exclaimed the astonished negro, hastily opening the door, and coming to me. 'Whar *did* you cum from? I'se mighty glad to see you'; at the same time giving my hand a hearty shaking. . . . . .

"'I thought I would n't wait for you,' I replied. 'But how did you expect to get on? the "runs" have swollen into rivers.'

"'We got a "flat" made for dis one, — it 's down by dis time, — de oders we tought we 'd get ober sumhow.'

"'Jim, this is Scip,' I said, seeing the darkies took no notice of each other.

"'How d' ye do, Scip*io?*' said Jim, extending his hand to him. *A look of singular intelligence passed over the faces of the two negroes as their hands met;* it vanished in an instant, and was so slight that none but a close observer would have detected it, but some words that Scip had previously let drop had put me on the alert, and I felt sure it had a hidden significance.

"'Won't you get into de carriage, Massa?' inquired Jim.

"'No, thank you, Jim. I'll ride on with Scip. Our horse is jaded, and you had better go ahead.'

"Jim mounted the driver's seat, turned the carriage, and drove off at a brisk pace to announce our coming at the plantation, while Scip and I rode on at a slower gait.

"'Scip, did you know Jim before?' I asked.

"'Hab seed him afore, Massa, but neber know'd him.'

"'How is it that you have lived in Georgetown five years, and have not known him?'

"'I cud hab know'd him, massa, good many time, ef I'd liked, but darkies hab to be careful.'

"'Careful of what?'

"'Careful ob who dey knows; good many bad niggas 'bout.'

"'Pshaw, Scip, you 're "coming de possum"; there is n't a better nigger than Jim in all South Carolina. I know him well.'

"'P'raps he am; reckon he *am* a good 'nuff nigga.'

"'Good enough nigga, Scip! Why, I tell you he 's a splendid fellow; just as true as steel. He 's been North with the Colonel, often, and the Abolitionists have tried to get him away; he knew he could go, but would n't budge an inch.'

"'I knew he would n't,' said the darky, a pleasurable gleam passing through his eyes; 'dat sort don't run; dey face de music!'

"'Why don't they run? What do you mean by facing the music?'

"'Nuffin', massa, — only dey'd ruther stay har.'

"'Come, Scip, you 've played this game long enough. Tell me, now, what that look you gave each other when you shook hands meant.'

"'What look, massa? O, I s'pose 'twar 'cause we 'd both *heerd* ob each oder afore.'

"''T was more than that, Scip. Be frank; you know you can trust *me*.'

"'Wal, den, massa,' he replied, hesitatingly, adding, after a short pause, 'de ole woman called you a Yankee, sar, — you can guess.'

"'If I should guess, 't would be that it meant *mischief*.'

"'It don't mean mischief, sar,' said the darky, with a tone and air that would not have disgraced a Cabinet officer; 'it mean only RIGHT and JUSTICE.'

"'It means that there is some secret understanding between you.'

"'I toled you, massa,' he replied, relapsing into his usual manner, 'dat de blacks am all Freemasons. I gabe Jim de grip, and he know'd me. He 'd ha know'd my name ef you had n't toled him.'

"'Why would he have known your name?'

"''Cause I gabe de grip, dat tole him.'

"'Why did he call you Scip*io*? I called you *Scip*.'

"'O, de darkies all do dat! Nobody but de white folks call me *Scip*. I can't say no more, massa; I SHUD BREAK DE OATH EF I DID.'

"'You have said enough to satisfy me that there is a secret league among the blacks, and that you are a leader in it. Now, I tell you, you 'll get yourself into a scrape. I've taken a liking to you, Scip, and I should be *very sorry* to see you run yourself into danger.'

"'I tank you, massa, from de bottom ob my soul I tank you,' he said, as the tears moistened his eyes. 'You berry kind, massa; it do me good to talk wid you. But what am my life wuth? What am any *slave's* life wuth? *Ef you war me you 'd do like me!*'

"I could not deny it, and I made no reply.

"The writer is aware that he is here making an important statement, and one that may be called in question by those persons who are accustomed to regard the Southern blacks as only reasoning brutes. The great mass of them *are* but a little above the brutes in their habits and instincts, but a large body are fully on a par, except in mere book-education, with their white masters.

"The conversation above recorded is, *verbatim et literatim*, TRUE. It took place at the time indicated, and was taken down, as were other conversations recorded in this book, within twenty-four hours after its occurrence. The name and the locality only, I have, for very evident reasons, disguised.

"From this conversation, together with others, held with the same negro, and from after developments made to me at various places, and at different times, extending over a period of six weeks, I became acquainted with the fact that there exists among the blacks a secret and wide-spread organization of a Masonic character, having its grip, password, and oath. It has various grades of leaders, who are competent and *earnest* men, and its ultimate object is FREEDOM. It is quite as secret and wide-spread as the order of the 'Knights of the Golden Circle,' the kindred league among the whites. . . . . The blacks are bound together by a similar oath, and only *bide their time.*

"The knowledge of the real state of political affairs which the negroes have acquired through this organization is astonishingly accurate; their leaders possess every essential of leadership, — except, it may be, military skill, — and they are fully able to cope with the whites.

"The negro whom I call Scipio, on the day when Major Anderson evacuated Fort Moultrie, and before he or I knew of that event, which set all South Carolina in a blaze, foretold to me the breaking out of this war in Charleston harbor, and as confidently predicted that it would result in the freedom of the slaves!" — pp. 86 – 92.

But we have no room for further extracts; for whatever is most romantic and exciting in the story, — the account of Colonel J—— and the strange constitution of his family, the tragic scenes that occurred on his plantation during our author's visit there, and the many singular incidents and sketches which disclose the state of social life and political feeling in that part of the South, — we must refer our readers to the book itself.

Art. XI. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *Thomas Jefferson: Étude Historique sur la Démocratie Américaine.* Par Cornélis de Witt. Paris: Didier et C^ie^. 1861. 8vo. pp. iv. and 568.

We ought to have taken earlier notice of this able and scholarly essay; but it is not yet too late to say something in praise of a production of so much permanent interest. M. de Witt has studied with judgment and fidelity the numerous authorities in our own language; he has drawn from the French archives some new and important materials; and he has written in a liberal and candid spirit, as well as from an ample acquaintance with the original sources of information. His Appendix, which covers about a hundred and fifty pages, is a perfect treasury of new and interesting matter. It comprises numerous despatches from the Duc de Choiseul and the Comte de Vergennes, very clearly exhibiting the views of the French court during the struggle between the English colonies and the mother country, beside a curious memoir on American affairs drawn up by order of the French government before the actual commencement of hostilities. Many valuable extracts from the unpublished correspondence of the Duc de Choiseul, and other illustrative documents, are also incorporated with the text. Among the incidental topics on which M. de Witt's labors have thrown the greatest amount of light, is the mission of Citizen Genet to this country. The intrigues of this unscrupulous adventurer are illustrated by more than fifty pages of official letters and documents, never before published, and of great interest; and the whole purpose of his mission, and the various steps taken by him to secure its accomplishment, are now for the first time clearly exhibited.

M. de Witt does not enter at large into the details of Jefferson's life, but he furnishes a very satisfactory sketch of the principal events in it, as well as a very just estimate of his personal character. While he cordially recognizes the worth of Jefferson's public services, he does not fail to condemn the errors of the policy inaugurated by him, and he renders adequate justice to the transcendent genius and pure patriotism of Hamilton. Indeed, his sympathies are much more with the latter than with the former; yet he never allows his judgment to be warped by his feelings, and throughout he writes with impartiality and fairness. His narrative has the best characteristics of the French historians; and, as a philosophical dissertation on the origin of the two great political parties in this country, his volume is entitled to high praise.

Nothing better of the kind has been published abroad; and an American edition of it would be an acceptable contribution to our historical literature.

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2. — *An Embassy to the Court of St. James's in* 1840. By F. GUIZOT, Ambassador from his Majesty Louis-Philippe. London: Richard Bentley. 1862. 8vo. pp. 463.

THE English publisher of this volume has given to it the form and title of an independent work, though it is merely a translation of the fifth volume of M. Guizot's *Mémoires de Mon Temps*. This course, however, is not without some justification in the fact that the volume has a real unity of its own, and may without violence be separated from the volumes which have preceded, and from those which may follow it. The book covers a comparatively brief period, and relates to a single episode in its author's life; but it may be read with pleasure by persons who know and care little or nothing about the Eastern Question, in the discussion of which M. Guizot took so important a share as minister to England. The fourth chapter, for instance, which is entitled "English Society in 1840," and covers about fifty pages, presents a very admirable summary of the impressions produced on the writer by his residence in London, with personal sketches of some of the most conspicuous statesmen and men of letters with whom he was brought into contact in the freedom of private intercourse. Among the most interesting of these sketches are the notices of Lord Holland and Earl Grey, and of Mr. Hallam and Lord Macaulay. To Mr. Hallam, M. Guizot renders the homage of a sincere and cordial admiration. "I never knew a man," he writes, "more sincerely and thoroughly liberal, and at the same time more divested of national prejudice and party spirit; no one more exclusively anxious to discover truth and to render justice to all, without any thought of pleasing or displeasing adversaries or friends. The natural rectitude of his judgment, his vast and accurate knowledge, the generous devotion of his soul, and his perfect disinterestedness, made him inflexibly just, and a stranger, even in the cause he held most at heart, — that of religious and political liberty, — to every kind of idle speculation or fanaticism." With Lord Macaulay he appears to have been less intimately acquainted, and he scarcely does justice to that great man, though he speaks of him with the respect which his splendid achievements as an essayist and an historian must always command, and gives an interesting account of a visit to Westminster Abbey under his guidance. But it was natural that any one of a nature so cold and

impassive as is that of M. Guizot should be more strongly attracted by such a writer as Mr. Hallam than by Lord Macaulay. In the same chapter there are also interesting notices of Lord Lansdowne, Daniel O'Connell, Mrs. Grote, Mrs. Fry, and of many other persons, beside some well-considered observations on the general character and tone of social life in England. Of Lords Palmerston and Melbourne there is no special portraiture; but the French ambassador readily took their measure, and it is easy to perceive, from the general tenor of his remarks, what is his exact estimate of them. In the introductory chapter he records his first impressions of England, and incidentally, but clearly, points out the relative positions of the aristocracy and the democracy in the English government; and in his third chapter he describes at length the part which he took in settling the quarrel between England and Naples in regard to the exportation of sulphur from the island of Sicily, and the measures adopted to procure the consent of the English government to the removal of the remains of the Emperor Napoleon I. from St. Helena. But the chief theme of M. Guizot's narrative, and that which gives to it its chief historical value, is the Eastern Question, as it was called, growing out of the rival claims of the Ottoman Porte and the Viceroy of Egypt. Of the various negotiations connected with this question, and of the policy of the French government, he presents a very luminous and satisfactory account, with ample citations from the official despatches, and minute records of the conversations held by him with Lord Palmerston and the different members of the diplomatic body in London. Beside the documents cited in the text, there is an Appendix of "Historical Documents," covering about seventy pages. The translation is apparently executed with care; but much of the ease and dignity of M. Guizot's style is lost to the English reader.

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3. — *Irish History and Irish Character.* By GOLDWIN SMITH. Second Edition. Oxford and London: J. H. and James Parker. 1862. 12mo. pp. 197.

THIS essay, which is "an expansion of a lecture delivered before the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society at their Annual Meeting in June, 1861," amply confirms the very high estimate of Professor Smith's depth and vigor of intellect, of his candor and fairness of judgment, and of the soundness of his historical theories, which we were led to form while reading his "Lectures on Modern History," noticed in our last number; and in one respect we have been agree-

ably disappointed in it. In the earlier volume, his style was, for the most part, hard, dry, and inflexible, and ill suited for animated narration or the vivid portraiture of character; but in the eloquent discourse before us, we have no occasion to regret any of these defects. Mr. Smith's style is throughout easy, graceful, and flowing, while it has not lost any of its clearness, vigor, and simplicity. His essay, or "sketch," as he calls it in a brief Preface, comprises a rapid summary of Irish history from its earliest period to the present time, together with a statement of the chief elements of Irish character, designed to show the sources of the calamities of Ireland, and the remedies for the evils under which she still languishes. Chief among the former, he places "the partial character of the Norman Conquest, which caused the conquerors, instead of becoming an upper class, to remain a mere hostile settlement or Pale," and led to the continual wars and cruel enactments which date from that period. "The next great source of mischief," he thinks, "was the disruption of Christendom at the period of the Reformation, and the terrible religious wars which ensued upon that disruption, and into which both nations, in common with the other nations of Europe, were drawn." To the hostility of race was added the hostility of religion; and the dominant minority attempted to strengthen themselves by the passage of laws dooming three fourths of the people to the most abject ignorance, while frequent murders and massacres may also be traced to the same prolific source of evil. "Then Ireland became a victim to the attempt of Louis XIV., which was in part a sequel of the religious wars, to destroy the liberty and religion of England through his vassals, the House of Stuart." The subjugation of Ireland by William III., and the long train of subsequent evils, are among the fruits of this source of disaster to the hapless island. "Finally," he says, "the French Revolution, breaking out into anarchy, massacre, and atheism, at the moment when the government of England, under Pitt, had just entered on the path of reform and toleration, not only arrested political progress in this as in other cases, but involved Ireland in another civil war." The failure of Catholic Emancipation at the time of the legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland, and its postponement for nearly thirty years, were the direct effects of the reaction in England occasioned by the excesses of the French Revolution.

Of the Established Church of Ireland our author writes with a boldness and frankness which, if it had been exhibited a quarter of a century ago, would have cost him his Professorship. After speaking of the adverse circumstances in which the Church has been placed, and of the difficulties with which it has to contend, — such as "the

political hostility of the races, the difference of language, the abuse of patronage, which often employed Irish bishoprics and livings as political bribes, or as lucrative banishments for not the best of the clergy of the English Church, — a ritual cold, tedious, and formal, suited perhaps to the sober Saxon, but wholly unsuited to the ardent Kelt," — he adds this pregnant remark: "But the grand and apparently insuperable difficulty with which it has had to contend is in effect this, that Christianity cannot be propagated through unchristian institutions, and that the State Church of a dominant minority is an institution which, being unjust, must be unchristian." In another place he is scarcely less emphatic in the expression of his opinions on this subject. "The hold of the Irish Establishment on the religious affections of the Irish people is a garrison of twenty thousand men. At that price England purchases a source of just discontent and perpetual disaffection. At that price she makes the national clergy of Ireland demagogues, and the national religion of Ireland an enemy to social harmony, to political tranquillity, and to the unity of the empire. At that price she draws upon herself just opprobrium and constant peril. Those who think that this will go on forever must either have formed a singular estimate of the tendencies of the age, or expect that those tendencies will be suddenly reversed."

In speaking of the present condition and prospects of Ireland, Mr. Smith remarks that "there are four relations in which Ireland may be placed with regard to the sister island, — dependency, independence, federation, and union." A return to either of the first two, or an adoption of the third, he considers as undesirable and impracticable; and in respect to the second he makes these most suggestive observations: "Independence would of course be feasible in itself, if it could only be accompanied by geographical separation; but so close a neighborhood would involve contact, and contact would bring on collision: rivalry, jealousy, hostility, would spring up all the more certainly, because there would be between the two countries the memory of a former union, and of a recent divorce; and Ireland, menaced by the power of England, would become the ward and vassal of France, or some other foreign power, which for its own purposes would constitute itself her protector." Nothing but the relation of union remaining, it is clear that the plain duty of England is, "to endeavor, by the abolition of every relic of ascendency and ancient misgovernment, to render it perfectly fair, honorable, and beneficial to both nations."

In his manner of dealing with these important questions, and the numerous other exciting topics which he has occasion to discuss, we

have abundant evidence of Mr. Smith's intellectual candor and of his complete mastery of his subject. Nowhere else have we seen in so brief a paper so luminous and comprehensive a statement of the salient points in Irish history, or so just an analysis of the causes of the long-continued debasement of the Irish people.

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4. — *The Leadbeater Papers. — The Annals of Ballitore, by* Mary Leadbeater, *with a Memoir of the Author: Letters from Edmund Burke, heretofore unpublished: and the Correspondence of Mrs. R. Trench and Rev. George Crabbe with* Mary Leadbeater. London: Bell and Daldy. 1862. 2 vols. 16mo. pp. 441, 403.

Mary Leadbeater was the granddaughter of Abraham Shackleton, Burke's early teacher, and was born at Ballitore, in the county of Kildare, Ireland, in December, 1758. In 1791 she married William Leadbeater, who had also been a pupil at Ballitore; and three years afterward she began her literary career by the publication of "Extracts and Original Anecdotes for the Improvement of Youth." Subsequently she published a collection of her own "Poems," two series of "Cottage Dialogues of the Irish Peasantry," "The Landlord's Friend," "Cottage Biography," and "Memoirs of Richard and Elizabeth Shackleton." Such, indeed, was her taste for literary pursuits, that she continued her labors until a week before her death, which occurred on the 27th of June, 1826. During her lifetime her writings enjoyed much popularity, and were strongly commended by several competent critics; but they are now quite forgotten, and even her name was scarcely remembered. Yet she was a woman of much natural ability, of a refined and cultivated taste, and greatly esteemed and beloved by her friends, as is sufficiently shown by the two volumes now published, and by the affectionate terms in which she is mentioned in the recently published Literary Remains of Mrs. Richard Trench.

The first of the two volumes now before us consists of an autobiographical sketch of Mrs. Leadbeater's life, from 1766 to 1824, together with much other matter of a less personal interest, under the general title of "Annals of Ballitore." It is pleasantly written, and comprises some graphic descriptions of the scenery of Ballitore and of the mode of life there, as well as a very vivid account of the Rebellion of 1798. But, with the exception of the pages devoted to the latter subject, the volume contains very little which is of sufficient permanent interest or worth to justify its publication. The second volume opens with a correspondence between Edmund Burke and

Mrs. Leadbeater's father, Richard Shackleton. This correspondence covers a period of more than forty years, from 1744 to 1788, and includes about sixty letters from Burke. Most of them, however, were written not long after he left school, and are in no respect superior to the ordinary letters of young men at college. But there are two letters, under date of April 19th and May 6th, 1770, which are a positive addition to the materials for any satisfactory memoir of him, and which cannot fail to be read with interest. In the first he sharply and bitterly attacks his old schoolmate for the surreptitious publication in one of the London newspapers of a very laudatory notice of the statesman composed three or four years before, and thoughtlessly given by Shackleton to one of his friends, through whose carelessness it had found its way into print. Shackleton replied in a temperate and modest letter, which at once elicited from Burke a frank and manly acknowledgment of his error in being "weak and blamable enough to write a very angry, a very cruel, and in all respects a very improper letter." These letters strikingly illustrate the impetuosity of Burke's temper, and the real nobleness of feeling which entered so largely into his character. The next and largest division of the volume consists of the correspondence of Mrs. Leadbeater and Mrs. Trench, from each of whom there are numerous letters, written with vivacity, and containing many interesting observations and much just criticism. They are not, perhaps, remarkable, if compared with the best specimens of epistolary composition; but their sprightliness of tone, their occasional graphic descriptions, and their frequent reference to passing events, render them worthy of preservation. The last division includes the correspondence of the Rev. George Crabbe and Mrs. Leadbeater, beginning when both were far advanced in life, and extending over a period of several years. It contains nothing especially noteworthy, and the lady's epistles are much inferior to her letters to Mrs. Trench.

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5. — 1. *A Memoir of Sir Philip Sidney.* By H. R. Fox Bourne. London: Chapman and Hall. 1862. 8vo. pp. xv. and 557.
2. *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney.* By Julius Lloyd, M. A. London: Longman, Brown, Longman, and Roberts. 1862. Small 8vo. pp. xvi. and 244.

If we had not recently made Sir Philip Sidney the theme of an extended article,* we should gladly do so now, in connection with some

* North American Review, No. 183, Art. II.

remarks on these two volumes. In each of them we find some new and previously unpublished materials, though but very little which adds to our real knowledge of his life and character. Mr. Bourne's is the larger and more elaborate of the two works, and is the result of a very thorough and careful study of all the sources of information, including some unpublished documents in the State Paper Office. But much of the volume is devoted to Sidney's contemporaries, and to copious extracts from his writings, and, like too many of his predecessors, Mr. Bourne is inclined to indulge in conjectural statements in respect to those parts of his hero's life over which the thickest obscurity rests. His style is often swollen and inflated, and a judicious pruning would considerably reduce the size of the volume. His chronological arrangement is very defective, and though there is much doubt as to the date of some of the incidents in Sidney's life, Mr. Bourne is certainly wrong in several instances. His analyses of Sidney's writings are meagre and unsatisfactory, his criticisms are feeble and commonplace, and in several other points he has failed to meet the just requirements of his subject.

Mr. Lloyd's volume, though a work of much less pretension than Mr. Bourne's Memoir, is a production of much greater ability. His style is clearer and more simple; his criticisms are more judicious; and, in his later chapters, he had the advantage of consulting Mr. Bourne's volume, which was published a few weeks before his own work. He takes, however, a much higher view of Sidney's personal character, and one in which we cannot concur. In other respects his work is a very pleasant and satisfactory memoir.

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6. — *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* By JOHN GIBSON LOCKHART. A New Edition. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1861–62. 9 vols. 16mo.

IN spite of some generally recognized defects, and of a strong partisan bias in the account of Scott's quarrel with the Ballantynes, Mr. Lockhart's Life of Scott is a work of acknowledged interest and ability. By his marriage with the great novelist's daughter, Lockhart was placed in a position to become intimately acquainted with his private character, and to appreciate all that there was in it worthy of love or admiration; he had access to all the biographical materials in the possession of the family; and he was an easy and agreeable writer, whose style had been perfected by long practice. Few men could have entered under more favorable circumstances upon the task which he assumed;

and his Memoirs must always be the principal authority for the facts of Scott's brilliant and laborious career. In the exceeding richness and abundance of its biographical details, nothing more could be desired; and its materials are grouped with the judgment and good taste which would naturally have been expected from such a man as Lockhart. If we compare the work with any of the more recent lives of Scott's contemporaries, the worth of Mr. Lockhart's labors, and the comparative excellence of his Memoirs, will be at once recognized. Not one of the great English poets of the nineteenth century was so fortunate in his biographer; and certainly not one of them left behind him a more copious or more valuable collection of letters and journals for the illustration of his life. The edition of Mr. Lockhart's work now before us is superior to every former edition published in this country, and is not surpassed by any Scottish edition which has fallen under our notice.

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7. — 1. *Cotton: an Account of its Culture in the Bombay Presidency, prepared from Government Records and other authentic Sources, in Accordance with a Resolution of the Government of India.* By Walter R. Cassels. Bombay: Printed by Order of Government. 1862. 4to. pp. x. and 347.

2. *Cotton Hand-Book for Bengal: being a Digest of all Information available from official Records and other Sources on the Subject of the Production of Cotton in the Bengal Provinces.* Compiled by J. G. Medlicott, B. A. Published in Accordance with the Resolution of his Excellency the Governor-General in Council, dated 22d July, 1861. Calcutta: Savielle and Cranenburgh, Printers. 1862. 4to. pp. xix. and 485.

For the preparation of these two monographs we are indebted to the increased interest in the growth of Indian cotton which was aroused by the breaking out of the rebellion in our Southern States. Shortly after the news of the attack on Fort Sumter was received in India, measures were taken by the government for the immediate publication of all the information in their possession bearing on the general subject of the raising of cotton, to be comprised in three independent volumes, treating severally of the provinces directly subordinate to the Governor-General in Council, and of the two Presidencies of Bombay and Madras. The first two were issued with great promptitude, and are now before us; but the last volume has not yet been received in this country.

Of the two books now published, the volume by Mr. Cassels is much

the abler and more elaborate. It comprises the most thorough and complete account of the history and present condition of the cotton culture in the Presidency of Bombay which has ever been published, though the author modestly states in his Preface that it might have been made more exhaustive in its details if greater time could have been allowed for its preparation, and that some topics have not been considered, because the libraries of Bombay do not contain the books necessary for their proper elucidation. In the minuteness and copiousness of its statistical tables, and in the excellence of its maps and diagrams, however, the volume leaves very little to be desired; and at the same time the materials on which it is based are of the most trustworthy kind, and have been systematically arranged with great care. It is divided into twenty chapters. Of these the first three are somewhat general in their character, and relate to the early history of the cotton culture in India, and to the first attempts to introduce the cultivation of exotic cotton. The next eleven chapters trace the history of the experimental culture of foreign cotton in the various districts of the Presidency, and in the neighboring states which are most closely connected with it, from 1848 down to the present time. Following this survey are three chapters treating of "The Soils, Climate, and Agriculture of India," of the effects of early planting on the production of cotton in India, and some other connected topics, and of the preparation of the cotton for the European market. The next two chapters are on the roads and other means of intercommunication, and on the land tenure and assessment. The last chapter sums up the results of the whole course of experiments for the introduction of exotic cotton into this part of India; and from this summary we take the following paragraphs, in which Mr. Cassels explicitly states the results reached by his investigation of the subject: —

"Exotic cotton cannot be successfully cultivated on a large scale in the Bombay Presidency, except in a limited portion of its southern districts.

"Indian cotton may be improved in cleanness, and somewhat reduced in cost, but the general characteristics of the staple will not be materially altered.

"In so far as this quality of cotton is serviceable to the manufacturers of England, India can compete with America; but if a finer description be required, India cannot adequately supply it.

"Unless, therefore, such alterations in machinery can be devised as may render the manufacturer indifferent to length and fineness of staple, — and of the probability of this others must judge, — India is not likely to replace the United States.

"It seems evident, then, that Indian cotton must continue to hold a subordinate place in European markets, and that there is a point at which its competition with other growths entirely ceases."

It is to be observed, however, that these unfavorable statements relate only to the districts included within the Presidency of Bombay, though it is also true that most of the Indian cotton is produced in these districts. For the manner in which Mr. Cassels has performed his task he is entitled to the highest praise; and this commendation applies to every part of the work.

Equal praise can scarcely be bestowed on Mr. Medlicott's volume. His materials have been arranged in a much less satisfactory manner than that adopted by Mr. Cassels; and he has nowhere distinctly stated the conclusions to which he has been led by his investigation of the subject. Near the beginning of the volume, however, he hazards the opinion, "that Bengal could produce cotton for exportation to almost any desired extent, and of a quality which would, under favorable conditions, adapt itself to the requirements of the English market." But he also admits that the ground is "more profitably employed in raising other crops," and it is known that Bengal produces but a very small proportion of the cotton used in that part of India, and that the inhabitants find it cheaper to import English yarns and cloths than to raise cotton for home manufacture. Under these circumstances, and in view of the failure of the successive attempts to introduce the culture of exotic cotton, it seems doubtful whether a more favorable condition exists in Bengal than is to be found in Bombay. Still we should have been pleased to see a more explicit statement of Mr. Medlicott's views on this point.

His volume is divided into a brief Introduction and three Parts. The former treats of the past and present state of the Indian cotton trade, of its prospects, and of the circumstances which have caused its decline. The First Part comprises, under separate heads, all the accessible information in regard to the adaptation of every district in Bengal to the raising of cotton, and though often meagre and unsatisfactory in details, it shows that much labor has been bestowed on its preparation. The Second Part contains a narrative of the different attempts to introduce the cultivation of exotic cotton, and is, like the similar portions of the volume prepared by Mr. Cassels, a mere record of signal failures. The Third Part is devoted to scientific topics, and contains several papers on the chemistry of the cotton soils, and on other questions connected with the culture of the plant.

8. — *Secularia; or Surveys on the Mainstream of History.* By Samuel Lucas, M. A., late of Queen's College, Oxon. London: John Murray. 1862. 8vo. pp. 410.

Under this quaint and affected title Mr. Lucas has brought together twelve miscellaneous papers, apparently written for some magazine or review, or for delivery before a popular audience, though in his Preface he tells us that "they are not a mere reprint of desultory essays, but a combination of new and old materials, with a very specific though tentative object." What this specific object is, is not very clear from the internal evidence; nor is the unity of design, of which he writes in another passage, very apparent. But, waiving this objection, the separate papers are, with some exceptions, able and well-written contributions to historical literature. The author is evidently a man of extensive information, a clear and vigorous thinker, and an easy and forcible writer. The first, and perhaps the best, essay in the volume presents an ingenious and suggestive "Comparison of Ancient and Modern Revolutions," setting forth the characteristic elements of ancient and modern civilization, and the nature of the questions involved in the various revolutions of ancient history, as well as those which still remain to be settled. As the result of this survey, he recognizes two principal laws running through all history; — a law of development, — in modern times operating through four elements, race, religion, the municipal system, and the idea of empire, — which produces the differences in the character of different revolutions; and a law of equality, — stimulating, in both ancient and modern times, two independent and successive movements, first, that of property against birth, and secondly, that of numbers against property, — which is the chief cause of resemblance in revolutionary struggles. This theory is strongly maintained and skilfully illustrated; and nowhere else does Mr. Lucas give such striking evidence of his ability as a writer and of his vigor of thought. The last essay in the volume is entitled, "Revolutions in Progress and Prospect — 1862," and is divided into two parts. In the first half he discusses at considerable length the struggle now in progress in this country, contending, with the satisfaction which most Englishmen exhibit when writing on this subject, that the government of the United States is hopelessly broken up, and that the existence of a great empire on this side of the Atlantic is now no longer possible, and, with the fatuity which characterizes so many of his countrymen, predicting great benefits to the slaves from the anticipated triumph of the so-called Southern Confederacy. The latter half of the essay is devoted to an examination of the principles

involved in the European revolutions which he thinks are now imminent. Among the other essays are a paper on "The New England Theocracy," in which the founders of the Massachusetts Colony are described as "systematic tyrants," as perverting "their sovereignty to tyrannical uses," and as exercising a "grievous tyranny"; one on "The Charters of the American Provinces, considered with Reference to some Predisposing Causes of their Revolt from Great Britain," pointing out the anomalies in these charters, and the lessons which England should derive from the history of the American Colonies; one under the title of "The English Alternative of 1640 – 41. — Old or New England?" on the early immigration to this country in connection with the alleged design of Cromwell, Hampden, and Pym to leave England; a very unjust and captious criticism on Lord Macaulay's History of England; a paper on "The Coming of the Armada," mainly founded on Mr. Motley's great work; one suggested by Mr. Carlyle's "History of Frederick the Great," entitled "The Hohenzollern Stage of Hero-Worship"; and short papers on "The Mediæval Castle" and "The Mediæval Borough."

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9. — 1. *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in* 1861. Edited by Francis Galton, Author of "The Art of Travel," etc. With ten Maps to illustrate the Routes. Cambridge [England]: Macmillan & Co. 1862. 8vo. pp. viii. and 418.
2. *Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers; being Excursions by Members of the Alpine Club.* Second Series. Edited by Edward Shirley Kennedy, M. A., F. R. G. S., President of the Club. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1862. 2 vols. Small 8vo. pp. xiv. and 445, 541.
3. *Impressions of Rome, Florence, and Turin.* By the Author of "Amy Herbert." London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1862. 16mo. pp. xii. and 330.

Books of travel and adventure are always attractive to a numerous class of readers, and it is to a desire to gratify the craving for new works in this department of literature that we owe the two collections first named at the head of this notice, each of which is composed of separate narratives too short for independent publication. The first work comprises articles from very various sources, which are apparently brought together in this form merely for convenience in publication, and makes no pretension to unity of plan. The second collection, however, as its title indicates, is to a considerable extent the fruit of

joint labors, and it has a certain unity of design, which has been preserved throughout.

The volume of "Vacation Tourists," which is the second published under that title, is far inferior in interest and ability to the one noticed by us last year, and unless Mr. Galton is more fortunate hereafter in his selection of authors and subjects, he will scarcely be gratified in his hope of seeing a long series of annual volumes. It comprises eleven papers by as many different writers; but many of the subjects of these articles are of inferior interest, and, even when the writer has had an attractive theme, he has often shown either a paucity of materials, or a want of ability to make a good use of them. The best papers in the volume are that on "The Monks of Mount Athos," by Mr. H. F. Tozer, who was also a contributor to the previous volume, and the anonymous account of "Christmas in Montenegro"; but even in reading these papers we have been unable to repress a feeling of disappointment at their incompleteness. The articles entitled "St. Petersburg and Moscow," by the Rev. Alexander Weir, and "Nine Weeks in Canada," by Captain Richard Collinson, are both meagre and unsatisfactory, though relating to comparatively fresh topics; and none of the other papers demand special notice. Among them are articles on "The Country of Schamyl," "Fiji and its Inhabitants," "Nabloos and the Samaritans," and narratives of journeys in different parts of Europe, Africa, and South America.

The writers in "Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers" have a much narrower range of topics than those in the "Vacation Tourists," but they exhibit much greater literary ability in their narratives, and the two elegant volumes which comprise the records of their journeys and researches may be read with much interest and satisfaction. In the first series of the work, which formed only one volume, and was published about three years ago, were included seventeen papers by sixteen different writers; in the volumes now published, the number of separate contributions is increased to thirty-two, and the list of writers comprises twenty-three names. Nearly all of the narratives are well written, and some of them are of great interest. The first, and in some respects the most attractive chapter, is an account of "A Tour in Iceland in the Summer of 1861," by Mr. Edward T. Holland, embracing a pretty thorough exploration of the southeastern part of the island, and an attempt, partially successful, to ascend the Orœfa, the highest mountain in Iceland. Another interesting paper is on "The Cottian Alps," by Mr. William Mathews, Jr., giving a very agreeable and graphic account of his explorations round the foot of Monte Viso, in Northern Italy, and of his successful ascent of that almost inaccessible peak·

Among the best of the other narratives are Mr. Charles Packe's account of "The Passage of the Port d'Oo, and Ascent of the Pic des Posets," in the Pyrenees; Mr. John F. Hardy's account of "A Visit to the Jökuls Glacier," in Norway; Mr. F. F. Tuckett's account of an excursion to "The Hunting Grounds of Victor Emmanuel"; and Mr. Edward Whymper's description of "The Ascent of Mont Pelvoux," in Dauphiné. Beside the narrative papers, there are also an interesting chapter on the "Phenomena observed on Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers," one of "Hypsometrical Suggestions," and another comprising numerous tables of altitudes, and a few notes and appendices discussing scientific questions.

Miss Sewell's volume simply gathers up from her journals and letters the record of her impressions of the different objects and persons seen during a short residence on the Continent, with an occasional picturesque description or a brief criticism; and as such it will be read with interest for the light which it throws on the intellectual character of a writer who has enjoyed much popularity both in England and in this country.

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10. — 1. *The Poems of* Arthur Hugh Clough. With a Memoir by Charles Eliot Norton. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1862. 24mo. pp. xxxvi. and 299. [Blue and Gold.]
2. *The Poems of* Oliver Wendell Holmes. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1862. 24mo. pp. 410. [Blue and Gold.]

The life of Arthur Hugh Clough was rich in the promise of usefulness to others and of literary fame for himself; but his death, when he was little more than forty, disappointed the well-grounded hopes of his friends, and now no adequate memorial of his powers remains. His edition of Dryden's Plutarch must, indeed, always be a splendid monument to his ripe scholarship, and "The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich" is a production of great merit. But with these exceptions his writings are but little known, and are not likely to obtain a large measure of popularity. Many of the pieces in the posthumous collection of his Poems named above did not receive his final revision; and even in reading the best of them, we are led to doubt whether he possessed the elements of success as a poet. His imagination does not appear to have been very strong, nor his fancy very lively, while he had but a very limited power of poetical expression. His verse lacks fluency and harmony; and the thought is often so subtile that the necessities of the rhyme and metre interfere seriously with its clear and accurate statement. In a word, the thought is often sacrificed to the

rhythm, and the rhythm to the thought. The best of his poems is undoubtedly "The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich," or "Toper-na-Fuosich," as the name was printed when the poem was first published. Its fresh, animated, and genial tone, its picturesque descriptions, and its successful management of a difficult metre, alike contribute to make it a spirited and attractive production. Though its specific design is somewhat vague and undefined, no reader can fail to note its many beauties, or to be struck by the frequent originality and vigor of the thought. Next in merit to this poem we are inclined to place the latest of Mr. Clough's metrical productions, "Mari Magno," though it was not revised by the author before publication. Its plan is simple and effective, and the separate stories of which it is composed are well told. The other long poem, "Amours de Voyage," is too obscure and prolix ever to become popular, and, though it contains some striking and beautiful passages, it is as a whole wanting in sustained interest. The minor poems are chiefly valuable for the light which they throw on the writer's mental idiosyncrasies, and on the formation and growth of his opinions. The Memoir prefixed by Mr. Norton is a graceful tribute to the personal worth and scholarly attainments of his friend.

We have so often expressed our warm appreciation of the keen wit, the sparkling humor, the harmonious versification, and the kindly spirit by which Dr. Holmes's Poems are characterized, that we need do nothing more now than call the attention of our readers to the beautiful edition of them named above. No more elegant volume of its size has been issued from the American press; and both this volume and the collection of Clough's Poems are specimens of unusual beauty in every detail of ornamental typography.

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11. — *Edwin Brothertoft.* By THEODORE WINTHROP, Author of "Cecil Dreeme" and "John Brent." Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1862. 16mo. pp. 369.

IT is somewhat remarkable that one who had written so much and so well as Major Winthrop should not during his own life have acquired a wider reputation as an author. At the time of his death he was known, except to his intimate friends, only as the writer of two or three brilliant magazine articles descriptive of some early incidents in the history of the rebellion; but he left in manuscript two novels of which any young man might be proud. Of the merits of "Cecil Dreeme" and "John Brent" we have already had occasion to speak, and now we have a third posthumous novel, which seems, like its prede-

cessors, to have been almost forgotten by the author. It is written in the same sparkling and crispy style which characterized his first two works, and is marked by the same fresh and buoyant tone. There is the same ardent love of nature apparent in it, and at times the same briskness of movement, which were among the chief attractions in "John Brent"; and there are one or two scenes as carefully elaborated as any in "Cecil Dreeme." But in other respects it scarcely redeems the promise of the earlier volumes. The interest is less skilfully sustained, and the characters are drawn with much less ability. Not one of the imaginary actors secures any strong hold on the reader; and in his delineation of Washington and Putnam, Major Winthrop has signally failed to produce a faithful portrait. His failure in this particular, indeed, is so great as to diminish materially the satisfaction with which the book might otherwise be read. There are, it is true, some very effective descriptions, and some parts of the narrative and dialogue are very well managed; but, considered as a whole, "Edwin Brothertoft" is not likely to add to Major Winthrop's well-deserved reputation as a novelist of rare promise.

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12. — *Un Amour en Laponie.* Par LOUIS ÉNAULT. Paris: Hachette. 1861. 12mo. pp. 386.

M. X. MARMIER cannot be allowed to occupy the whole field of the Frozen Zone with his romances, nor shall even the more powerful story of George Sand prevent M. Énault, who claims a right in every clime, from entering and experimenting there. A Lapland love-story ought to be a few degrees more probable than a story of espousals in Spitzbergen; and the genius of the author of Nadèje has clothed this icy landscape with most picturesque warmth. The novel is good, in its characters, in its descriptions, in its adventures, and in its dramatic close. In the "John Brent" of Winthrop, a horse is the hero; in this Lapland story, a reindeer is the hero, and interests us more than any of the men and women, though these are not without their charm. There is a reindeer ride across the plains of snow, quite as exciting and as incredible as that gallop of the black horse over the plains of Utah. Lapland life has not much variety, but what it has is pictured very fully. The winter and the summer, the field and the village, the peasant's hut and the robber's haunt, the coast and the hills, the worship, the rejoicing, the labor, and the sorrow of the people, their loves, their quarrels, and their crimes, all pass before us in a moving pageant. The native prince shows us his dignity, and the popular hero his savage

passion. In sober garb and calm determination, the missionary comes in to hinder wrong and to comfort woe. There are Swedes, educated and graceful, to contrast with the rude and ignorant Lapps; and the lovely Norra, the artless and spiritual child of nature, has her counterpart in the stately Edwina, the betrothed bride of the man whom both of them love. While there is no bad personage in the story for whom our sympathies are excited, there are several who fascinate us by their savage valor and their persistent endurance. M. Énault loves to transfigure the ruder races; and as he has shown the virtue of the wild mountaineers of the Lebanon, he now shows the virtue of the more secluded, yet half Oriental tribe, dwelling where Nature is harshest, and where the night rules the day. We shall expect, in his next attempt, to have a romance of New Zealand, or of some island in the Antarctic.

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13. — *L'Homme à l'Oreille Cassée.* Par EDMOND ABOUT. Paris: Hachette. 1862. 12mo. pp. 279.

THE downfall of M. About as a writer of romances has been rapid and signal. His last experiment upon the public taste and patience is wellnigh intolerable. If not as indecent as the stories of Feydeau and Haubert, "The Man with the Broken Ear" is certainly, in its plot, quite as ridiculous and revolting as any recent production of the Parisian press. There are some subjects on which such wit as that of M. About is utterly repulsive. Théophile Gautier could make a romance upon an Egyptian mummy; but M. About has attempted to "improve" upon this idea by making a romance upon a "dried" Frenchman. The scientific fact from which he starts is, that three quarters of the substance of the human body is water. Over this fact he places the ludicrous fiction, which he states as if it were a logical and inevitable conclusion, that, if the water of the system can only be exhausted without destroying any solid part of the body, the residue may be kept in a dried state, in suspended animation, for an indefinite period, and life be restored by restoring the water to the various organs and tissues. This is the idea of the novel; it brings to life, after forty-six years of mummy quiescence, a colonel of Napoleon's Twenty-Third Regiment.

Not only the absurdity of such a plot, but the frequent grossness of the insinuations, condemns this book. There is some satire in it, but it is very weak, and the whole story bears marks of extravagance, carelessness, and a disregard of even literary proprieties. It is distant by a long remove in beauty from "Tolla," and in wit from "Le Roi des Montagnes." And it has the advantage of Dr. Huntington's "Rose-

mary," of which it constantly reminds the reader, only in being shorter. Both these novels tell minutely of bodies restored which had seemed to be dead. We trust that no more experiments in this kind will be tried by story-tellers, whether French or English.

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14. — *La Famille de Germandre.* Par GEORGE SAND. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères. 1862. 12mo. pp. 295.

"LA Famille de Germandre" is another of those charming stories which the most eminent of French novelists continues to send forth with such marvellous facility. There is no attempt here at intricacy of plot, at startling exposures, or at any of those extravagances which have become almost essential parts of Parisian romance. The issue of the story can be predicted almost from its beginning. The charm of the volume consists in its exquisite sketches of character. The men and the women have each marked individuality, and stand for themselves, and not as representatives of a class. They are not odd, but they are original, — at once natural and peculiar. Nor is it *costume* that distinguishes them. George Sand goes beneath the apparel and its fashion, and makes us know the souls of those whom she brings forward. The background to these pictures of character is striking landscape, which she sets before us in all its beauty, without any lavish epithets of description. She leaves to the imagination of the reader to clothe the objects of the landscape with the colors which they ought to wear. She tells what they are, and not how they seem. We shall not give any abstract of this story, but only commend it to our readers as one of the purest and pleasantest, if not one of the most powerful, of the author's works.

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15. — *The Russians at Home. Unpolitical Sketches, showing what Newspapers they read; what Theatres they frequent; and how they eat, drink, and enjoy themselves; with other Matter relating chiefly to Literature and Music, and to Places of Historical and Religious Interest in and about Moscow; comprising also four Russian Designs* (on stone). By SUTHERLAND EDWARDS. London: Wm. H. Allen & Co. 1861. 12mo. pp. 432.

THE title-page of Mr. Sutherland Edwards's book gives a very exact description of its contents. The expectation of a light, dashing, and humorous volume, something in the vein of Mr. George Augustus Sala, which this title-page raises, is not quite realized. The volume is rather grave than gay, but is not less valuable for that reason. It is a

solid book, full of interesting facts and shrewd observations, free from all extravagance, impartial in its judgments, and wise in its prophecies. The Russian people and customs are shown to us just as they are, their defects not extenuated, and their merits not exaggerated. Mr. Edwards wishes to give information, not to exhibit his own power as a writer, a wit, or a satirist. He does not pretend to have intimate knowledge of all parts of Russia, or of all classes, or to be a critical scholar in its literature. His journeyings in the land were confined to a trip by railway from St. Petersburg to Moscow and back, and afterward by sledge from St. Petersburg to the Prussian frontier, and a stay of a few weeks in these two cities and their environs. But with this limited range, he made good use of his time and powers, and had or gained sufficient acquaintance with the Russian language to read it fluently and to translate from it with ease. His account of Russian newspapers, magazines, novels, poems, and graver works, is not taken at second-hand from French and German authorities, but is the result of personal study, and is justified by original renderings from the works which he describes. It is the fullest account of Russian literature that we have seen, and gives a wholly new impression of the strong nationality of the leaders of thought in the Cossack empire. Mr. Edwards quite contradicts the prevalent notion, that all the culture of Russia is French, that this polite speech is the only dialect which the aristocracy favors, and that the hard Sclavonic tongue is left to the rudeness of boors and serfs. On the contrary, he shows that a comparatively small part of the literature of Russia is foreign, and that while educated Russians are usually excellent linguists, acquainted with three or four languages beside their own, their own is the favored language. The number of distinguished names in Sclavonic letters which he gives is surprising. Especially interesting is the chapter on "Kriloff and the Fabulists." One of the curiosities of St. Petersburg, hardly less unique than the perilously balanced equestrian figure of the Great Peter, is the statue of Kriloff in his *dressing-gown*, in the Summer Garden. Kriloff is the Æsop and the La Fontaine of Russia, and his popularity with both nobles and people is unbounded.

Moscow has been often described, its colored domes and minarets, its great bells, and great cannon, and splendid palaces, and treasures beyond price. Yet the new picture which Mr. Edwards gives is very fresh and attractive, and has some features which we have not noticed in any other. The great extent of the city, "larger than Paris," the peculiar symmetry of the towers, the novel but harmonious combination of colors, the separation of the houses, the peculiar architecture of the Kremlin and its churches, make the impression of Moscow, as Mr.

Edwards shows it, very vivid in the reader's mind. If the other capital is less distinct in its impression, it is because its lines are more even and monotonous, its colors more sombre, and its architecture more modern. Moscow has grown up from a distant past, while St. Petersburg is the creation of a single century.

One of the singularities of the Russians is their enormous consumption of tea, which seems to be both food and drink, and to take the place not only of wines and spirits, but of solid nourishment. A dozen cups at a sitting are not a large allowance, and the principal refreshment at railway stations and at eating-houses, as well as the principal entertainment at banquets, is supplied by the Chinese herb. The quality is very superior to that used in England; and, indeed, Mr. Edwards thinks that the English cannot understand the excellence of tea, if they have not tasted it in Moscow. The winter amusements of Moscow, including the questionable enjoyment of sledging, are also pleasantly set forth. On the great question of the liberation of the serfs, while Mr. Edwards supplies much information, he gives no decided opinion; yet we can see that his sympathies are with the Emperor. Of the Emperor's genius and abilities, however, he seems not to have formed a very high estimate. His book is, in every respect, a good one.

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16. — *Account of the Great Comet of* 1858. By G. P. Bond, Director of the Observatory of Harvard College. Cambridge: Welch, Bigelow, & Co., Printers to the University. 1862. 4to. pp. 372. Plates 49.

This volume — the third of the "Annals of the Astronomical Observatory of Harvard College" — claims, and we trust will receive from a competent hand, an extended notice that shall at least attempt to do justice to its merits. Its appearance marks an epoch in Cometary Astronomy. The Comet of 1858 stands in some regards alone, among all similar objects of scientific interest, as to its importance and utility. For previous appearances the world was not so well prepared, either in the apparatus for obtaining the desired data, or in the comprehension of the entire scope to which inquiry was to be directed. Never before was "a first-class comet" interrogated as to the crucial problems of cosmical physiology. Until very recently, the heavenly bodies have been investigated only with reference to their position and their laws of motion, and a quarter of a century ago astronomy was little more than celestial topography. Now, if the stars that shine over us every night will not "repeat the story of their birth," we look to the rare

and marvellous visitant in their realm to perform this office in their stead. Happily the comet of 1858 met perfectly the needs and desires of science. Visible through the telescope for more than nine months, and to the naked eye for more than four, it presented for the whole of the latter period peculiar advantages of position with regard to the earth's orbit, and during its perihelion, moonless nights, brief twilight, and an unclouded sky favored astronomers throughout the Northern hemisphere. In this department of labor, as is well known, our Cambridge observers have been pre-eminently successful, both as discoverers and as registrars of phenomena. Professor Bond has collected all the observations of the Comet of 1858 that have been made accessible, and has collated them with his own, thus giving a minute narrative of its appearances, movements, and changes for the whole time of its stay within our field of vision. The volume is illustrated with steel plates, in which stars and comets are represented by white on a black ground, with the most delicate shadings to delineate the nebulous cometary envelopes. We speak emphatically of these plates, because, though admirably executed, they owe their value, nay, the verisimilitude which constitutes their beauty, to the preliminary labor of the observatory and the careful superintendence of the author. Hoping to recur to this volume shortly, we leave it for the present, in the belief that, in his modest labors to advance the science he loves, Professor Bond is winning for himself a place among the foremost of its cultivators, and of those whose names will be durably associated with its progress.

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17. — *The American Annual Cyclopædia and Register of Important Events of the Year* 1861. *Embracing Political, Civil, Military, and Social Affairs; Public Documents; Biography, Statistics, Commerce, Finance, Literature, Science, Agriculture, and Mechanical Industry.* New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1862. 8vo. pp. 780.

Never was a work more timely than this. Events have crowded upon one another so rapidly, have been so diversely narrated and interpreted, and have been learned with so much of that intense emotion which impairs the keenness of the cognitive faculties, that the history of the last year must lie very vaguely in the memory of our people, and must be represented by a series of impressions rather than by a succession of actions and incidents. The most important office of the volume before us is to furnish an accurate history of the civil and military events of the year to which it relates. This is done with great minuteness, with the tokens of all due care and elaboration, and

under titles so numerous and so apt, that it is impossible that one should look in vain for any item of information required. The names of persons, the names of places, the designations of subjects, general heads of description, matters of detail, — all are grouped in their alphabetical order, and yet the articles are so constructed as very seldom to overlap one another. At the same time, ample justice is done, independently of these exciting themes, to the ordinary course of the year's history. Nor does the work confine itself to this country; it takes adequate cognizance of the more momentous affairs and transactions of various nations, especially of France, Great Britain, and Italy. There is internal evidence of a divided authorship, — indeed, no one man could have prepared in so short a time so great a mass of materials, — and we can easily discern different degrees of skill in the different portions of the volume; but while some portions bear the marks of very superior ability, no part is poorly executed.

We would especially commend the plan of this work as an annual; and we have been at pains to give it this emphatic notice, in the hope that it will prove the first in a series that shall continue till it is superseded by something better of its kind. It fills a place which "The Annual Register" and "Niles's Register" could not fill for their respective countries, by virtue of its alphabetical arrangement, and the consequent ease of consulting it under the leading of a single name or word.

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18. — *Sketches of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of Secession; with a Narrative of Personal Adventures among the Rebels.* By W. G. Brownlow, Editor of the Knoxville Whig. Philadelphia: George W. Childs. 1862. 12mo. pp. 458.

The "Decline of Secession" seems, it may be, a bolder prophecy now than it was three months ago, when this book was printed; yet we cannot think it any the less clear to the prescience of every sincere patriot. Parson Brownlow has won the right to use these words on his title-page, by his services, perils, and sufferings in behalf of the Union. The chief value of his book lies in its being the contemporaneous record of what its author saw, said, wrote, did, and endured. It consists in part of scraps of autobiography, but principally of speeches and newspaper articles which embody much of the history of the times, and will be of great worth to the future annalist. The writer commands our high respect as a man of massive, though unpolished intellect, of tenacious integrity of purpose, of no ordinary capacity in political satire, invective, and argument, and of a patriotism impregnable equally to bribes and to threats.

19. — *Naval Text-Book, and Dictionary, for the Use of the Midshipmen of the U. S. Navy.* By B. J. TOTTEN, Commander U. S. Navy. New Edition, revised. New York: D. Van Nostrand. 1862. 12mo. pp. 449.

OF a large portion of this book we must judge with the diffidence that becomes a landsman; but it seems to us just the manual which a young sailor, in training for command, needs to insure his successful mastery of the work on board a ship of war. We ought also to say, that the greater part of the manual would be of essential benefit to young or destined officers in the merchant service, prescribing as it does the neatest and most expeditious methods of ship-craft and sea-craft many of which are applicable in common to all sailing vessels. Of the Dictionary, which occupies more than one third of the volume, we can speak with more authority; for it defines and explains, so that we can clearly understand them, the cabalistic terms which we have so often heard and read as words of an unknown tongue. We feel almost tempted to read Cooper's maritime novels over again, with this vocabulary at hand, so sorely have we felt the need of such help in our vain endeavor to keep alongside of his heroes in their doings and sufferings at sea.

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20. — *The Honest Man's Book of Finance and Politics, showing the Cause and Cure of Artificial Poverty, Dearth of Employment, and Dulness of Trade. In Two Parts.* Part I. *Paper Money and Speculation, Usury and Increase.* Part II. *Theory of a Perfect Currency and a Perfect Government.* New York. 1862. 12mo. pp. 287.

THE title of this book explains its character. It unfolds schemes of business, finance, and government, of the kind commonly called impracticable, by which is meant "out of gearing with human folly, selfishness, and sin; adapted to man as he ought to be, not as he is." Such treatises have no scientific value; for the very elements which they eliminate are essential factors in political science of every description. But they have a very high moral worth, both as indicating the existence of some souls that are not wholly weighed down by inferior cares, and as breathing over the hot and dusty world in which we work the prophecy of a far-off future in which there will be neither lost labor nor forfeited recompense. By so much as we can see no place for our author's Utopia this side of the Millennium, by so much are we indebted to him for the brief contemplation of gain without sordidness and government without self-seeking.

21. — *History of Friedrich the Second, called Frederick the Great.* By THOMAS CARLYLE. In Four Volumes. Vol. III. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1862. 12mo. pp. 596.

ON the appearance of the first two volumes of "Frederick the Great," we expressed our judgment of the work, and gave an extended analysis of its contents. This labor we hope soon to renew, on the issue of the final volume. The third volume commences with Frederick's accession to the throne, and embraces a period of little more than four years. The vividly dramatic style of narrative, the intense characterization of men and women by epithets which cling closer to them than their names, the lurid lights and dense shadows in description, the *clairvoyance*, real or seeming, which never rests on the outside, but penetrates the heart of history, — qualities which, notwithstanding the mongrel *patois* in which it was written, made Carlyle's "French Revolution" a profoundly instructive work, — are now combined with a moderately pure and generally intelligible English diction. The author's mannerism, contrary to usual experience, becomes in the lapse of years less strongly marked, and he now writes in a less annoying *Carlylese* than is still affected by his few remaining imitators.

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22. — *The New Gymnastics for Men, Women, and Children. With a Translation of* PROF. KLOSS'S *Dumb-Bell Instructor, and* PROF. SCHREBER'S *Pangymnasticon.* By DIO LEWIS, M. D., Professor of the Essex Street Gymnasium, Boston. With Three Hundred Illustrations. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 12mo. pp. 274.

UNLESS we had command of Dr. Lewis's illustrative plates, it would be impossible for us to convey any idea of his method, or of its results, both in the increase and in the multiplication of the physical powers. We see pictured on these pages postures and achievements, which would seem impossible had we not ample evidence of their realization. The body thus developed and trained bears, in the variety, delicacy, precision, and availableness of its machinery of limb and muscle, very much the same relation to the physical frame of the non-gymnast, which is borne by the mechanism of a ship's chronometer to that of the rudest and most mendacious wooden clock. The merit of this book is, that it describes the processes by which such results may be attained, and that it demands no public institution or costly apparatus, but shows how, with resolution, enterprise, and such *matériel* as may be at every one's command, the maximum of symmetrical and vigorous development may be reached. That there is increased need of gymnastic

training with the decline of manual labor among native Americans, there can be no doubt, and equally little doubt is there, as we think, of the pre-eminent safety, healthfulness, and efficacy of the system of which Dr. Lewis is the foremost exponent in this country.

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23. — *The Works of* Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viscount of St. Albans, and Lord High Chancellor of England. Collected and Edited by James Spedding, M. A., of Trinity College, Cambridge; Robert Leslie Ellis, M. A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; and Douglas Denon Heath, Barrister-at-Law, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Volume IV. Boston: Brown and Taggard. 1862. Small 8vo. pp. 483.

A large part of this volume is taken up with the first instalment of the "Natural History," which has a double value; — historical, as illustrating the infantile condition of this branch of knowledge in Bacon's age, and its vast progress since; and philosophical, as showing how questions are shaped by the inductive philosophy, and how essential negative answers are in preparing the way for positive knowledge. We hardly need say that this edition of Bacon is fulfilling all the promise it gave. We have repeatedly referred to it as the most nearly complete edition that has yet been undertaken, and as greatly enriched by the judicious labors of the editors.

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24. — *Health: its Friends and its Foes.* By R. D. Mussey, M. D., LL. D., late Professor of Anatomy and Surgery at Dartmouth College, N. H., and of Surgery in the Medical College of Ohio; Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, etc., etc. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1862. 12mo. pp. 368.

Dr. Mussey comes before the public with all the authority which years, professional reputation, and sincere benevolence can give; and his theories, where they diverge from common opinion and practice, are worthy of profound respect. He is a purist of the inmost initiation in all matters of hygiene. Of tobacco he thinks only evil, and will no doubt be scandalized by the faint dispraise with which it is treated in our article on Narcotics. Tea and coffee he regards as never beneficial, and often harmful. For more than thirty years he has drunk but three cups of the latter and one of the former, having used in lieu of them, for a portion of the time at least, what should be spoken of to ears polite, not as soap-suds, but as a solution of Castile soap. From animal

food he has abstained almost entirely for thirty years, and from fish for three. He maintains that strict vegetarianism is an essential condition of perfect health, and that its prevalence would increase appreciably the average standard of longevity. He lives, eighty-two years of age, hale and strong, with a quick and clear intellect, — the test of his own hygienic doctrines. His book ought to be read, were it only because it is his. It merits careful attention, also, for the large number of illustrative cases and instances adduced under each head. Moreover, those who cannot or will not be his disciples in full will find themselves admonished in many particulars in which they cannot disagree with him, but in which his large experience suggests counsels and cautions of the utmost value.

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25. — *John Rogers: the Compiler of the First Authorized English Bible; the Pioneer of the English Reformation; and its First Martyr. Embracing a Genealogical Account of his Family, Biographical Sketches of some of his Principal Descendants, his own Writings, etc., etc.* By JOSEPH LEMUEL CHESTER. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1861. 8vo. pp. 452.

THE chief object of this new memoir of John Rogers is to vindicate for his memory the honor of having compiled the Matthew Bible. We are inclined to admit the author's conclusion as most probably the truth, though not wholly beyond reasonable doubt. The Bible was issued under the name of Thomas Matthew. History has preserved not a single fact with reference to this same Matthew, who, if a real man, could hardly have failed to be an object of curiosity, and to leave traces of his birthplace, residence, and fortunes. The choice of this double apostolic appellation for a pseudonyme was by no means unnatural for a translator and editor of the Scriptures. But, if it were a pseudonyme, our author proves, as it seems to us, that only John Rogers could have borne it. The Memoir does ample justice to the eloquence as well as to the learning of the first Marian martyr, and renders it certain that his conversion to Romanism was specially desired and sought at court, and that it was in the hope of damaging Protestantism by his recantation, that his doom was delayed so long after he was taken into custody. The author has given us a biography of very great interest and value, making the best possible use of scanty materials, and manifesting a rare sagacity in conjectural criticism wherever there are blots or various readings in the records of the times.

We are sorry to say that our author's genealogical researches are fatal to the claim of numerous families in New England to descent

from the martyr. Some years ago, Mr. Savage — behind whose assertion in such matters it is seldom needful to look — expressed, not his belief, but his knowledge that not a family in America could trace its ancestry to John Rogers. Most, if not all, of his *soi-disant* descendants in this country are descended from Rev. Nathaniel Rogers of Ipswich, of whom Hutchinson, in his History of the Colony of Massachusetts, speaks as "descended from the Protomartyr in Queen Mary's reign," citing Hubbard for his authority. Hubbard, who married the daughter of Nathaniel Rogers, makes no such statement, and Hutchinson did not write till more than a century after the death of the Ipswich minister. The father of Nathaniel was Rev. John Rogers of Dedham, England, a distinguished Puritan divine and author, who neither alludes to himself, nor is alluded to in any contemporary notice of him or his works, as a descendant of John the martyr. In all probability Hutchinson's authority was the general belief of the Rogers family at his time, — a belief which naturally grew up from the identity of name between the martyr and their first American ancestor's father, at a period when genealogical registers were few and imperfect.

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26. — *Like and Unlike. A Novel.* By A. S. Roe, Author of "I've been Thinking," "A Long Look Ahead," "True to the Last," "To Love and to be Loved," "The Star and the Cloud," "How could he Help it?" etc. New York: Carleton. 1861. 12mo. pp. 501.

We are glad to see this new novel by Mr. Roe. We regard him as one of the best living novelists. His stories are not exciting; but they are deeply interesting, with enough of mirth, and enough of pathos; with an adequate variety of incident, and with characters so strongly individualized as to win for them much of the sympathy we feel for the fortunes of actually living persons. At the same time, we would speak emphatically of the purity and the positively high moral tone of these novels. Not didactic in form or pretence, they cannot fail to be eminently so in effect in the hands of the young readers who constitute the great majority of a novelist's public.

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27. — *Tragedy of Success.* Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1862. 16mo. pp. 191.

In our April number we expressed our warm and unqualified admiration of the "Tragedy of Errors," of which this is the sequel. Thought, sentiment, imagery, diction, and rhythm are all fully sustained in the continuation and catastrophe of the tragic story; and the

three volumes, (including "The Record of an Obscure Man" as the first,) in their various veins, moods, and methods, together indicate a rare compass and grasp of mind and genius, no less than a profound and far-seeing philanthropy.

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28. — *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving.* By his Nephew, PIERRE M. IRVING. Volume II. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1862. Small 8vo. pp. 492.

RESERVING our extended review of this publication till it shall be completed, we cannot but express our great satisfaction with most of the contents of this volume, and our gratitude for the view they give us of the late and slow, yet unremitted development and growth of Irving's mental capacity and scope, and of his literary ability and enterprise. There was much in the first volume which we are sorry to have read; there is little in this which does not essentially belong to the history of the mind which made itself so fully and enduringly the property of the whole republic of letters.

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29. — *Choate's Speeches, Orations, and Arguments, with a Memoir of his Life.* By Prof. S. G. BROWN. With a Portrait. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1862. 2 vols. 8vo.

THIS book will perhaps see the light as soon as our notice of it. For our next number we hope to have a review of it by a professional brother and personal friend of Mr. Choate. We have been permitted to read the advance-sheets of the Memoir, and find it worthy equally of the author and the subject. No man was so well fitted for this work as Professor Brown, who was brought into close intimacy with Mr. Choate by a community of social relations and of literary tastes, while in many respects he occupied a position so unlike that of his friend as to qualify him to be an impartial biographer. His book is a "Life" rather than a "Memoir." It reproduces the traits of the living man to a rare degree. The kaleidoscopic fancy, the keen wit, the intenseness and fire of the advocate, the ardor of the politician, the genial unbending at rare intervals of repose, glimpses — brief, yet vivid — of tender domestic sympathies, of playfulness and of agonizing sorrow in the home-circle, — all are given with the freedom of one from whom nothing that could aid him in his task has been withholden, yet with the delicate reticence of one who knows where the rights of the public cease. We anticipate for these volumes at once a grateful reception by those who best knew Mr. Choate, and an extended popularity in the so much wider circle of his fame.

NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Spirit and Form. Baccalaureate Sermon, delivered before the Senior Class of Hamilton College, June 15, 1862. By Rev. William S. Curtis, D. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy, and College Pastor. Utica. 1862.

A Commemorative Sermon upon the Occasion of the Death of the Rev. Charles Mason, D. D., preached in Grace Church, Boston, the Sunday next before Easter, April 13, 1862. By the Rev. George Leeds, D. D., Rector of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia. Boston. 1862.

The Remission by Blood: a Tribute to our Soldiers and the Sword, delivered in the West Church. By C. A. Bartol. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1862.

God timing all National Changes in the Interests of his Christ. A Discourse before the American Baptist Home Missionary Society, at its Annual Meeting in the City of Providence, R. I., on Thursday Evening, May 29th, 1862. By William R. Williams. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1862.

The Presence and Power of God in Nature and in Art. A Sermon preached before the First Congregational Society in Bridgewater, by Richard M. Hodges. Cambridge. 1862.

The War, and its Cause. A Sermon, preached at Sudbury, Mass., on Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 21, 1861, at a Union Meeting of the Religious Societies of the Town. By Linus H. Shaw, Minister of the First Parish in Sudbury. Waltham. 1861.

Organic Continuity the True Law of Ecclesiastical Succession. An Essay before the Associate Alumni of the New York Theological Seminary, New York, June 25, 1862. By the Rev. Nicholas Hoppin, D. D., Rector of Christ Church, Cambridge, Mass. New York. 1862.

A Discourse addressed to the Alumni of the Theological Seminary, April 30, 1862, on Occasion of the Completion of its first Half-Century. By William B. Sprague. With an Appendix, containing Notices of other Commemorative Proceedings. Albany. 1862.

Eulogy on Cornelius Conway Felton, LL. D., &c., one of the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. Prepared at the Request of the Board by Theodore D. Woolsey, LL. D., President of Yale College. May, 1862. Washington. 1862.

Addresses at the Inauguration of Rev. Alonzo A. Miner, A. M., as President of Tufts College, Wednesday, July 9, 1862. Boston. 1862.

Celebration of the 4th of July, by the Common Council of the City of New York, at the Cooper Institute, Friday, July 4th, 1862. Oration of General Hiram Walbridge, on the Political and Industrial Interests of the United States. New York. 1862.

Martin Van Buren: Lawyer, Statesman, and Man. By William Allen Butler. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1862.

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